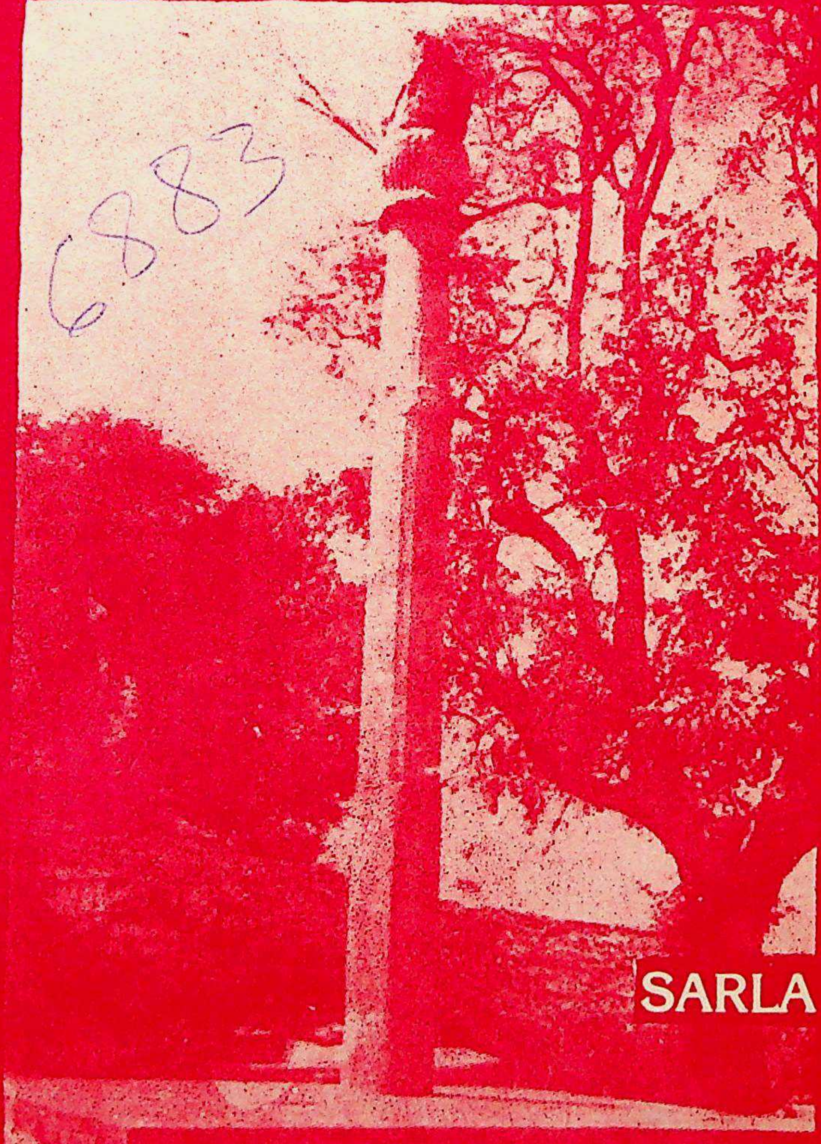
AŚVAGHOṢA AND HIS TIMES



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SARLA KHOSLA

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INTELLECTUAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
NEW DELHI INDIA

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First Edition : 1986

The publication of the book is financially Supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research. The responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed or conclusions reached are eniteely of the Author and the ICHR accepts no responsibility for them.

Published by

Intellectual Publishing House,
23, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi-110002.

Distributor

Intellectual Book Corner,
23, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi-110002.

Printed at

S. Narayan & Sons, Delhi-110006

DEDICATED TO

The revered
Late Dr. A. L. Srivastva

PREFACE

This work is the first attempt of its kind, to have been made to describe "*Aśvaghoṣa and His Times*". India lacks such books which give consecutive but authentic accounts of History with names and correct dates of kings and authors in chronological order. As such History is constructed from religious literature, poetical works, coins, inscriptions and other archaeological evidences. The same is true between Kautalya's Arthaśāstra and Kalidasa. Though Kalidasa has referred to Bhasa, Saumilla and Kaviputra, the poets who lived before him, Bhasa is the only renowned writer ; but he is supposed to have lived in 350 A.D. while Aśvaghoṣa[1] was Kaniṣka's contemporary.

This volume is based on Aśvaghoṣa's two Kāvyas (*Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita*), *Vajrasūcī* and *Śraddhotpada Śāstra*. The chief authority for the texts of the Kāvyas is E.H. Johnston, who has utilised all the existing editions and Mss. The Edition of *Buddhacarita* by Mahanta Shri Ram Chandra Dasa Shastri and of *Saundarananda* by Surya Narayana Chowdhry have also proved very helpful. Both the editions of *Vajrasūcī* i.e. Visvabharati Research Publications and of Dr. Sanghsen Singh of Delhi University, and both English translations of the Chinese translations of *Śraddhotpada Śāstra* (the original Sanskrit being lost) by Parmartha (557 A.D.) and Sikshananda (695-700 A.D.) have been analysed.

The Tibetan translation of *Buddhacarita* of twenty-eight cantos is supposed to be complete i.e., beginning with the birth of Buddha and ending with his Nirvāṇa. Though E.H. Johnston and R.C. Dasa have translated these chapters, since they are not based on original Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa beyond chapter XIV (31 verses), they have not been utilised in this work (except for very few and unavoidable references). But the Sanskrit of the first seven verses of the first chapter and 32-112 verses of the XIV chapter by Mahant R.C. Dasa have been fully utilised. While studying a few variations were noted in Johnston and R.C. Dasa's readings. These have been noted as foot-notes at suitable places in the text.

Certain verses have been considered as later interpolations by Johnston as well as R.C. Dasa. Efforts have been made to avoid them as far as possible. But one or two such references if utilised, have also been pointed out in the footnotes.

As a matter of fact, there was no need to discuss the authorship of *Śraddhotpada Śāstra*. But the most recent remarks of Dr. Biswnathan Bhattacharya refutes the authorship of our poet, has compelled me to discuss it.

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[1] Please see my work, *Gupta Civilization*, p. 131 ff.

Though the English translations of *Śraddhotpada Śāstra* by T. Richard and T. Suzuki have been utilised, along with the most recent translations of Wai Tao and Dwight Goddess (in 1936, 1937), it is very difficult to say how far they are the correct interpretations of Aśvaghoṣa's original expressions. Anyhow it remains yet to be authenticated with the discovery of original text.

Vajrasūcī is known as an attack on caste system or Brahmaṇism. But no one can attract converts by hurting the feelings or religious sentiments of others, which has been our poet's aim. The logic put forth by the poet is as if in a bout. It certainly is to demoralise the Brahmaṇas (the greatest opponents of Buddhism) who had fallen from their prestigious position, ill-treated other sub-castes and seem to have created a socio-religious disparity. Here the poet, propagates the qualities of 'śīla', which can make one a real Brahmaṇa, whom he equates with an 'Arhat'.

The above mentioned four works of Aśvaghoṣa, when studied with historical point of view, have yielded much material, which go a long way in filling a vacuum in the history between Artha Śāstra of Kautilya and Kalidasa's works.

Our poet, learned as he was in both the Brahmaṇical and Buddhist lores, has recorded the old traditions of both, which lingered on upto his times. At the same time, his works also allude to the changing trends in the philosophical thinking, customs and manners etc.

It appears that from Buddha to Kaniṣka's time, a large number of sects and sub-sects were incorporated in Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhist monks, who tried to attract more and more followers, in competition with other religions seem to have magnified the qualities of their hero—the Buddha. This seems to have introduced the "Lokottara" element in the life of Buddha. "Mahāvastu" and "Lalitavistara" are the literary evidences. Aśvaghoṣa's works are not bereft of this element, but he has used restrain in such descriptions.

During Kaniṣka's time, the country from Central Asia to India was under one ruler. The mutual effect and influence of the two civilisations is natural.

How much foreign influence is incorporated in Buddhist sects, is difficult to ascertain at this stage, specially when much of inherited material is still lying buried in Mss. or in printed texts of central Asian languages. Who knows perhaps the original Sanskrit of *Śraddhotpada Śāstra* is also lying buried somewhere, like the '*Śariputraprakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa'. This text, on palm-leaves, was discovered by Luders from Turfan. Similarly another work of our poet *Sutralaṅkara* has been found through a Tibetan translation.

Remarkably, the discovery of the above mentioned 'Prakarṇa' has shifted the credit of writing first drama in Sanskrit from Kalidasa to Aśvaghoṣa (in accordance with Natya Śāstra). It would not be out of place to record that the discovery of our poet's Kāvyas has given him the first place in the history of Sanskrit literature. Kalidasa has been known as a poet of Similies (Upama Kalidasasya) but Aśvaghoṣa's similies certainly excel him. Aśvaghoṣa's Kāvyas *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita* depict the picture of Hinayāna or Buddha's teachings found in Pālī Sūttas, and the changing trend towards Mahāyana. Similarly *Śraddhotpada Śāstra* is the first Mahāyana work of its kind which not only defines, explains, preaches but also magnifies Mahāyana as compared with other sects. The influence of Upaniṣadic philosophy of Ātmavada contrary to the original theory of Śunya or Anātmavāda preached by Buddha, is self evident.

Much labour had to be done to bring forth this volume as the different philosophies of Brahmaṇism, Buddhism and contemporary schools such as of Ājivikas,[2] the Nirganthas (the Jains) and Lokayatas had to be studied in detail. The main reasons being :

1. to answer the burning questions of the day : was Buddha the first one to rise against Brahmaṇic cult of sacrifices or to stand against the authority of Vedas and refute the existence of God and soul or continuity of life or self after death ?
2. Aśvaghoṣa has dealt with "Arhathood" and "Budhisattva-hood" or two types of Nirvāṇa ; Anātta and Ātmavāda, Karmas and the concept of hell and heaven, Yoga and Saṅkhya system etc. Thus in short the works of our poet are a blend of Buddhist and Brahmaṇical philosophies and refer to tradition and record the contemporary trends of his times. Though the contemporary religious sects believed in Ahiṁsa, Anātamavāda, Karmas etc.[3] But the first systemic revolt was made by Buddha and with a greater success.

The works under study refer to tradition. So the history of social, religious and political traditions have been traced from 'Vedic to Kautalya' and then to Aśvaghoṣa's time. Stray relevant references to "Mohanjodaro" and "Harappa" (Indus Valley Civilisation) have also been made, here and there. In addition to this, the traditions, which are still lingering (20th century) with us, have also been commented.

Here I have utilised all the available literary evidences, along with archaeological evidences, such as monuments, sculpture, paintings etc. A few rare photographs have also been collected from National Museum, Delhi, State Govt. Museum, Mathura, State Govt. Museum, Chandigarh and Simla (H.P). They are fully recognised.

To collect the literary evidences different libraries proved useful to mention a few, viz., : A.S.I. Library Delhi, N. Museum Library, Delhi, Central Secretariat Library, Delhi, ICHR Library, Delhi, Mathura Museum Library, Chandigarh Museum Library, Institute of advance studies Simla Library, Sri Ranbir Library Jammu and Raghunatha Pathśala Mss. Library Jammu.

The present assignment was taken at the suggestion of Dr. Lokesh Chandra,

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[2] "The religion of Ājivikas is older than Jainism and Buddhism. It began to develop between 7th or 8th century B.C. somewhere near Gangetic valley. Makkhaliputta Gosala elevated this religion into a philosophy of life." It is said to have influenced the development of Mahāvira doctrine.

(*V.S. Visvabharati Ed.*, p. 31)

[3] Upaniṣads believe in permanent identity of soul. Gita believes in permanent soul and Karmas Cārvāka or Lōkayattas did not believe in permanent identity of soul and propagated Dehātmavāda. Jains believe in God, Karma and extreme Ahiṁsa. (Ahiṁsa Parmo Dharma).

Director, International Academy of Indian Culture. He not only permitted me to use his library but guided me at every step. Without his help this work would not have seen the light of the day.

Bhikṣu Āryavanśo of Buddha-Vihara, Mandir Marg, Delhi, has been kind enough, not only to help himself with discussion on Buddhist Philosophy, but also to introduce me to Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda ji of Nepal and Dr. Shankar Tripathi, Head of the Buddhist Department of Sanskrit Vishva Vidyalaya Varanasi and Prof. Jagan Nath Upadhyaya of the same Institution.

Venerable Kuṣuk Bakula, Lama Lōbzang, Shri C. Phōnsog (D.C. Leh), Shri V. Aivalli (ex-D.C. Leh) and Dr. B.N. Singh, Reader in Philosophy of the Benaras Hindu University all have helped me in the study of this project. I extend my indebtedness to all these scholars and personalities.

My thanks are due to Shri K.M. Srivastva, Director, A.S.I., Delhi who has excavated Kapilvastu. He elaborately shed light on certain odd and even questions, which I posed him off and on.

I acknowledge with due thanks all the assistance given by the Director, National Museum Delhi, Shri A.S. Biṣt and Shri Lala A. Narain of the same Institution.

Before I conclude I must put on record with thanks the assistance given by Dr. B.R. Grovar, the Director, I.C.H.R. for providing me all facilities for completing this project.

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SARLA KHOSLA
Fellow ICHR

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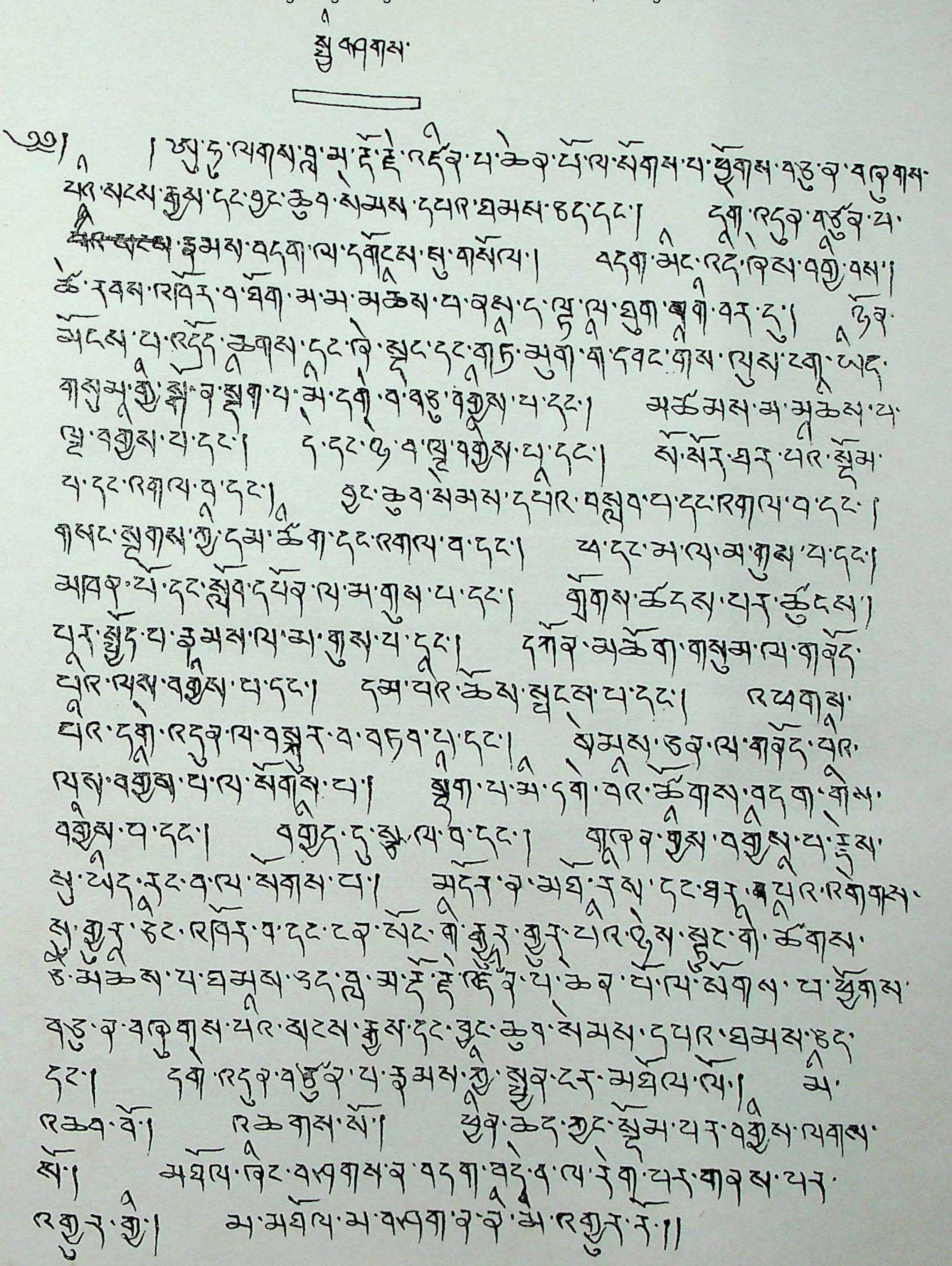

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པའི་དགེ་འདུན་ལ་བསྐུར་བ་བཏབ་པ་དང༌། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་གནོད་པའི་
ལས་བགྱིས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ། སྡིག་པ་མི་དགེ་བའི་ཚོགས་བདག་གིས་
བགྱིས་པ་དང༌། བགྱིད་དུ་སྩལ་བ་དང༌། གཞན་གྱིས་བགྱིད་པ་ལ་རྗེས་
སུ་ཡིད་རང་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ། མདོར་ན་མཐོ་རིས་དང་ཐར་པའི་གེགས་
སུ་གྱུར་ཅིང་འཁོར་བ་དང་ངན་སོང་གི་རྒྱུར་གྱུར་པའི་ཉེས་ལྟུང་གི་ཚོགས་
ཅི་མཆིས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བླ་མ་དོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཕྱོགས་
བཅུ་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་
དང༌། དགེ་འདུན་བཙུན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་སྔར་མཐོལ་ལོ། མི་
འཆབ་བོ། འཆགས་སོ། ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཀྱང་སྡོམ་པར་བགྱིས་ལགས་
སོ། མཐོལ་ཞིང་བཤགས་ན་བདག་བདེ་བ་ལ་རེག་པར་གནས་པར་
འགྱུར་གྱི། མ་མཐོལ་མ་བཤགས་ན་དེ་ལྟར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ།།

Plate 1: Extracts from the Ladakhi text of Buddhist monk's daily prayer, containing Asvaghosa's hymns (ref. F|N-40, Chapt I) (English translation on Plate-2)
—(*Courtesy*: Shri C. Pnonsog, D.C. Leh)

GENERAL CONFESSION

OH; May the great Vadjradhara Teacher and all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and noble sanghas living in all the ten directions, consider that I named so and so have committed, through body, speech and mind, due to the kelasha of greed, hatered and ignorance, the ten wrong actions, the five limitless sins, the five nearing sins, worked against the Vinaya rules, against the teaching of Bodhisattva, against the rules of Tantra; have shown disrespect to father and mother; religious Guides and teachers, all the friends observing celibacy and ethical rules; have worked to harm the Triple Gem, have given up the Dharma, criticised the super Sanghas; have done such works which harm the living beings etc; the volumes of sinful works which I have done or caused to be done or appreciated such works which others have done. In short all the sinful actions which are obstacle in the way of upper region and Salvation and which are the causes of Samsara and lower region, which I have done, I confess, repent, do not hide and do not keep in secret and promise not to commit in future, in the presence of the great Teacher Vadjradhara, the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and noble Sanghas living in all the ten directions. If the confession is accepted I shall have access to happiness, if not confessed it will not be like that.

Plate 2: **ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF LADAKHI TEXT**
(Ref. PLATE-I)

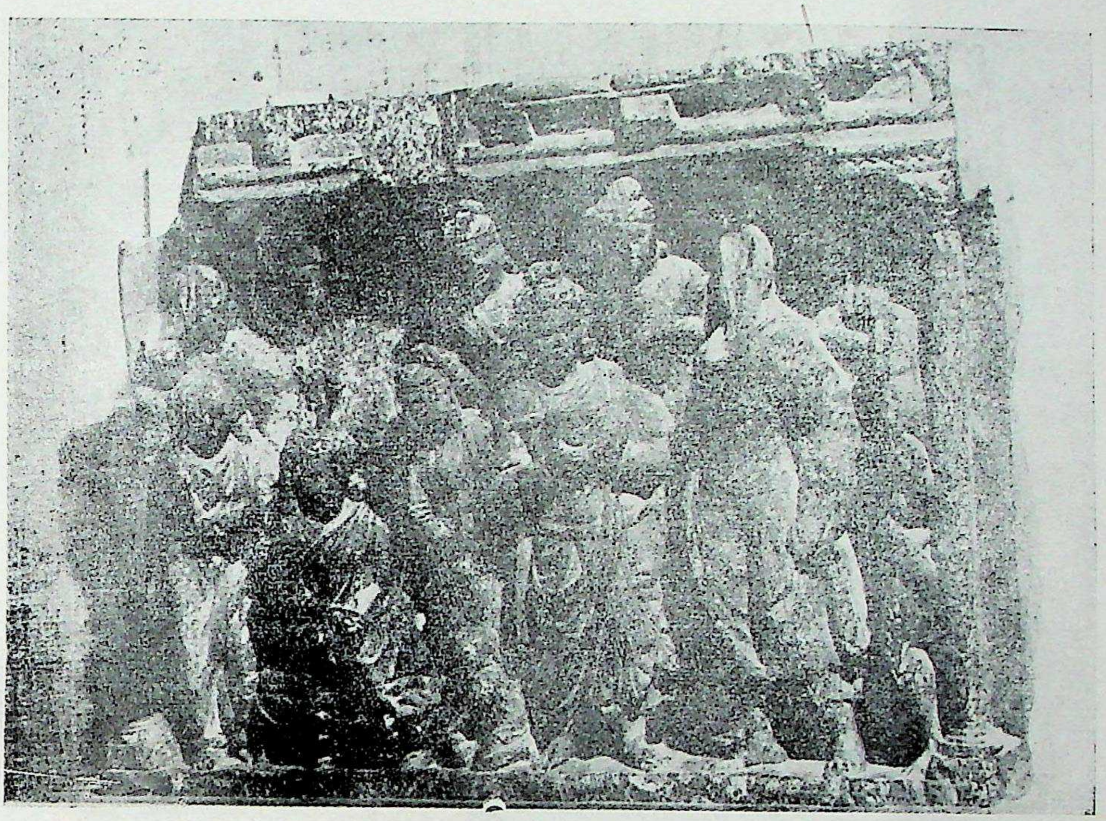

Plate 3: '*Nanda-Sundari*' scene in sculpture (2nd C. A.D.) showing very clearly the hair-styles dresses etc. used by royalty attendents etc. *Courtesy:* National Museum, Delhi (69-27)
(Ref. F|N 293, 296 & 337 K, Chap. 5)

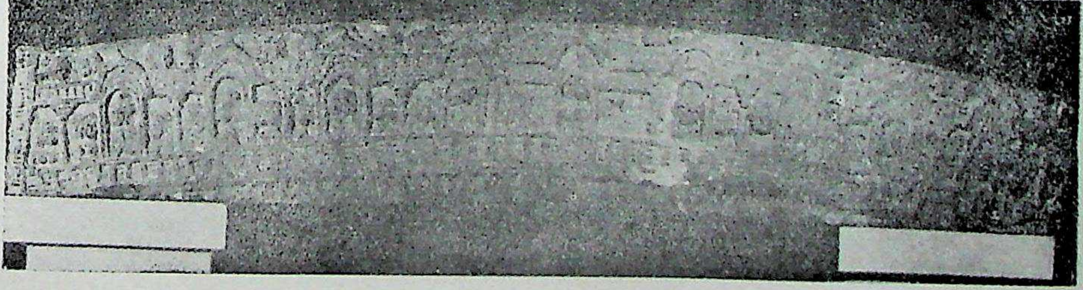

Plate 4: A typical Torana (door-jamb) of 2nd century B.C. with balcony and ogree arch, containing male and female figures, peeping out of windows.
Courtesy: Mathura Museum (M-I-00)
(Ref. F|N 181, Chap. 4)

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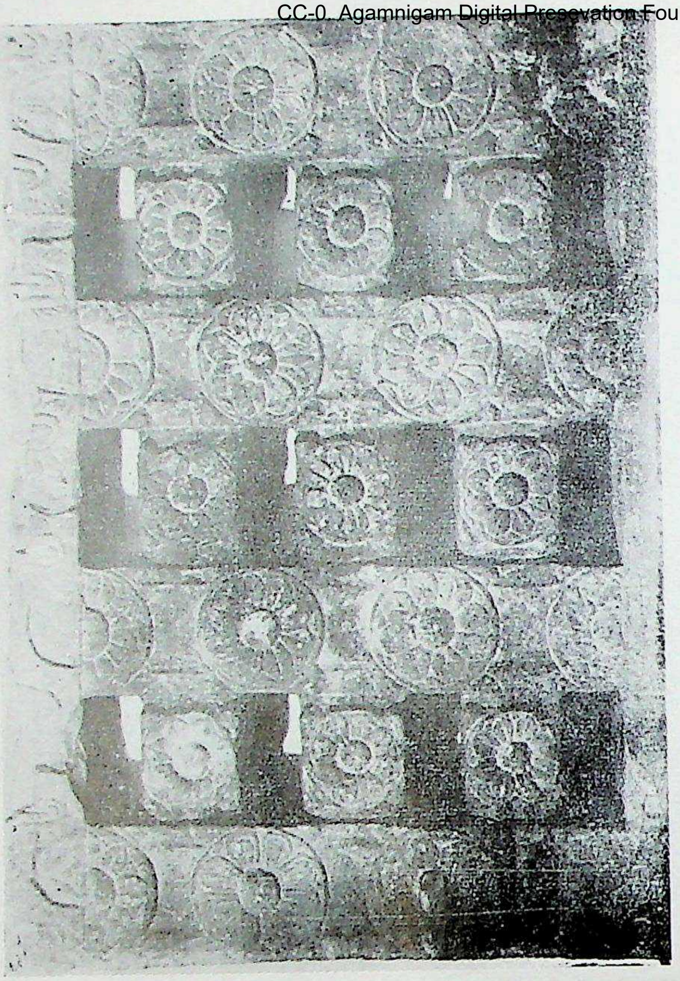
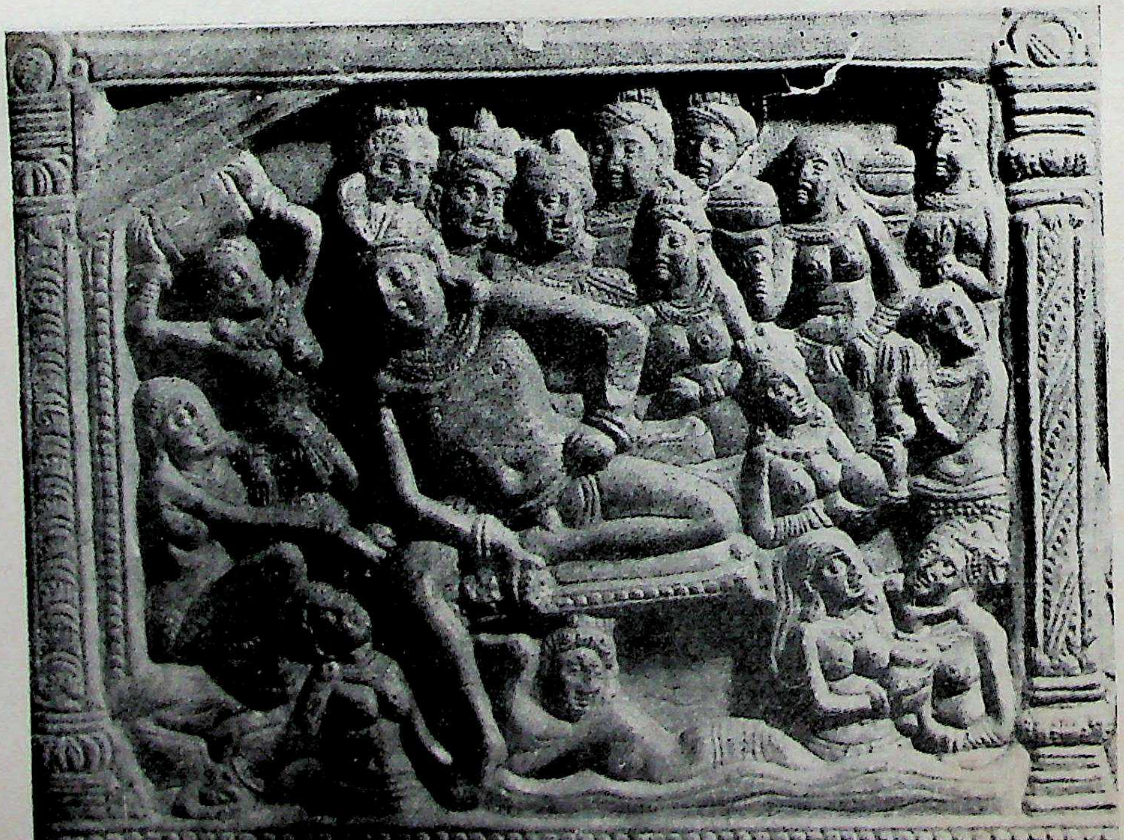


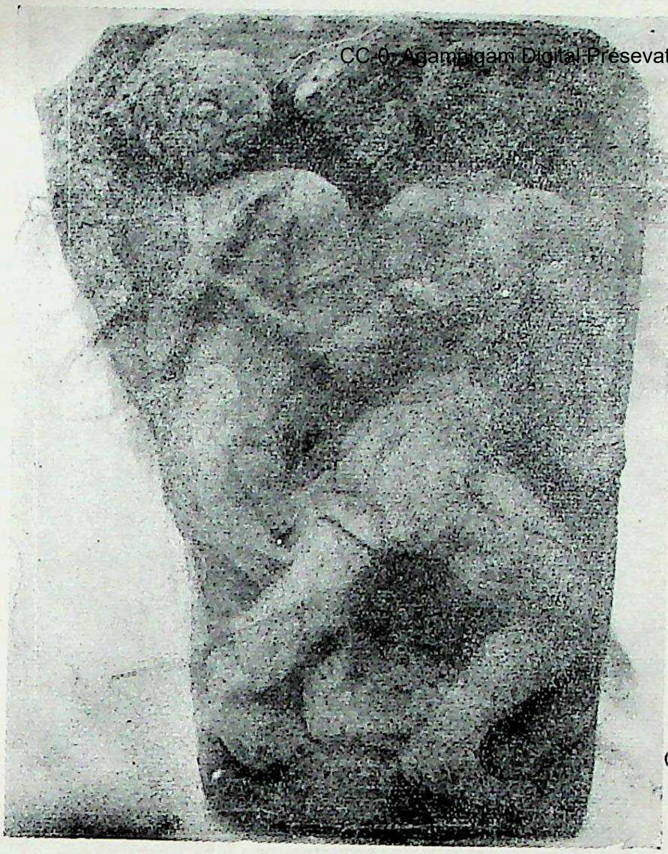
Plate 5: A typical *Prasada vatayana* window screen of 1st C. A. D., made in monolithic stone Lattice-work.

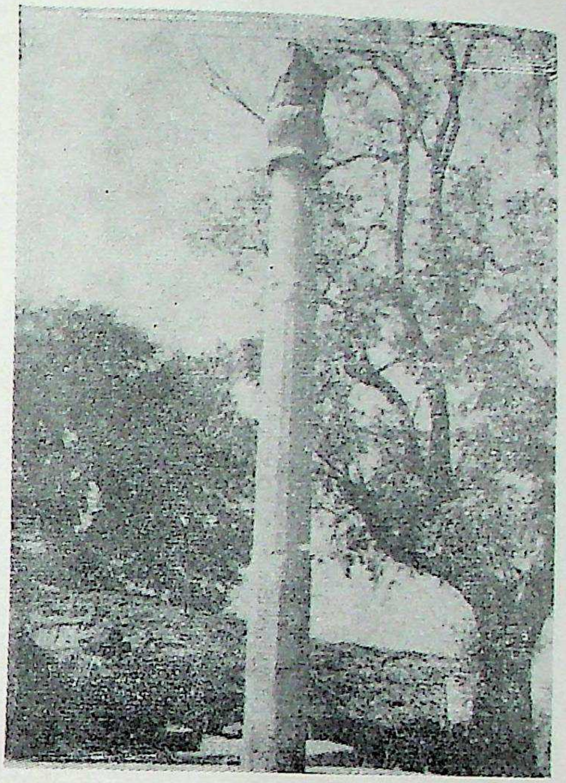
Courtesy: Mathura Museum
(36-2584)
(Ref.: F|N 186, Chap. 4.)

Plate 6: Prince Siddarth amidst pleasures of harem—a panel, carved in Amravati style (2nd|3rd century AD).

Courtesy: National Museum Delhi (Ref. F|N 190, Chap. 4), F|N 105, Chap. 8).







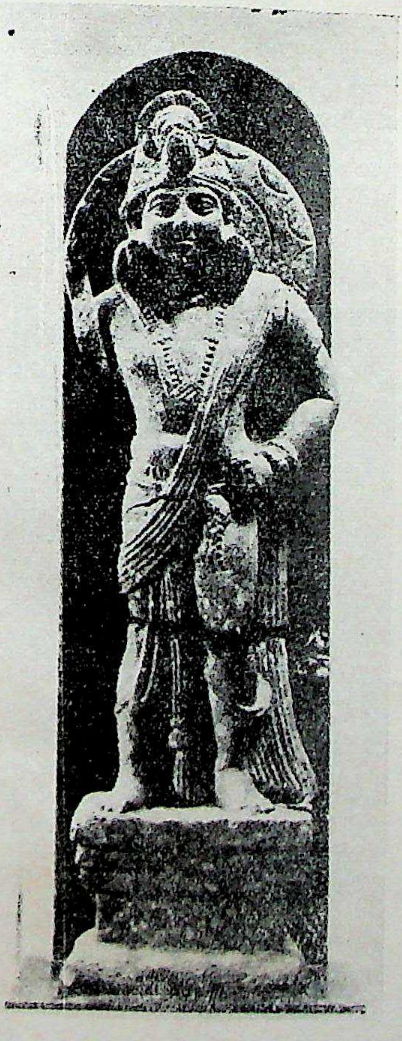


Plate 7: Warriors of the Kushan period (2nd C. A.D.) as depicted in a terracota figure showing the use of sheath of arrows, bow, quiver, small dagger, and shield etc.
Courtesy: State Museum, Simla (75-113)
(Ref. F|N 414, Chap. 4.)

Plate 8: 'Garuda-Dhvaja Stambha' at Vidisa (1st C. A. D.) depicting a standard (Dhvaja) with Grauda's (vehicle of Vishnu) emblem.
Courtesy: A.S.I.—Delhi (307-1951)
(Ref. F|N 440. Chap. 4)

Plate 9: Bodhisattva in Gandhara Sculpture (1st C. A.D.). Mark the long, curly, umbrella-cut type hair, the elaborate head-dress (Pagri or turban), ornaments and the folds of Dhoti (loin-cloth).
Courtesy: Mathura Museum (14-485)
(Ref. F|U 337-403, Chap. 5.)

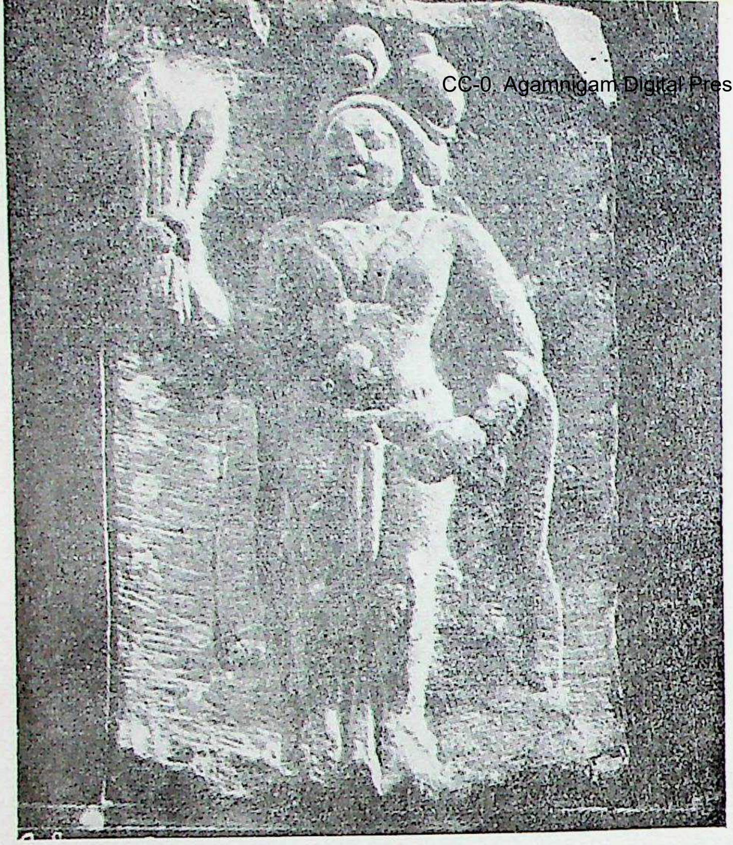
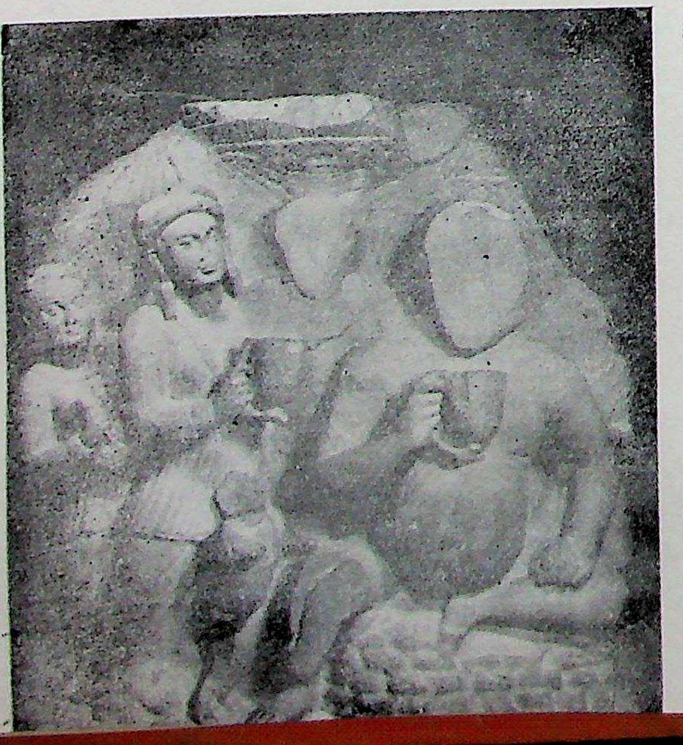


Plate 10: Kamdeva, the God of Love in sculpture (2nd C. A.D.). The turban (head-dress) and a dangling long cloth on both the arms indicates clearly to foreign influence (Greeco-Roman) i.e. Gandhara style.

Courtesy: Mathura Museum (18-1448)
(Ref. F|N-337K, Chap. I),
F|N 120, Chap. 8)

Plate 12: *Madira-paan* (drinking wine) in sculpture (1st C. A.D.) Mark the shapes of pots used and the impact of Saka Culture on the lady attendants dress, specially the head-dress,—drinking bowls etc. One example of Gandhara style on Mathura art.

Courtesy: Mathura Museum (00-C-2)
(Ref. F|N 348, Chap. 5), F|N 207, Chap. 7)



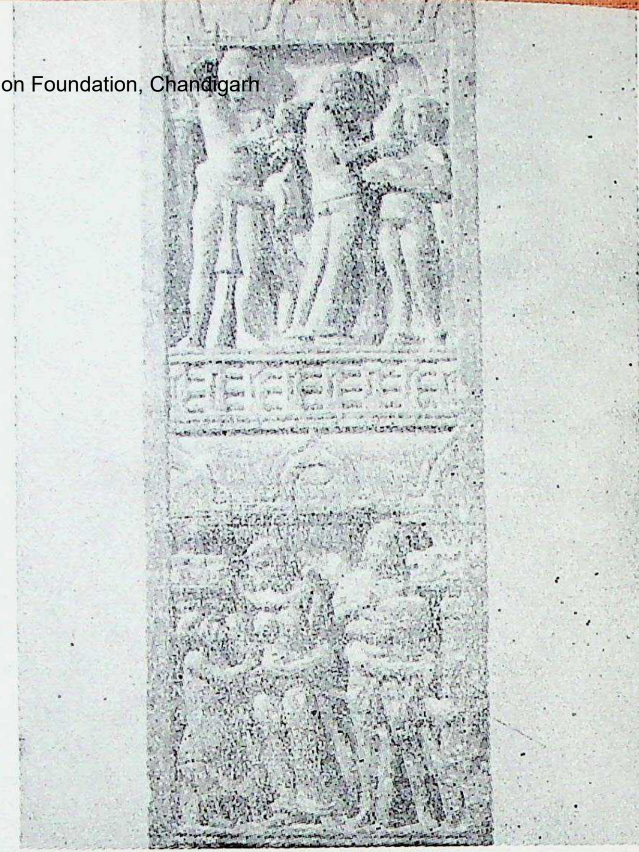
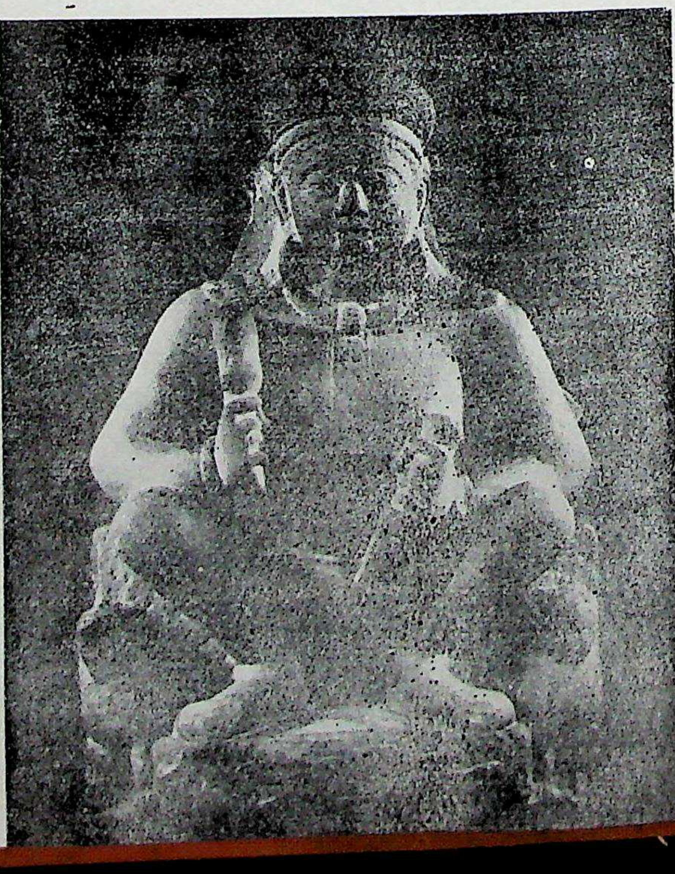


Plate 11: Nanda-Sundri scene in sculpture (1st C. A.D.). The upper panel shows Sundri almost naked while her attendent absolutely naked. Nanda, on the extreme left and Sundri are wearing ornaments like ear-rings, necklace, bangles etc. In the upper part Nanda is combing Sundri's hair, while in the lower one, he is holding the toilet-basket.

Courtesy: Mathura Museum (12-186)
(Ref. F|N 337, 346 & 403, Chap. 5)

Plate 13: Surya, the Sun-God, in sculpture (1st C. A.D.) Mark the northern dress, including shoes.

Courtesy: Mathura Museum (12-269)
(Ref. F|N Chap. 5)



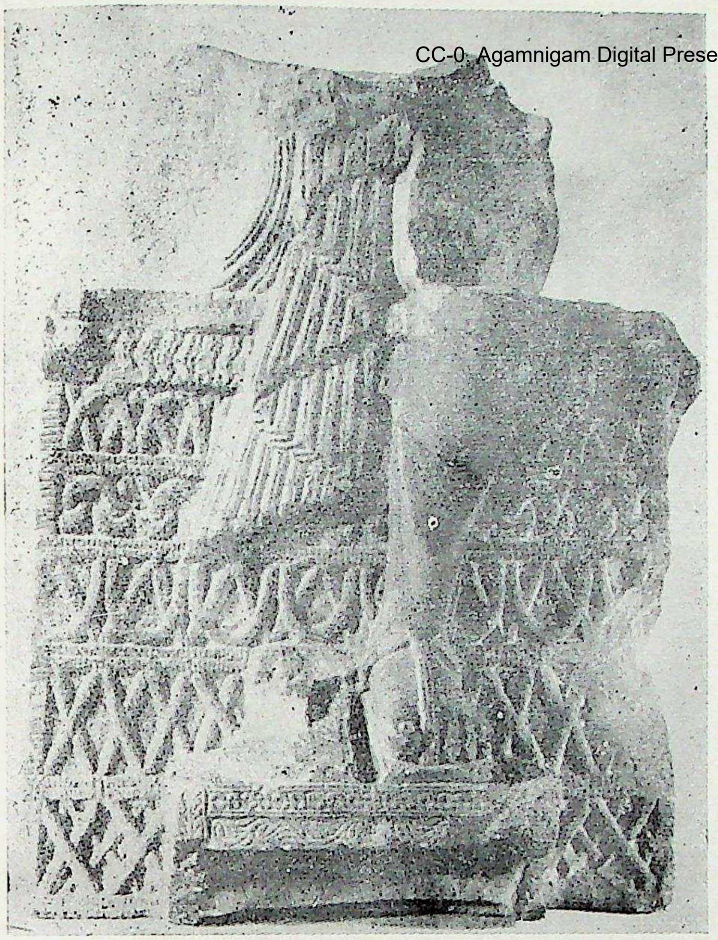


Plate 14: *Boddhisattva*, wearing one string chapals (2nd C. B.C.)
Courtesy: Mathura Museum. (0047)
(Ref. F|N 366. Chap. 5)

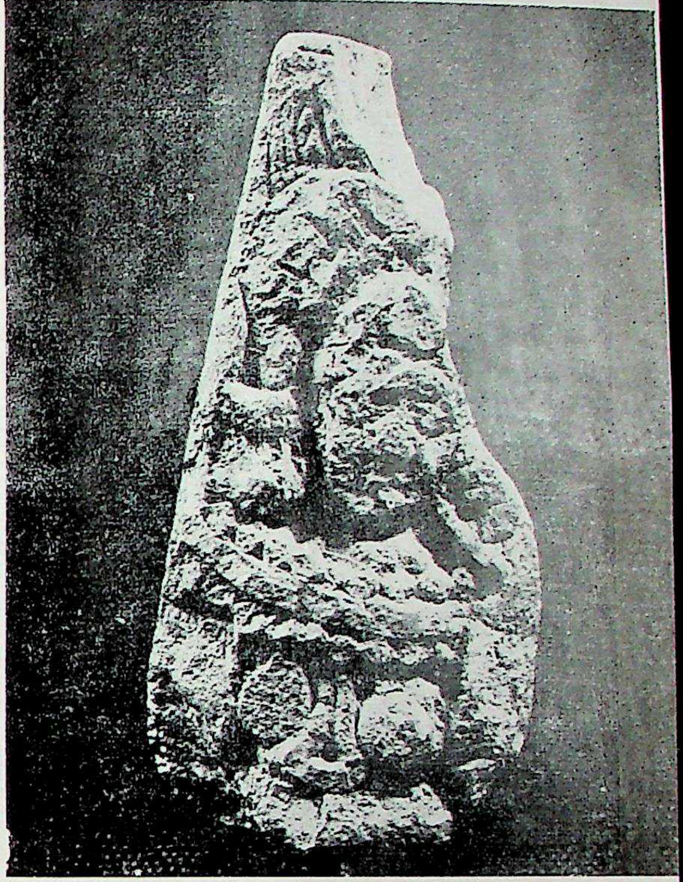


Plate 15: Bone Plaque depicting a female bust. (2 C. B.C.) heavily decorated with different ornaments, coiffure and a big juda, touching her right shoulder.
Courtesy: Mathura Museum. (56. 4035)
(Ref. F|N 403. Chap. 5)

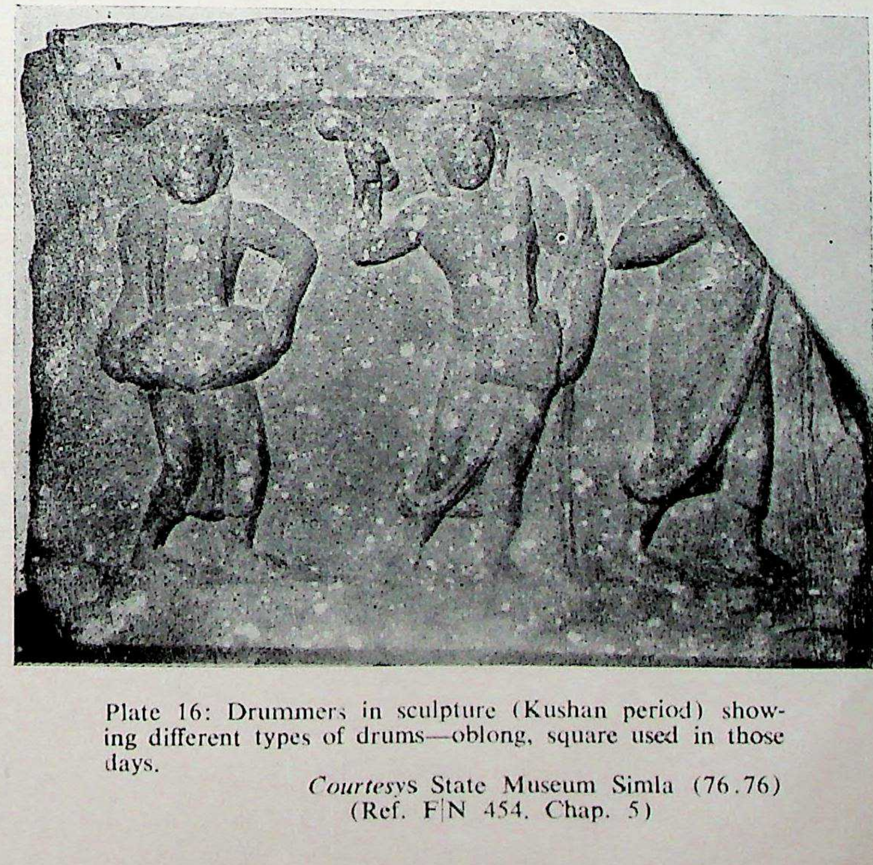


Plate 16: Drummers in sculpture (Kushan period) showing different types of drums—oblong, square used in those days.
Courtesys State Museum Simla (76.76)
(Ref. F|N 454. Chap. 5)

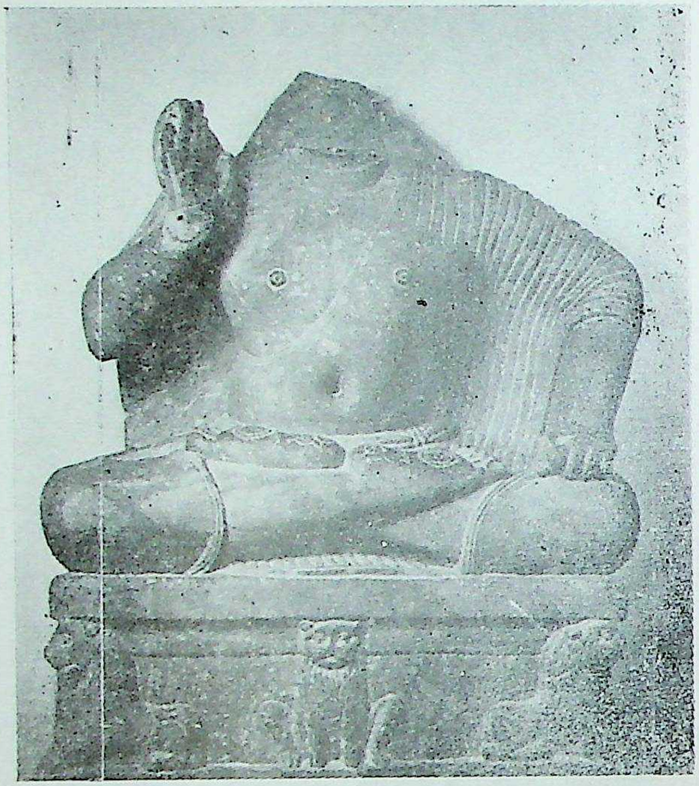


Plate: 17 *Headless Buddha* (Kusana Period)
Courtesy: Mathura Museum. (12.168)
(Ref. F|N 10. Chap. 6).

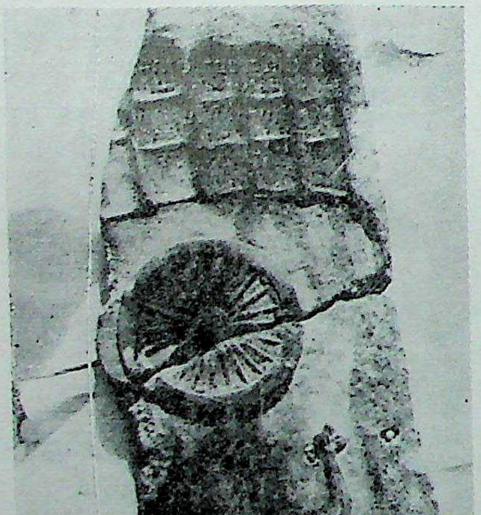


Plate 18: Lotus, Chakra and Swastika Signs Buddha's feet in sculpture (Gandhara Art. I.A.D.-Specimen)
Courtesy: Chandigarh Museum (2080)
(Ref. F|N 514. Chap. 5).

1

Asvaghosa's Life and Works

Life

Cheng Yuan Catalogue refers to a biography of Aśvaghoṣa written by an unknown writer. The original Sanskrit text is now untraceable but says Suzuki, it existed when the catalogue was prepared.[1]

I-Tsing[2] informs us a serial biography of virtuous men, written by an Indian monk, not long before him. He includes the name of Aśvaghoṣa in the list and refers to the above work in his record.

Kumarjiva translated the legendary life of Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa (Ma-min-phu-sa-kwhān) from Sanskrit to Chinese between 401-409 A.D.[3]

Sri-Dharma-pitaka-Nidāna-Sutra (Fou-fa-ts'ang-in-iuen-king. Nanjio, 340) is an anonymous history of twenty-three patriarchs. It was translated into the Chinese by ki-kia-ye and Tan-iao in 472 A.D. Its stories form a biography of Aśvaghoṣa. The greater part of the stories have been simply copied in the Fo-Tsou-T'oung-ki (Nanjio 1661) or Buddhist history composed by Tche-p'an in 18th century. (Biography of Aśvaghoṣa in Ch. V). "Tche-p'an confirms the ts'ang-in-iuen, but does not illucidate".[4]

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1. Suzuki, A.F., p. 12; In ft. n. 2 (p. 12) *Suzuki cf. Vassilef's Buddhismus* (Ger Ed.) p. 231 ff.
2. I-Tsing was unable to trace this biography (Takakasu, *I-Tsing vide Record, An.*, p. 181). The successive Mahāyāna masters of India are Nagarjuna Deva, Aśvaghoṣa of an early age, etc. (*Ibid.* p. 18).
3. Nanjio Nos. 1460, 1329 and Appendix 2,
4. I. Anti., 1903, p. 382.

Not only in Chinese, but in the Tibetan work 'Pag-Sam-zon-Zang' (18th century) also the legendary life of Aśvaghoṣa the poet, the sage and philosopher[5] is recorded.

Thus in the absence of any authentic biography and autobiography (as Aśvaghoṣa is silent about himself) we have to depend upon the works of the poet and a few stray references in other reliable works to build up his biography.

Parentage

From the colophones of *Saundarananda*, *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, Tibetan translation of *Buddhacarita's* 28th canto and the life of Vasubandhu it is known that Aśvaghoṣa was the son of Suvarṇāksi. The extant colophones are :

1. Arya Suvarṇṇāksi putrasya saketasya Bhikṣōrcharya bhandant Aśvaghoṣasya...(S. Text, p. 142).[6]

   This colophone is found on both the PLM and PM of *Saundarananda*.[7] The Tibetan version of B. and the Life of Vasubandhu also mention him as the native of Saketa.[8]

2. "Arya-Savarṇṇāksi-putrasya-ārya Aśvaghosaṣya...(Śariputraprakarṇa).[9]

Without questioning the authenticity of the above colophones, let us agree that our poet was the son of Suvarṇākṣi.

Name

The Chinese form of Aśvaghoṣa's name is "O-shi-po-kiu-Sha"[10] and "Maming" (Horse-voice)[11] or "Ma-mingpou-sa" (Aśvaghoṣa bodhisattva).[12] In Tibetan, his name is translated as "rta-dbyāns" (rta=horse and dbyāns=melody).[13] According to another treatise,[14] the name of the poet is Giu-lo-wei-ni. "Here we have the original vernacular sobriquet given to the **monk,** because he held horses (Ghoras) spell bound by his lute...". He was called 'Aśvaghoṣa' (Horse-voice) perhaps because horses neighed at his birth or when he preached hungry horses forgot to feed and listened to his sermon with pious delight. What was his birth-name then ? According to Yuan-Chwang that is still unknown.[15]

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[5] S. Dutt, *B. Monks & Monasteries*, p. 245.

[6] Johnston's Ed. (*Saundarananda*).

[7] H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind. 192*, *Pref.*, p. III.

[8] M.A. Neski (in REG II 159 f) quoted by Taranatha vide *H.B.*, p. 391.

[9] Chinese version, 4. Reverse side 14, p. 392 also in philologica Indica, p. 195 (quoted by B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 5).
"Sariputraprakaraṇa (S.B. PAW. 1911, 392) has Suvarṇākṣiputra, shortening the 'i' under Paṇiṇi (VI. 3.63) the name can only be of his mother i.e., Suvarṇākṣi" (Johnston, *Intro B*, p. 1).

[10] Si-yu-ki II, p. 100.

[11] Y-ch II Watters, p. 103 (*Ma-Min lit translation, a horse neighing, Nanjio*, Appendix 1.2 (p. 369).

[12] Anti. *1903*, p. 387.

[13] B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 6; Si-yu-ki II, p. 100.

[14] The name is written in No. 1626 vide *Watters Y-ch* II, ft. 6, p. 104.

Aśvaghoṣa seems to have become a legendary name. Chinese Texts mention several Aśvaghoṣa's in different periods (Y. Ch. II, p. 104, f.n. 5). Taranatha, the Tibetan Historian, identifies the contemporary Matṛceda with Aśvaghoṣa, though I-Tsing plainly distinguishes the two authors.[16] Dr. B. Bhattacharya is of the opinion that Matṛceta and Kumāralāta and his successors, like Ārya-deva (Ārya-Śūra), "began to cluster round the colossal personality of Aśvaghoṣa and they seem to form an 'Aśvaghoṣa school' on account of the similarity in the employment of a more or less ornate diction, in order to glorify the Buddha in some Kavya-form—a novel technique adopted by these classical kavis, against the express interdiction of the Anguttara-Nikaya. Thus Aśvaghoṣa is often found associated and eventually confused with these personalities."[17]

Place

There is uncertainty about the original home of Aśvaghoṣa. The Chinese tradition, maintained in the two works, the 'Record of Triratna' and the accounts of 'Buddha and the Patriarchs', place him in the East. The Tibetan historian Taranatha agrees with these records.[18] The life of Vasubandhu represents Aśvaghoṣa as a native of Bhāṣita in Śrāvasti.[19] He appears to have contributed substantially to the Mahāsaṅghika sect, which had one of its strongholds is Ayodhya.[20] Yuan Chwang[21] writes him as belonging to Central India. The Chinese work Shittanzo (Fas I) records him as "a man of South India" this account agrees with Nagarjuna's Mahāyāna Śāstra Vyākhya.[22]

Allen Hull Walton, in the introduction to the "Awakening of Faiths"[23] tells us that our poet had travelled extensively in Central and Northern India.

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15. *Y. ch. Watters II*, p. 104. The story is related by Kumarjiva in the legendary Biography of Aśvaghoṣa (B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 6).
Extr. from Tr. of Vassilief Dir. Buddhism (*Russian Ed.*, pp. 210-212).
16. Thomas on Matṛceta in ERE. VII. 495 f, quoted by Taranatha *H.B.*, p. 392.
Lama Taranatha wrote the History of Buddhism in India (rGya-gar-chos-byun) in 1608 at the age of 34, according to Tibetan mode of calculation.
17. B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 7.
18. *Si-yu-ki*, p. 302. S. Beal, *The life of Ḥ-Tsang*, p. 19. B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 5.
19. B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 5.
20. B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 9,
21. Y-ch. II, Watters, pp. 103-4.
22. B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 5.
23. Richard, A.F., p. 17.

Suzuki[24] writes that Aśvaghoṣa went to Odivica, Gaura, Tirhuti, Kāmrupa (all in Eastern India) and some other places 'defeating everywhere his Buddhist opponents by his ingenious logic'. But in all probability he composed[25] his kāvyas in the north-west in the city of Purushpur (Peshawar), (while enjoying the patronage of Kaniṣka). The colophones of his works (as mentioned previously), record that he was an inhabitant of Saketa (Ayodhya) in Central India, possibly he was born there.[26] Literary genius as he wcs it seems wherever he went or stayed he became popular and as such there developed the tradition of his attachment to that region.

Caste, Creed and Education

According to Chinese work Li-tai-sanpao-chi (Fas. I),[27] traditional and other accounts,[28] Aśvaghoṣa Bodhisattva was a Brāhmaṇa by birth who later on was converted to Buddhism. The motive of his conversion and writing the kāvya is mentioned prominently in the Tibetan version of his own work *Buddhacarita* (XXVIII, 78).[29] It was to benefit the world with the noble Law of Buddha, which is peaceful and deserves the adoration of the world'.

Aśvaghoṣa's intimate knowledge of the four Vedas, six treatises on Vedangas, Epics, and Darśnas all clearly indicate that he had enjoyed thorough Brāhmaṇical education before his conversion to Buddhism.[30] He was also well-versed in grammar. His works are a testimony to these facts. Side by side, he had equally deep knowledge of Tripitakas, of eighteen schools of Buddhism. Because of his literary genius he, according to Vasubandhu was invited by Katyayaniputra to Kashmir, where he compiled the Vibhaṣas[31] or 1,000,000 verses.

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[24] Suzuki, A.F., p. 18.

[25] B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 8.

[26] Vassilief Dir Buddhismus (Russian *Ed.*), pp. 210-222 calls him a pious mendicant of Central India (K. Krishnamachariar, *H.C.S.L.*, ft. n., p. 125).
Suzuki, (*A.F.*, p. 19) is almost certain that Aṣvaghośa was not born in N. India.

[27] Suzuki, A F., ft. no. 2, p. 2.

[28] A. Hull Walton, *Intro*. A.F. Richard, p. 17.
Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 257.

[29] Buddhacarita (R.C. Dasa, 1977 ed.).
बुद्धानुरागाद नुगम्य तस्य शास्त्रं च लोकस्य सिताय शान्तयै ।
Cantos 15-28 are only found in Tibetan language, which were translated by Johnston ni English. This English Tr. was put in Sanskrit verse by R.C. Dasa Shastri. Rajindra Singh, *Pref. B.* (*15-28 Cantos*), p. I.

[30] Winternitz, *H.I.L. II.*, p. 257.
A.F. Richard, *Intro.*, p. 17.
Suzuki, A.F., *Intro.*, p. I.
Li-Tai-san-pao chi (*fas. I*) *Aśvaghoṣa* Bodhisattva was a born Brāhmana (quoted by Suzuki, A.F., Ft. n. 2, p. 1.

[31] *Toung Pao*, Vol. V, p. 278.
Eliot, *Hindu & Budd.*, vol. II, p. 79.

Conversion

According to Chinese tradition he was converted from Brāhmaṇic faith to Buddhism by the patriarch Pārśva, but according to Tibetan legend it was by his (Pārśva's) pupil Purṇa (or Purṇāsa) or Puṇyayaśa (Fu-na-she) of the Sarvāstivāda school.[32] Yuan-Chwang whose account agrees with the 'Life of Aśvaghoṣa', writes[33] "Aśvaghoṣa.was converted to Buddhism by Pārśva.... Aśvaghoṣa who was a Brāhmaṇa teacher, having an unchallenged pre-eminence in his own country mid-India. But he was however defeated by Pārśva in a public discussion. And as per agreement, Aśvaghoṣa became his disciple and was ordained Bhikṣu."

It is said that Aśvaghoṣa declared himself exclusively entitled to strike the great bell or 'ghanta' of the city. No Buddhist was allowed to touch it, until or unless Aśvaghoṣa was defeated in discussion by some adherent of that faith. The learned Pārśva came there and asked him a simple question, "What shall we have to do in order to keep the kingdom in perfect peace, to have the king live long, to let the people enjoy, abundance and prosperity, all free from evils and catastrophes." Not being able to offer a solution. Aśvaghoṣa became the disciple of the venerable and at his instance began to preach the religion of Buddha.[34]

Whether Pārśva or Puṇṇayaśas converted him or not but one thing is certain, that he embraced Buddhism, leaving his previous faith (Brāhmaṇism).[35]

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[32] *Life of Aśvaghoṣa*, quoted by Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 25 ff.

[33] *Y-Ch. II*, *Watters*, pp. 103-104.

According to Chinese works he was 9th or 10th Patriarch (*Ibid.*, ft. n. 1).

"Pārśva was a native of North India. He was Kaniṣka's contemporary and assisted the emperor in his council. "All authorities agree that he was a Bhikṣu of great zeal and devotion, an ardent student of an undefatigueable propagator of Buddhism, eloquent and expert in argument (*Y-Ch. I*, *Watters*, p. 209).

Puṇṇayaśas was the agent in this conversion (*M. Aneski in ERE, II, 159 ff* quotes Taranatha, *H.B.*, p. 391).

Aśvaghoṣa and Pārśva .lived in Kaniṣka's time Vassilief's *Buddhismus*, p. 52 note quoted by I-Tsing, p. Lix).

S. Br. records of legendary Uddālaka Aruṇi who would wander about the country offering a gold coin as a challenge in spiritual matters, the defeated was to become the pupil of the conqueror (XI. 4.1).

Theological disputation between Hotṛ. and Adhvaryu (XIII. 5.2.11).

Debates between Yajñavalkya and Śakalya and between Uddālaka Aruṇi and Sauceya (XI. 6.3 and XI. 5.3).

[34] *A.F.* (*Suzuki*), p. 25 *ff.* quotes 'Life of Aśvaghoṣa'. *A.F.* (T. Richard), *Intro.*, p. 17.
Extract, Tr. of Vassilief's Dir. Buddhismus (Russian Ed.), pp. 210-22 (quoted by Krishnamachariar vide *H.C.S.L.*, p. 125, ft. n.

[35] Toung Pao, Vol. V, p. 278.
Winternitz, HIL, p. 257.
Bib. Indica No. 192, p. XXII.
Tradition tells Buddha defeated Uruvelā Kassapa and converted him to Buddhism along with his 500 disciples. (*DPPN. I*, pp. 433-34)

Repute after Conversion

According to Tibetan legend, after his conversion, Aśvaghoṣa started the propagation of Buddhism in Kusumpura (Modern Patna) "not only as a preacher but also as a poet and musician".[36]

In Chinese pilgrims' accounts he is called Aśvaghoṣa Bodhisattva (O-Shi-po-kiu-Sha-pa-sa).[37] Yuan-Chwang also refers to him as one of the four Suns, viz. "Aśvaghoṣa in the East, Deva in the South, Nagarjuna in the West and Kumāralabdha in the North."[38] Aśvaghoṣa in the colophones of *Saundarananda* is called 'Bhikṣorcharya' (a mendicant teacher) and 'bhadanta' (venerable Buddhist Bhikṣu).

"I-Tsing places him before Nagarjuna and Āryadeva. He also tells us that the ordinary daily service performed in an Indian Chaitya, included the recitation of Triratna (Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha), a selection from venerable Aśvaghoṣa's works. The above custom is still prevalent in Ladakh and Tibet.[40]

A Musician

Aśvaghoṣa was not only a great writer of poetry and drama but was also a great musician. The Chinese work 'Fou-fa-Tśang-in-iuen-tch'oen' (Sri-Dharma-pitaka-sampradāya-Nidāna) tells us, that Aśvaghoṣa was such a great musician, that with his teaching and music he caused 500 king's son of Patliputra (Hoa-Chin) to give up the world. As the kingdom was sparsely populated (only 900,000 men). The king, in fear of his country becoming deserted, ordered all types of music to be stopped throughout his kingdom.

"According to Chinese tradition, Aśvaghoṣa used to preach by singing effective melancholy ditties-disparaging the vanity of the ever-evanescent worldly life. The Chinese account of the R. (Raśtrapāla Nataka of Aśvaghoṣa) records that in Patliputra, Aśvaghoṣa in an Assembly of some artists, himself played on various instruments, like the cymbals, the drum, the flute and the guitar. The tune of his dramatic piece was pure and elegant. Beauty, side by side sadness, were perfectly harmonised in it. Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of Sangita-Śāstra is also exhibited in his works

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36. Taranatha, *H.B.*, p. 391.
37. *Si-Yu-Ki.* II, p. 100.
38. S. Beal, *The Life of H-Tsiang*, p. 199.
    Si-Yu-ki, p. 302.
    Kumarjiva is also known Kumārlabdha (S. Beal, *Life of H-Tsiang*, p. 288).
39. I-Tsing, pp. 152-53; *Intro.*, p. Lvi.
40. Venerable Lama Lobzang (Gen. Secretary—All India Frontier Baudha Mahasabha, Delhi) and Venerable Kuṣuk Bakula told me that the daily prayer of Tibetans and Ladhaki monks even now-a-days includes Aśvaghoṣa's hymn, in addition to many other Śāstras and Sutras. (Refer *Plate I & II*).
41. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 387.
    Suzuki, A.F., pp. 35-36.

Buddhacarita and Saundarananda where he clearly exhibits his sensitiveness about musical sound-effects, in his choice of the proper vocabulary.[42]

Aśvaghoṣa and Kaniṣka

Fou-Fa-Tsang-in-iuen-tch'oen (Sri Dharma pitaka Samprādāya Nidāna) gives an account of the story of Aśvaghoṣa being taken away by Kaniṣka to North, as a tribute paid to the conqueror by the king of Magadha. Tchen-tau-ki-n-tcha (Devaputra Kaniṣka) equipped the four forces, came to Hoa-chen (Patliputra) and defeated its king. The conqueror demanded nine hundred thousand gold pieces (equal to the persons in the city). The king of Hoa-chen, considering that Ma-ming, the Buddha bowl and a naturally compassionate cock which would not drink water containing insects, were each worth three hundred thousand pieces, offered these three to Ki-ni-tcha (Kaniṣka), who accepted them joyfully and returned to his kingdom."[43]

The Chinese biography of Aśvaghoṣa (Ma-ming-pou-sa-tchoen), Nanjio 1460, abridged by Wassilief, Buddhismus 211) also collaborates this story of the Yue-ṭchi king's invasion on Magadha and demand of Buddha's bowl and Aśvaghoṣa.

The story of king Kaniṣka's invasion and conquest of Eastern India (Toung T'ien-tchen) is found in chapter six of Sutralaṁkara[45] and in the traditional tales of Khotan handed down by the Tibetans.[46]

This account is recorded by Yuan-Chwang[47] as well and is authenticated by the Tibetan historian Lama Tarānātha[48] who adds "that these traditions about Aśvaghoṣa may be accepted as, more or less, dependable".

Thus we may agree with all these Chinese and Tibetan traditions that Aśvaghoṣa was taken by Kaniṣka to North as a war indemnity, though V.A. Smith[49] is of the opinion that "little dependence can be placed upon acclesiastical traditions, which connect the names of famous saints with those of renowned kings, and all such traditions need confirmations".

Kaniṣka treated Aśvaghoṣa with great kindness and esteem.[50] Aśvaghoṣa

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42. B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 12.
Suzuki, A.F., pp. 35-36.
43. *F.F.T. vide I. Anti.* 1903, p. 387.
The life of Aśvaghoṣa, Tr. into Chinese by Kumārjiva, quoted by Suzuki vide *A.F.* ft. n. 6, p. 12.
44. *I. Anti.*, 1903, 383.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
46. *Epi. Ibid.*, XIV, p. 142. The story tells that Kaniṣka, with the king of Khotan conquered, the city of Sāketa, the traditional home of Aśvaghoṣa.
47. *Y-Ch. II.*, *Watters*, p. 104.
48. Tārānātha, *H.B.*, p. 391.
49. *I. Anti. 1903*, p. 383.
50. *Y-Ch. II*, *Watters*, p. 104.

made Kaniṣka to "Visualise the torments of hell, for his sins and advised him to embrace Buddhism, if he wanted salvation. Kaniṣka gladly accepted Aśvaghoṣa's advice and became a Buddhist"[51], and thus became known as Kaniṣka's Guru and great friend.[52]

Aśvaghoṣa as a writer Preacher

Between the time that followed the death of Buddha and Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhist literature developed from Magdhan dialect to Sanskrit.[53] In the earlier period, are written mainly the sayings of Śakyamuṇi, while in the later period are dealt are the lives of saints and greatmen. The most notable work is Aśokāvadana (150 B.C.—100 B.C.) in which are described the events that followed the death of Buddha and contains also an account of Aśoka's reign.

Another example of such works is *Mahāvastu.* According to Winternitz, "The nucleus of the work is old (as far back as 2nd century B.C.), even although it was later enlarged in the 4th century A.D. and perhaps still later by additions and interpolations."[55]

'Mahavastu' is written in an old middle India vernacular known as 'Buddhist Sanskrit', 'Mixed[56] Sanskrit', Gatha[57] dialect and 'Hybrid Sanskrit',[58] "That from the beginning of its tradition as we know it...and increasingly as time went on, it was modified in the direction of Standard Sanskrit while still retaining evidence of the middle India origin."[59]

In 'Mahavastu' the life and philosophy of Buddha is combined with super human qualities of Śakyamuṇi.

The text calls itself "a book of Vinayapitaka, according to the Text of Lokōttarāvādins of the Mahāsaṅghika", the earliest schismatics.[60]

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[51] *F.F.T. Ch. V, I. Anti.* 1903, p. 382 ff.
Extract from Tr. of Vassilief's Dir Buddhismus (Russian Ed.), pp. 210-222, quoted by Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, p. 125.

[52] *F.F.T. vide I. Anti.* 1903, p. 382.
Catal. of Skt. Mss. (*ASB. 1917*), Vol. I, p. 4.
JRAS. 1942, pp. 19-21.
Bib. Indica No. 192, Pref. p. xxi.
Aśvaghoṣa's relations with Kaniṣka are also recorded in Chinese Fu-fa-Tsang-yin Yjan-Ch'uan. fas. 5. The original text is said to have existed when the Cheng Yuan Catalogue (A.D. 785-804) was compiled. (*Suzuki, A.F.*, p. 11 and ft. n. 1.)

[53] For details please see my *H. of B. in Kashmir*, p. 34 ff.

[54] J. Przyluski, *LEA*, pp. 10-12.
Aśokāvadana is the product of Mathura School and is older than Vinaya of Mul-Sarvāstivāda (LEA Tri'o note 1).

[55] Winternitz, *HIL, II*, p. 247.

[56] J.J. Jones, *Mhv.* p. x.

[57] Basak, *Mhv.* p. x.

[58] Basak, *Mhv. I*, Intro., p. xv.

[59] Basak, *Mhv. I*, Intro., p. 4.

It seems in their struggle with Brāhmaṇism (the predominant religion of the time), Buddhists assigned countless super human qualities to their teacher (Buddha) and made him excel the heroes of popular epics, like Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. By the time 'Mahavastu' was written, a developed school known as—"Lokōttaravāda" was already in existence.

Lalita-Vistara

'Lalita-Vistara' is another important Hinayāna work with assimilated features of Mahāyāṇa. The life and work of Buddha on earth is termed here as sport (Lalita) of a supernatural being.[61] The exact date of this 'Vaipulya-Sūtra' (Discourse of great extent) is not known but it was translated in Chinese in 1 A.D.[62]

It is written in Sanskrit, "It is however most informative as regards the development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginning, when only the chief events in the life of the great founder of the religion were adorned with miracles, down to that boundless deification of the Master, in which from the beginning to the end of his career, he appears as 'a god above gods'."[63]

It thus seems that by the beginning of our poet's times, there was development of a 'Buddha legend', woven around Buddhist Philosophy and written in Sanskrit. 'Mahāvastu' and 'Lalitavistara' are the most important texts, preserving the development of language (Mhv) and the Buddha-Epic (Lalitavistara) style legend.

Different between Aśvaghoṣa and Pre-Aśvaghoṣa Writers

Pre-Aśvaghoṣa and contemporary literature along with the trend of the era, seems to have influenced Aśvaghoṣa who flourished in first century A.D. (a contemporary of Kaniṣka). Like others, Aśvaghoṣa also adopted Sanskrit language for his works. However, he did not blindly follow the style and 'Lokŏttara' element but adopted an interesting Kāvya style, to preach the difficult Buddhist philosophy. The poet himself says in S. (XVIII. 64) : "Since I saw mankind mainly given over to the pleasures of the objects of the senses and averse from salvation, I have here told the final truth, under the guise of a Kāvya, considering salvation to be supreme, as only the residue of gold is taken after it has been separated from the mental dust."

Thus Aśvaghoṣa preached Buddhism through his Kāvyas (B & S) which are stories of the Muṇi's life, webbed around with interesting Kāvya elements. In his devotion and enthusiasm to applaud his Teacher, the poet has deified Buddha, by assigning various epithets to the Lord. He has preached through his Kāvyas (S & B) that it is the worship and devotion to the Buddha alone that can bring salvation to the suffering humanity and free men of death and birth cycle. Thus unconsciously, the poet has directed the society, in a systematic and cultured manner along with a new divergent road to Mahāyāna for the first time in the History of Buddhist Literature.[64] His Kāvyas depict the biography of only one Buddha, and not of innumerable Buddhas of highly developed Mahāyāna.

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[60] Winternitz, *HIL. II*, p. 240.
It belongs to the old School of Hinayāna (*Ibid.*, p. 219) and contains Mahāyāna element also.

[61] Winternitz, *HIL. II*, p. 248.

[62] Nanjio Nos. 159, 160 : regards Fan-tan-hing-king i.e. Vaipulya-Nidāna Sutra as the tr. of Lalitavistara. But the work is untraceable.

[63] Winternitz, *HIL II*, pp. 255-56.

Aśvaghoṣa's Works

Aśvaghoṣa Bodhisattva (O-Shi-po-kiu-sha-pa-sa) well conversant with Buddhist Sūtras or classic Buddhist scriptures, having wisdom of religious and other subjects of the time, in his career was a great writer of Mahāyāna or Northern Buddhism. His Tibetan Biographer says, "There is no question which he would not have solved no imputation which he would not have rejected, he overcomes his opponents as frequently as a strong wind breaks rotten trees."[65]

Works

As the name of Aśvaghoṣa is confused with several writers glorifying Buddha, there is great confusion about the number of works assigned to him.

The Tibetan Historian, Tārānātha, identifies Mātṛceṭa with Aśvaghoṣa, some of the Tibetan works are attributed to our poet. Similar may be the case of some Chinese and other unknown authors works, till their authenticity is proved.

Dr. B. Battacharya, refers to one such lost Mahākāvya leaf, discovered in the Cave Library of Touen-houang in Central Asia belonging to the 2nd collection of A. Stein. Though its material corresponds to the epic Mahākāvya Buddhacarita he is of the opinion, "However strange though the above similarities may appear, we can still neither accept categorically, nor reject forthwith the question of the identity of authorship, on the data furnished by a single folio only. Nevertheless we are tempted to regard the said folio, as a part of a manuscript of either some other recension of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita or some other ornate biography of an anonymous poet, who imitated or was imitated by Aśvaghoṣa. It is but a conjecture, which must be taken for its own worth, in the absence of any more solid proof."[66]

Tārānātha[67] mentions the following works attributed to Aśvaghoṣa in Tg :

1. Śata-pañcaśatka-nāma-stotra, bs. Tod. 38.
2. Gaṇḍi-Stotra-gāthā, bs. Tod. 40.

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[64] Not to be contented with the attainment of Arhathood (i.e. saving one's one soul) or one's own salvation, but to preach for the salvation of others and Bodhisattvahood is the point of differentiation between Aśvaghoṣa and pre-Aśvaghoṣa writers.

[65] A. Shiefner in *A.B.A.*, *1859*, p. 259 ff quoted by Winternitz, *HIL*, *II*, p. 257.
Northern Buddhism or Mahāyāna was common to Northern India, Tibet, China and Japan where it attained a further development, known as Zeu (*A.F. Richard, Intro.*, p. 13).

[66] B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 28.

[67] Tārānātha, *H.B.*, p. 392.

3. Mahākāla-Tantra-rudra-kalpa-mahā-śmaśana-nāma-tīkā. rG. XXVI. 72.
4. Vajrayāna-mulapatti-saṁgraha. rG. XLVII. 135.
5. Sthūlapatti. rG. LXVIII. 126.
6. Maṇidvīpa-Mahākaruṇika-panca-deva-stotra. rG. XLVIII. 35.
7. Guru Pañcāṣika. rG. LXXII. 17.
8. Daśa-akuśala-karma-pātha-Nirdeśa. m Do, XXXIII. 39. XCIV. 23.
9. Śoka-Vinodana. m Do, XXXIII. 41. XCIV. 22.
10. Aṣṭakṣana-kathā. m Do. CXXXVI. 36.
11. Buddhacarita-nama-Mahākāvya (Suvarṇakṣi putra-Bhikṣu ācārya, Mahākavi Vādin Bhadanta Aśvaghoṣa of Sāketa Deśo, probably Ayodhya). m. Do. XCIV. 1.
12. Vajjra-Sattva-praśnottara acharya Srighoṣa probably Aśvaghoṣa. rG. LXXXIV. 52.

Suzuki enumerates eight works[68] as composed by Aśvaghoṣa while Nanjio attributes[69] the following seven works to him :

1. No. 1080 (fifty verses in the rules serving a teacher) Tr. 1004-1058 A.D.
2. No. 1082. Sūtrālaṁkāra Śāstra Tr. 405 A.D.
3. No. 1249. Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Śāstra Tr. 695-700 A.D.
4. No. 1250. Mahāyāna Śraddhotpada Śāstra Tr. 553 A.D.
5. No. 1299. Mahāyānabhumiguhyavākamūla (?) Sāstro 557-569 A.D.
6. No. 1351. Buddhacarita kāvya, 414-421 A.D.
7. No. 1379. Daśadushtakarmamārga-sūtra 1004-1058 A.D.

According to Yuan-Chwang Aśvaghoṣa was the author of "Hh-i-hsin-lun" the "Ta Chuang-yen-ching-lun" and numerous other treatises.[70]

I-Tsing (671-695 A.D.) mentions our poet as the composer of songs of *Sūtrālaṁkara* and the *Buddhacarita*.[71]

Shri H.P. Shastri who discovered *Saundarananda* says that the addition to the works attributed to our poet by Nanjio and Suzuki, the work entitled '*Vajrasuci*' is also written by him.[72]

To conclude the most prominent and authentic works of Aśvaghoṣa are :

1. Buddhacarita
2. Saundarānanda
3. Śraddhotpāda Sāśtra
4. Vajrasūci
5. Śariputra prakaraṇa
6. Sūtrālaṁkāra

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[68] Suzuki, A.F., pp. 36-38.

[69] *Nanjio Catal.* Appendix 1.2, 3.369.

[70] *Y-Ch. II*, Watters, p. 104.

[71] *I-Tsing*, pp. 152, 165 and 181.

[72] H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind.*, No. 192, p. xxii.

BUDDHACARITA

Chinese

There is no source to verify, as to the exact date when Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa reached China. But Nanjio (1351) records that it was Fo-Sho-hing-Tsan-king (Tr. of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita) which was translated by an Indian priest, Dharamaraksha (or Dharmakshara) A.D. 414-421 A.D.[73] It includes Buddha's life from childhood to his Nirvāṇa at Kuṣinagara, under the Sal tree and the distribution of his mortal remains amongst the different claimants. This story is found in 28 cantos in Chinese translation. At present the original Sanskrit of only 17 chapters is available. Nanjio (1351) writes that according to K'-Yuan-lu (fasc. 9 fol. 25b) No. 1351 is wanting in Tibetan.

Samuel Beal has translated 'Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King' in English in SBE XIX. It is divided into five books and has 2310 verses (Tr.). It ends with the 'division of sariras' i.e. the mortal remains of the teacher. It was first published in 1883 by the Oxford University Press.

Rockhill (Life of Buddha, p. 222) says that Beal's Chinese Text could not have been made from the same original as the Tibetan version of the *Buddhacarita* (JRAS, 1901, p. 40).

The Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing writes : "*Buddhacarita* relates the Tathāgata's chief doctrine and work during his life from the period when he was still in the royal palace till his last hour under the avenue of Sala-tree".[74] It shows he knew 28 cantos of *Buddhacarita*. He adds that it had 3000 ślokas.

Tibetan

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa was translated in Tibetan in 7th or 8th century A.D. It is considered more accurate than the Chinese translation.[75] The Tibetan and Chinese translations of this Mahākāvya are found in 28 chapters which end with the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and subsequent division of his sacred relics (SBE, XLIV, Intro., p. X).[76]

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[73] S. Beal in the "*Introduction to Fa-Sho-Hing-tsan-king*" writes that it was translated about the year 429 A.D. T.W. Rhys Davids asserts that this is not the tr. of *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita*. (*JRAS*, 1901, pp. 465 ff).

[74] Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, pp. Lvii, 181, 153, 165.
JRAS. 1914, pp. 105, 752.

[75] Winternitz, *HIL*, II ft, n. 3, p. 259.
"The Tibetan version is much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese, since certain Sanskrit words are always represented by the same Tibetan equivalents." (*SBE*. XLIV, Intro., p. x).
"The original Sanskrit, I am told, differs considerably from the Chinese translation." Beal, *SBE*. XIX, Intro., p. ix).

[76] The Chinese translation of Dharmaksema and Tibetan translation of Kśitindrabhadra (or Mahindrabhadra) Matiraja are complete and uniformly run up to the 28th canto." (*B. Bhattacharya, Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 24).

The Tibetan Text was published by F.W. Weller in 1923 (Cantos I-VIII, IX-XVII) with the German translation 'Das-Lebon des Buddha Von Aśvaghoṣa'.[77]

English

E.B. Cowell was the first to bring the edited volume of the Sanskrit text of *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa in Anecdota Oxoniensia[78] 1893. Soon the famous professor translated it in English, which appeared in SBE Vol. XLIV Prof. Cowell prepared his Ms. from the two 19th century Mss.[79] and it consists of 17 chapters only. It includes the biography of Buddha from the childhood to the attainment of enlightenment. It contains about 1,368 ślokas or versus.[80]

E.B. Cowell's edition was considered faulty, because of the Mss. used by him. Much efforts were needed to bring the volume to the state in which the author left it. Von Rōhtlingk took the vanguard and made many amendments, many of which hit the mark. A large number of scholars set to work, including E.H. Johnston. Meanwhile in the early years of 20th century, an older Ms. was acquired by Nepal Darbar which was used by H.P. Shastri (JASB, 1909, p. 47).

E.H. Johnston made use of the Chinese, Tibetan and this Nepal Ms. and prepared a Text of the Mahākāvya along with its Translation in English.

E.H. Johnston, in the introduction to the Kāvya (p. XVIII), says that though originally the book had 28 cantos, "only two to thirteen cantos are extant in their entirety in Sanskrit together with three quarters of the first canto and the first quarter of the fourteenth". So Johnston's book ends abruptly at 14/31 and contains only the portion of Ms. discovered by H.P. Shastri from Nepal Darbar, described in JASB. Ns. V, 1909 (p. 47 ff).[81]

Though the authentic Sanskrit text is available upto the 31st verse of fourteenth canto, a complete volume of *Buddhacarita* containing twenty-eight canto's text has also been found. In fact, Amṛtānanda, the Residency Pandit (a copyist of Nepal) attached to Hodgson, who copied from the original Ms. made up the lost 14-17 cantos in 1800. This the 'Pandit' himself admits in the colophone of 17th canto.[82] This is the reason of poems' diversification from the middle of 14th canto.

Cowell has included Amṛtānanda's four chapter (14-17) in his translation. The

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77. B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 1.
78. *SBE*, XLIV, Intro., p. ix.
79. H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind. 192, Pref.* p. 1 says—Two Mss. are used. Cowell used three modern Mss. (Dr. B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 22).
80. The later part is by a later hand (Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, ft. n. 4, p. 165).
81. Only thirteen cantos are original (*SBE*. XLIV. Intro., p. x). The text with seventeen cantos is only a torso (Winternitz, *HIL. II*, p. 259).

    The Ms. of the Kāvya discovered by A.P. Shastri is also upto the middle of Canto XIV. (JASB NS. Vol. V, 1909, p. 47ff.)
82. सर्वान्विष्यतौलब्धवा चतुवर्गं च निर्मितम् ।

    SBE. Vol. XLIV. Intro., p. xi.

    Rajendra Mitra, in his Nepalese Buddhist literature, mentions Amṛtananda as the author of two Sanskrit Treatises and one of Mewari. He belongs to the family of Pandits of Kathmandu. (E.B., Cowell, *SBE*. XLIX. Intro., p. xi.)

first portion of the 14th chapter agrees partly with the Tibetan and Chinese versions. May be Amṛtānanda have had access to save imperfect copy of this portion of the original text. But after that his account is quite independent and has no relation with the two versions.[83]

Hindi

The text of *Buddhacarita* along with translation further received polishing at the hands of Mahant Śri Rām Chandra Dāsa Shāstri, who filled up the lacuna of the existing Kāvya, by writing the first seven verses of I canto in Sanskrit based on Shri Surya Narayana's Hindi verses,[84] and has also written 81 verses to complete 14th canto. (ref. the introduction to Buddhacarita, Vol. I, p. 7).

According to Shāstriji[85] second part of *Buddhacarita* which ends with 28th Canto was available in Tibetan and not in original Sanskrit since long. This Tibetan version was translated by a Chinese scholar in Chinese, which was retranslated by Prof. Johnston of Oxford University in English. Shri Surya Narayana Chowdhary translated from this English and Hindi and he (Shri R.C. Dāsa Shāstri) retranslated this Hindi into English. This he admits in the introduction to *Buddhacarita* (p. 8). This Sanskrit text, along with Hindi translation is published by Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi.

So, the incomplete text of original *Buddhacarita*, written by Aśvaghoṣa is available and the complete Sanskrit text of 28 chapters is still to be traced. But the Sanskrit Text of 28 chapters (a) chapters 14-17 written and completed by Pandit Amṛtānanda and (b) chapters 14-28 by Mahant P.C. Dasa Chowdhary are extant. Chapter 14-28 have their original base in the Tibetan version.

C.W. Gurner (JASB Ns. XXII 1926) in his 'Some Textual Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita', has developed on the Sanskrit Texts used by Cowell and Beal. He has given alternative suggestions for different words used by Cowell, which he suggests are due to misprint.

Johnston in his preface to *Buddhacarita* explains the great need for the corrections in Cowell's edition of the Kāvya, and how he, at the suggestion of A.A. Macdonell, set his mind at this great task.

Thus at present only Johnston's English text and Mahant Sri Ram Dasa Shāstri's Sanskrit text are the only standard available works.

Source of Buddhacarita

It is not certain whether Aśvaghoṣa was inspired to write Buddhacarita either by the great epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata or by Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu or some other work of the type.

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83. *SBE.* XLIX (Cowell's Tr.), Intro., p. xi.
84. R.C. Dasa, *B.* (1966), Vol. I, fn. 1, p. 1.
85. Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan Pub. 1966, Intro., p. 8.

Winternitz[86] is the opinion that Lalitavistara in its present form cannot be the model of Aśvaghoṣa, whose this Kāvya is really the work of an artist. It is just possible that our poet based his work on the earliest ballads and episodes, preserved in Lalitavistara. However, LV is not an actual Buddha epic, though it contains the germs of such an epic.

Keith[87] finds great contrast between the two works i.e. *Buddhacarita* and LV. He is not sure whether LV. intermingled with ballads in mixed Sanskrit of the so-called Gāthā style existed prior to Aśvaghoṣa or not.

A comparative study of *Buddhacarita* 'Mahavastu', 'Lalitavistara' and 'Nidānkathā' depict great affinity in the main episodes and miraculous element in the life history of Śākyamuṇi.[88] While the great epics, Rāmāyana and Mahabhārata, seem to have inspired our poet to create an other epic, which would make Buddha rank amongst the incarnations of god i.e. Rāma, Krishna etc.

Epics and Aśvaghoṣa

Maharṣhi Valmiki, esteemed by our poet as Ādikavi, wrote Rāmāyaṇa epic and immortalised Rama. Sage Vyāsa wrote Mahabhārata epic and propagated the teachings of Lord Krishna. Similarly Aśvaghoṣa wrote *Buddhacarita* epic and deified Buddha and preached his teachings.

Buddhacarita is for the Buddhists what Rāmāyana is for common Hindus. I-Tsing also writes in 7th Century, "*Buddhacarita* is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India and the countries of Southern Sea. Aśvaghoṣa clothes many-fold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader, so that he never feels tired of reading the poem. Besides, it should be counted as meritorious for one to read this book, in as much as it contains, the noble doctrine, given in a concise form."[89a]

Thus Aśvaghosa through his *Buddhacarita*, has made Buddha rank amongst the incarnations of god like Rāma, Krishna, etc.

Main Features of Buddhacarita

The main features of Buddhacarita are :

1. Buddha Bhakti and deification of Buddha.
2. Use of miraculous element.

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[86] Winternitz, *HIL. II*, p. 256.

[87] *HSL* (1953), p. 58.

[88] At or before the beginning of our era, Ku-fa-lan took one biography of Buddha and translated the same in Chinese between 67-70 A.D. S. Beal mentions it as 'Fo-pen-hing-king'. It resembles *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa so much that Beal, in all probability assigns it to Aśvaghoṣa's work. M.S. Julian speaks of this work as the first version of LV. in Chinese. (*SBE*. XIX. Intro., pp. XVI-XVII.)

[89a] Southern sea countries mean the Malaya Archipelago (Sumatra, Java and the neighbouring islands), Takakusu I-Tsing, p. XXXIX.

3. The refutation of Brāhmaṇical practices.
4. The conquest of Māra.
5. The gradual development of Mahāyāna.

All these features are woven around the life history of Buddha. In order to make it a real ornate Kāvya, the poet has inserted colourful night scenes of love in the *heram* (IV.24-53) which ultimately become the cause of (a) prince's running away from the palace, and (b) his battle with Māra's army, in Canto XIII.

In order to give more weight to his stand-point, the poet has incorporated a large number of legendary and historical figures.

Historical and Legendary figures in Buddhacarita

Agastya (B IV.73), Ahalyā (B IV.72), Aja B VIII.79), Ambarīṣa (B IX.69), Anaraṇya (B II.15), Aṅgiras (B IX.10), Asita Sage (B VIII.84), Antideva (B IX.70), Aśvins (B VII.7), Asuras (B XI.32), Aurva (B I.10), Bali (B IX.20), Bhardvāja (B IV.74), Bhṛgu (B IX.2.25), Bhīṣma (B XI.18, IX.25), Brahma (B X.19), Bṛhaspati (B VII.43, IV.74); Daśhratha (B VIII.81), Dhruva (B IX.21), Druma (B IX.70); Gautama Manthāla (B IV.17), Gautama Maharṣhi (B IV.18), Gautama. Ahalyās husband (B IV.72), Gautama Muni (B IV.72), Gaṅga (B IX.25), Ghṛtāchī Apsara (B IV.20); Iḍā the grandson of moon (B XIII.12), Indra (B II, 27, V.22, VII.43, VII.79, IX.5,10), Jayanta (B IX.4), Kartikeya (B I.88), Kāli (B IV.76), Kakṣīvet (I.10), Krāljanaka (B IV.80), Kurus (B X.31); Lopamundrā (B IV. 73), Mādrī (B IV.79), Mamtā D/o Marutī (B IV.74), Manu (B II.16, VIII.78) (Manu the son of Vivasavat), Maruts (B V.27), Mahāsudarśa (B VIII.62, Johnston says in ft. n. perhaps is Mahāsudassana of Dīpvaṁṣa and Mahavaṁṣa), Māndhā tṛ. (B XI.13, I.10), Manthāla Gautama (B IV.17) and Jhaṅgā courtesan, Mekhala-Daṇḍakas (B XI.31), Meghavat (B V.27), Nahuṣa (B II.11, XI.14), Pāṇḍu (B IV.79), Parāśara (B XI.76), Paraṁdara (B IV.72), Pārvati (B XIII.16, I.61), Pṛthu (B I.10), Puraṁdara (B XIII.37); Ṛṣi Śṛṅga (B IV.19), Rāma (B I.35, IX.9, 25), Rohinī w/o Soma (B IV.73); Śacī (B II.27), Śambhu (B XIII.16), Śantanu (B XIII.12), Sanatkumāra (B V.27), Sakra (B VI.62), Saṁjay (B VIII. 77), Śibi (B XIV.30), Sunda (B. XI.32), Śukra (B IX.10), Suvarṇaniṣṭhīvin (B VIII.77), Sūrpaka (B XIII.11), Svayaṁbhū (B II.51); Upasunda (B XI.32), Urvaṣī (B IX.8, XI.15), Vṛddha Parāśara (B XII.67), Ugrāyudhā (B XI.18); Valabhid (B X.41), Vāmdeva (B IX.9), Vāsava (B XIII.9), Vasu (B VII.7), Viśvāmitra (B IV.20), Vivasvat (B VIII.78, IV.28), Vāsiṣtha (B IV.77), Videha (B XIII.5), Vibhrāja (B IV.28), Vṛṣni-Andhaka (B XI.31), Vyāsa Ṛsi (B IV.16), Yayāti (B IV.78), Janaka-Jaigīṣavya (B XII.67), and Juhvatī (B IV.75).

B. and Sculpture

Almost all the important events of Buddha's Life depicted in *Buddhacarita* are found in sculpture. 'The Way of Buddha' of Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Sivarammurti's works on Art and study of different museums; A. Cunningham and Benimadhava Barua's Stupa of Barhut; 'The Art of India' by Stella Kramrich etc. are the famous art albums/works of the collections. Though scattered references of important relevant sculptures are made in this volume, it would not be out of place to make special reference to the Gandhāra Art of the period.[89b]

In Gandhāra Art piece No. 16 (Peshawar No. 2071), the divine child is held up by two kneeling women while Indra and Brahma pour water over him from two flasks. The other two gods clasp their hands in worship (G. Art in Pakistan, p. 53 please cf. B I.16,18). Pieces Nos. 33 and 34 depict the marriage of Siddhārtha with Yaśodhara. No. 35 depicts the bridal procession (ibid., p. 57, cf. B. II.26) No. 36 depicts the ploughing scene. Here Siddhārtha is marking the tired oxen and the birds eating insects. (cf. B II.4-7).

Saundarananda

In India there are only two known Mss. of the Mahākāvya found in the Darbar Library of H.H. the Mahāraja of Nepal. The earlier is PLM of Calcutta edition dating 1165 A.D. It consists of thirty-five long palm-leaves, all eaten by the white ants in the middle. The second is L (paper) MS which has suffered alternations at different times by different hands.[90]

The PLM was first discovered by H.P. Shastri in 1898 in such a worn-out condition that he dared not turn the pages. In 1907 the Librarian Subha Viṣnuprasāda Rājā Bhandāri (of Nepal Darbar Library) presented the second complete paper Ms. of Saundarananda to him. PLM though did not have the first two lines of the reverse side and the last two lines of the obverse side besides many other worm-eaten places, was very useful. This MS is written in 18th century Newari character. H.P. Shastri compiled and edited his Ms. from these two Mss.[91] It was published in Biblothica Indica No. 192.

E.H. Johnston has prepared his Ms. of S. from PLM and the above mentioned paper Ms. It was first published in 1928 from Lahore.[92]

[89b] Three powerful currents of sculpture were flowing in India at that time—One at Mathura, the second at Gandhāra and the third in the Deccan. In the Gandhāra School of Sculpture, great emphasis was put on realistic representation of form, after the Greek and Rome types. It was a powerful synthesis between the Hellinistic art of the West and the native Buddhist traditions of the second century. Normally, native male figures did not have many clothes. The Graeco-Roman influence introduced them. As such Gandhāra Boddhisattvas are shown in royal attire, with elaborate head-dress and ornaments. The stilt serrated folds of the dhoti (loin-cloth) are clearly an adaptation of the Roman style. Similarly the Buhdha image from Gandhāra shows the Master, clad in Greek type drapery. However, in spite of these influences, the Gandhāra art is exclusively Indian in form and Buddhism dominating it. *A.S.I.* Exhibition Hand Book).

[90] E.H. Johnston, *Saundarananda*, Pref. pp. vi-vii.
It does not have any Tibetan Translation. (*ibid.*)

[91] *Bid. Ind. no. 192*, Pref., pp. i-ii.

There is one more Ms. in a single fragment of Central Asian paper. It is at present stored up in a cell of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin. It is in Brahmi script "which bears close resemblance to the mode of writing of the old Turkish Mss. edited by V. Gabain and that of the Central Asian, block prints deciphered by Pischel".[93]

Saundarananda

The story of Saundarananda is found in Pali Dhammapāda's Sutta-Nipāta (III Section of Mahāvagga).

Shri H.P. Shastri[94] who has done much work on this Kāvya tells that comparative study of Pali version and Sanskrit version by Aśvaghosa differ in many a ways, as will be clear from the following :

(a) In Pali version, Buddha entered the palace of Nanda, at the time when arrangements for his marriage and coronation were complete. In Aśvaghosa's version, the Muni enters the house, when Nanda and his wife were immersed in pleasures.

(b) In Sanskrit version Sundari extorts a promise from her husband to return before the paint on her cheek is dried, but in Pali she cries out to her husband to return soon.

(c) Pali version does not name, who converted Nanda, while the Sanskrit version clearly names Ānanda as the converter of Nanda.

(d) In Sanskrit version, Nanda makes several attempts to return home, but in Pali version, he simply says that he was practicing austerities against his will.

(e) In Sanskrit text she-monkey (seen in heaven) is with only one eye, but in Pali text she is without nose, ears and tail.

(f) In Sanskrit text, Ānanda upbraides Nanda, when he is practicing austerities for the achievement of beautiful Apsarās, while in Pali text, he is made a butt of redicule by all the bhiksus.

Nanda, who is a legendary figure in Buddhist literature, is also mentioned in Therāgatha verses 157 and 158, but there are slight changes in the words uttered by Buddha and how Nanda was converted to become an Arhat.

Kern, in his 'Manual of Buddhism' (p. 27, note 7), refers to 35 legends of

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[92] E.H. Johnston, *S. Pref.*, pp. vi-viii.
Its Bengali Translation was done by B.C. Law in 1922. It was the first translation made of the work in any language (B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 1).

[93] B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, pp. 34-35.

[94] H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind. No. 192*, pp. xiii-xxi.
Pali version contains three versions of Nanda's story, all different from one another, but in substantial agreement among themselves namely at Udana, p. 22; *Jataka II*, p. 92 and *Commentary on Dhammapāda 13 and 14* (E.H. Johnston, *S.* Pref., p. xv).
B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 40 refers to the details sources of the story about Nanda.

Bhadra Kalpāvadana, in which Sundara and Saundarananda appear synonymous with Nanda.[95]

Saundarananda and Aśvaghosa

Name

Nanda is the proper name of Siddhārtha's half brother (S II.57) and Sundari is the name of his wife (S. IV.43). The poet seems to have named the Kāvya 'Saundarananda' to denote both the names, which in his own words, when united indicates perfect beauty (S. IV.7).

Saundarananda (Story)

Saundarananda is a Mahākāvya of Aśvaghoṣa in 18 cantoes. It gives the story of the conversion of Buddha's half brother Nanda.

Nanda and his wife, Sundari, were very much attached with each other. One day they were (as usual) so much immersed in pleasures with all the attendants at their heels, that no one gave anything to Buddha, who had come there for begging food. Nanda ashamed of his conduct went to see the Muni. Buddha did not accept any apology, but wanted to place the bowl in Nanda's hands. The same he refused, as he was anxious to return to his wife Sundari. Buddha spiritually attracted him and took him to a Vihara. The Buddha instructed him, but to no effect. There came Vaideha Muni, who was asked by Buddha to convert Nanda.

The Muni appealed to his good sense, and as soon as Nanda consented reluctantly, he was shaved. Nanda wept bitterly but it was all in vain. Sundari too, learning this, was very much afflicted.

As Buddha was determined to convert Nanda, he took him to heaven and showed heavenly Apsaras. Nanda's fickle mind found these heavenly ladies more beautiful than Sundari and wanted to win one of them as his wife. Buddha warned him that to obtain them, he must win heaven. Reaching earth, Nanda began to penance very hard, to achieve this end. Buddha's disciple, Ānanda, warned him, quoting a number of examples that the joys of heaven are temporary as a man must return to earth at the exhaustion of his merit (Punya). Nanda thus left the thoughts of heavenly Apsaras and approached Buddha. He asked the great Teacher to show him the path of enlightenment. Glad to listen this, the Guru, preached him (in nearly four cantoes).

Nanda then retires to a forest for deep meditation. In the end he is successful and becomes an Arhat.

In the end, Buddha orders him not to be satisfied only with his own emancipation, but try to emancipate others also. Here are the seeds of distinctive Mahāyāna creed.

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95. Asiatic Society, copy of Avadāna contains 31 legends only. (H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind. No. 192*, pp. xii-xiii).

Nanda goes to preach Dhamma. He meets his wife and relatives, not as the Romantic king, but as a Buddhist preacher.

Here ends the great Kāvya with a note to Mahāyāna.

Saundarananda depicts author's own views, about the path of enlightenment.[96]

Aśvaghosa has dealt with the theme-subject of his Kāvya with little changes here and there in accordance with the laws of Kāvya poetry. In the words of the poet, the main theme of his poem is salvation (Moksārthagarbha kṛti). It is written in Kāvya style to capture the intentions of hearers, devoted to other faiths, and give tranquility (Vyupśāntye). He has adopted the Kāvya style thus making the difficult 'Buddhist philosophy, more palatable, as sweet is added to bitter medicine'.[97]

Saundarananda as a piece of Poetry-composition

Saundarananda excels *Buddhacarita*, which perhaps is the earlier work. Though there is no Chinese or Tibetan version of this Kāvya, yet there is reason to believe that it was read more widely in India than Buddhacarita.[98]

Keith accepts and Winternitz[99] assumes the view that it was poet's first attempt. Since the traces of fully developed Kāvya are found in *Saundarananda* and not in *Buddhacarita*, we agree with B.C. Law who refutes even Hultzsch and opines that it is not the first attempt of the poet.

Saundarananda in Sculpture

Many a scenes from *Saundarananda* have been popular with sculptors, but palace-life of Nanda and Sundari seems to have been very popular with contemporary and post-Aśvaghoṣa artists.

No. 12.186, in Mathura Museum, the two penals represent the palace life of Nanda and Sundari as described by the contemporary poet Aśvaghoṣa.[100] The upper penal depicts Veṇi Prasādhana. Nanda is arranging the hair of Sundari, who is looking into a mirror, while a female attendant is holding a toilet basket (utpalamāla dhāriṇikanvā). In the lower compartment, the lady (Sundari) is putting a necklace, while looking at the mirror (mandana-darpaṇa) held by a dwarf. To her left stands a man (Nanda ?) carrying a toilet-basket.

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[96] Infra, Ch. on Religion.

[97] *S. XVIII. 63.* श्रोत्रणांगृहणार्थमन्यमनसां··· ।
तिक्तमिवौषधं मधुयुतं··· ।

[98] Sukumar Sen (*JASB.* 1930, p. 181).
He quotes H.B. Shastri (*Bib. Ind No. 192,* pp. XX-XXI) : but there is difference : H.P. Shastri writes that *Saundarananda* was more popular in Bengal in 15th century while here the fame is mentioned in the whole of India.

[99] *A.B. Keith, HSL*, p. 57.
Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 262, ft. *n. 2.*
B.C. Law Aśvaghoṣa, p. 27.

[100] R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 33 (ref. Plate-III).

No. 1802-71 (Gandhara Art 2nd c. A.D.) in National Museum Delhi displays Sundari's toilet and Nanda's conversion. *R. Side*—Nanda is making the hair of Sundari. C. Shivaramamurti[101] points the attitude of the Prasādhikas (decorators) attending on Sundari. *L. Side*—Nanda is standing besides Buddha, with a bowl in his hands, in a worshipping pose, yet reluctant to accept conversion. "This is a remarkably well carved panel, illustrating the touching story of the newly wedded Nanda and his beautiful wife Sundari, whom he had abandoned, to become a monk."[102]

The Government Museum Madras,[103] displays in Limestone, Amravati (2nd century A.D.) sculpture :

(*a*) Nanda and his wife at toilet ;
(*b*) Buddha standing at the palace gate on the right and Nanda, who came out of palace, carrying the bowl; and
(*c*) the middle penal showing Buddha preaching to Nanda, who is pining away for his wife.

"The conversion of Nanda is shown in Madras Museum (No. IV A. 8 No.) and Plate LXIII fig. 2; aslo Burgess 1 pl. XLI, fig. 5."

A loving royal pair is shown in the palace with *pratihāri* in attendance.[104]

Figure 22[105] (Limestone, Nagarjunakonda, 3rd century A.D.) represents Buddha and Nanda, flying on a visit to heaven. Heavenly nymphs are seen on its left, and just below Buddha's knees is seen the female-monkey sitting on a rock.

Saundarananda and Historical and Legendary figures

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned a host of historical, mythical and legendary figures, from pre-Aśvaghoṣa literature, while emphasising his stand point with illustrations.[106] They are :

Ādityas (the thousand eyes) S. I.61, Agni (S. VII.27), Ahalyā (S. VIII.25), Akṣamāla (S. VII.28), Ambarīsa (S. VII.51), Aṅgiras=son of Brahma (S. VIII.31, 1.4), Angada (S. VII.33, Antideva (S. VII.51), Arjuna [(S. IX.17), Asita (S. VII.32); Bhārgava (S. IX.17, I.25), Bharata (S. I.26), Bhīsma (S VII.44), Bhūridyumna (S. XI.46); Dilipa (Royal Seer) (S. VIII.32), Diti (S. IX.19), Dvaipāyana who classified Vedas] (S. VII.29, 30), Gādhin captivated by Gṛtāchī (S. VII.35), Gautama (S. VIII.45), Haihayas (S. VIII.45), Hiraṇyaretas (S. VII.25),

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[101] C. Sivaramamurti, *Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture, plate VII.*

[102] C. Sivaramamurti, *An Album of Indian Sculpture, plate VII.*

[103] *The Way of Buddha, Book. III*, fig. 21, p. 299.

[104] C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, p. 254.

[105] *The Way of Buddha—B. III*, fig. 22 and p. 299.

[106] B.C. Law in '*Aśvaghoṣa*' has discussed most of these references. Johnston also refers to sporadic figures.

Ilivila (king) (S. XI.45), Indra (S. I.59, 62, X.35, XI.43, 48), Jahnu (King) (S. VIII.40), Janamejaya (S. VII.44), Kakanda (S. I.58), Kāli (D/o a fish) (S. VII.29), Kandarpa (S. VII.36), Kaṇva (S. I.26), Kapila (Muni) (S. I.1, 22, 57), Kapiñjalā (S. VII.28), Kāśyapa (VII.32), Kanva (S. I.26), Kṛṣna slew Kansa (S. IV.18), Kṛtavinya (S. IX.17), Kubera (S. IV.2), Kumudvatī (S. VIIII.44), Kurus (S. I.20), Kūśāmba (Ṛṣi) (S.I.58). Madana (god of Love) (S. VIII.45), Makanda, (S. I.58), Māndhātṛ (S. XI.43), Maruts (S. I.62), Menakā (S. VII.39, 40), Nahuṣa (S. XI.44), Namuci (S. IX.10), Pāṇḍu (S. VII.45), Parāśara (Seer) (S.VII.29), Pratipa and King Shantnu's story (S. VII.41), Rathītara (S. VII.33), Rāma Andha (S.VIII.51), Rambhā (VII.36), Ruru (S. VII.37), Rsyaśṛṅga (S. VII.34), Sāgar (S. I.25), Śakuntalā (S. I.26), Śambara (S. VIII.45), Sāntā (S. VII.34), Śantanu (S. VII.44), Sāṅkṛti (S. VII.51), Saraṇyū (S. VII.26), Sarasvatī and Sārasvata (S. VII.31), Somavarman was robbed by Saunandakin (S. VII.42), Svāhā (S. VII.25), Ugratapas (Sage) (S. VIII.45), Urvaṣī (S. VII.38, 42), Vālmīki (S. I.26), Vasiṣtha (S. VII.28), Vasava (S. IX.19), Vaivasvata (S. VII.27), Vodhyu (S. X.56), Yayāṭi (S. I.59, XI.46) and Yamunā (S. VII.33).

Saundarananda and Buddhacarita

Aśvaghoṣa[107] has divided religious aspirants into two classes:

(*a*) Those who obtain salvation of their ownselves by virtue of the Hetu working within them.

(*b*) And those who depend upon others.

His *Buddhacarita* belongs to the first category and *Saundarananda* to the second.

It is true, Siddhārtha went to the hermitages of various sages, including that of Arāḍa and Udraka, but that is as shown in the Kāvya (B), to refute their philosophies only. Otherwise he attained enlightenment by virtue of Hetu working within him.

Vajrasuci

Before taking the study of *Vajrasūcī*, which is a bitter attack on Brāhmaṇical caste system and is full of illustrations from Brāhmaṇical texts, it demands to know the exact position as per their (Brāhmaṇical) Law Books.

The Position of Brāhmaṇas

Brāhmaṇas and Śrāmaṇas were the two distinguished religious sects of the society, in the time of Buddha.[108] Literature[109] is full of passages describing them.

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[107] *S. V. 16-18*—हेतुबलाधिकस्य, श्रयः बाह्याश्रयां प्रत्यतगौरवस्य ।
Johnstons' ft. note 16 here equates Hetu with Kuśalamula.

[108] *Maxmullar, Intro., Snp.* (*SBE X*), p. xii. Śrāmana is a term used for ascetics or Bhiksus. (*Dhm. 142. Bombay ed.*)

[109] *Dhm. Brāhmanavaggo Snp.* (*SBE X*) *99, 129, 189, 440, 529, 859, 1078 etc.* Tevigga Sutta (*SBE XI*) *I-20* discussion between Buddha and two Brāhmaṇas. *SBE. XXV*, p. 7, ft, n. 2, the meaning of the word is explained by R. Davids.

Punishment

In Dharma Sūtras, honouring the Brāhmaṇas constitutes one of the primary duties of the king. B. (I.18.17) and G. (XIII.43), categorically prohibit infliction of corporal punishment on them (Brāhmaṇas) whatever crime they may have committed.

Fines

Because of their being of superior class, Brāhmaṇas were fined less (half) than other castes *e.g.* a Kṣatriya was fined one hundred Kārshapanas if he abused a Brahmaṇa and double the amount if he assaulted him.[110] The condition of Vaiṣya was still worse, who was fined one and a half times more than a Kṣatriya for abusing him (a Brāhmaṇa).[111] The Brāhmaṇa was fined only fifty Kārshapanas for abusing a Kṣatriya.[112]

The condition of Vaiṣya was still worse. He was deprived of the limbs, with which he offended a twice-born,[113] *e.g.* Manu (VIII.270) lays down the cutting of tongue for using abusive language, and cutting of feet, if he beats a Brāhmaṇa with his legs, cutting of hands, if he raises them against a twice-born etc.[114]

Corporal punishment was inflicted upon a Śudra for assuming the position equal to that of twice-born in sitting, in lying down, in conversation or on the road (G. XII.7).

Religious

The sacraments prescribed for a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiṣya were denied to a Śudra. The Vedic study, the source of enlightenment was denied to him. G. (XII.4) prescribes (*a*) his (Vaiṣya's) ears to be filled with molten lac if he intentially listens Vedas, (*b*) his tongue to be cut off if he recites Vedic Texts (G.XII.5), (*c*) his body to be split in two if he remembers them (G.XIII.6), (*d*) Corporal punishment for assuming the position (in sitting, lying down, conversation) equal to that of twice-born (G. XII.7).

Manu goes a step further and allows the king to cut off the lips of a Śudra for spitting on Brāhmaṇa[115] and cut off the hands of a Śudra for touching the hair, seat, beard and private parts of a Brahmaṇa.[116]

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[110] *G. XI. 8, 9.*

[111] *G. XI. 10, Manu. VIII.* 267.

[112] *Manu. VIII.* 268 ; *G XI. 11.*

[113] *G. (XII. 1.1, 5) ; Manu. VIII,* 279-284.

[114] एक जातिर्द्विजातींस्तु वाचा दारुणया क्षिपत् ।
जिह्वाला: प्राप्पुनयाच्छेदं जघन्यप्रभवो हि स: ।।
(*Manu. VIII. 270. cf. 279-80*)

[115] *Manu. VIII. 282.*

[116] *Manu. VIII. 283.*

Untouchability

Āpstāmba Dharma Sutra (II.39) states that the food prepared by a Śudra was considered impure. It was to be purified by placing the same on the fire and then sprinkling it with water.

A Śudra was considered such an embodiment of impurity, that if he touched a Brāhmaṇa while he was eating, the latter left his food (A. I.17.1-4). While Gautama D.S. (XXIII.25, 26, 27, 28) states that the touch of a fleshless bone and to follow a corpse to the burial ground was a sin for a Brāhmaṇa. If he did so, the reciters of Vedas had to sprinkle each other with water and as a penance he had to stay away, from his home for three days and three nights. Baudhyayana goes a step further and recognises the service of a Śudra and behaviour like a Śudra's son, for a Brāhmana as a sin (papa).[117]

Taxes

The writers of Dharma Sutras emphasise the importance of Brāhmaṇas by showing them superior to Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas and Śudras, even in the matter of taxation. They were exempted from certain taxes which the members or other castes had to pay. Viṣnu D.S. (III.26) says emphatically that let the king not levy any taxes on Brāhmaṇas. "For they pay taxes to him in the shape of their pious acts" (V. III.27).

Exploitation

Above all Gautama D.S. (II.9, 24-25) allows a Brāhmaṇa to take things required for the marriage of his daughter particularly from Śudras, in case he (Brāhmaṇa) is unable to supply the same.

Economic Position of Brāhmaṇas

Brāhmaṇas gained upper hand in the society due to their sound economic position. They not only got the wealth of thousands of cows, gold, land etc. given to them in charity in sacrifice,[118] but they were the half share-holders of a treasure-trove found by the king.[119]

Manu and D.S.[120] advocate this position and honour in the sacrifices only to those Brāhmaṇas who were learned. It was considered a great merit to feed them in all religious ceremonies.

Administrative Position

Arthaśāstra (XIII.5) exhorts the king to grant all sorts of privileges only to those Brāhmaṇas who are devoted to the study of Vedas.

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[117] S.C. Banerji, *D.S.* p. 178.

[118] *Viṣnu D.S. Ch. LXXXVIII ; XCII. 8.*

[119] S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, p. 120.

[120] Ap. (*II. 11 ; Manu III. 128*)—

श्रौत्रियायैव देयानि हव्यलव्यानि दातृभिः ।
अर्हत्तमाय विप्राय तस्मै दत्तं महाफलम् ॥

(*Manu III. 128*)

Manu and Dharma Sūtras[121] provide the constitution of a council of Brāhmaṇas to advise and help the king in legal matters, specially when he found lack of evidence in conflicting cases. G. in the absence of such council, permits single Brāhmaṇa who is well-versed in Vedas to discharge this function but B. (I.1,13) does not approve of one man council.

Manu (XII.108-113) and B. (I.1.7) approve of a council of at least ten members. Manu[122] levies great emphasis on the qualifications of Brāhmaṇas, who are fit for this job *i.e.* they must be well-versed in Vedas, Nirkuta, Mimāṅsā etc.

Conclusion

All these evidences conclusively prove the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas in the social, economic and political fields, when the Dharma Śāstras and Manu recognised their superiority over other classes and treated the Śudras callously, a classgulf was created. It gradually developed into untouchability and became a cancer of society in the coming ages.

Śudras who were socially boycotted, religiously deprived of observing sacraments observed by all other classes, economically exploited by the Brāhmaṇas in particular and by all other classes in general, welcomed Buddha's teachings. Buddha also, knowing Brāhmaṇas as his most powerful opponents took the cause of the less fortunate. He encouraged all people to strive for permanent emancipation or liberation from Dūkkha or attainment of Nirvāṇa (as against the temporary paradise) which according to the teacher was within everyone's reach.

Here, a question arises "was the term 'Brāhmaṇa' used by Gautama alone in a purely ethical sense"? No. In the pre-Buddhist Bṛhadāraṇyaka[123] Upaniṣad (III. 5.I) and Manu[124] (X. 1-3) Brāhmaṇas are born for Dharma and not for wealth and pleasures.

Buddha[125] only tried to bring home to the society the qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa, whom he equated with an Arhat.

Buddha and the definition of a True Brāhmaṇa

Wise and learned as the Teacher was, he acted very diplomatically in waging war against Brāhmaṇism. The Buddhist books are full of his sayings, which define a true Brāhmaṇa (whom he equates with a Buddhist Bhikṣu in virtues, learning and conduct).

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[121] *G. XI, 25.*
Manu. XII. 106-115.

[122] त्रैविधौ हेतुकस्तर्की नैरुक्तो धर्म पाठक ।
त्रयपूचाश्रमिणः पूर्वे परिषत्स्याद्दशावरा ।।
(*Manu XII. 111*).

[123] Bṛhadāraṇyaka Book (1-4) is the oldest Upaniṣad (*JRAS*, 1899, p. 692).

[124] *Manu. X. 3, Brāhmaṇa* is the leader of four castes in learning and Dharma.
ब्रह्मणाः ज्ञत्रियौ वापि वृद्धिं नैंव प्रयोजयेत् ।
Manu. (*X. 117*).

[125] Infra—*Buddha and the definition of a true Brāhmaṇa.*

Just after Buddha's enlightenment, according to Mahāvaggā (1.3) he spent seven days at the foot of the Banyan tree. Here he was visited by a Brāhmaṇa, whom he explained, what a true Brāhmaṇa means[126] *i.e.* the best and the highest kind of a man.

> The Brāhmaṇa who pears out evil things, not uttering the sound 'Hum', with no impurity, curbed of self.
>
> Master of Vedas, who lives the Brahma-faring, this is the Brāhmaṇa who makes rightly speak the Brāhmaṇa speech.
>
> Who has no blemishes anywhere in the world.[127]

The same expression is found in Itivuttaka and Udāna,[128] where a true Brāhmaṇa, devoid of self-deception of selfishness, desireless, wrathless, selfless and cool, is equated with a monk (he is Brāhmaṇa, he is recluse, he is a monk). Further in Udāna (v.8),[129] Buddha says, that having cast-off all sin, making himself clean (of sin), such a Brāhmaṇa is enlightened (*i.e.* is Buddha).

Brāhmaṇa and Arhat

In Buddhist works, the appallation 'Brāhmaṇa' is adopted by Buddha to designate an Arhat or one who has obtained final sanctification.

In Dhammapada (v.420),[130] a true Brāhmaṇa is said to be an Arhat who has 'starved out his depravities' or extinguished passion (Āsvas).

In Dhammapada 408, the term is applied to Buddhas, Paccekabuddha and Savaka (or Arhats).[131]

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[126] *Mahāvaggā* (Tr. Horner), Tr. S. note, p. vii.

[127] *Mahāvaggā* (*Ibid.*) I. (1.3).

[128] *Udāna* (*SBB.* vol. V. 333), p. 34.
Itv. (Woodward's tr.), p. 4, 5, 7.

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[130] खीणासवं अरहन्तं तमहं बूमि ब्राह्मणं ।

(*Dhm.* 420).

There are four Āsvas, Kāmāsva-sensuality. Bhavāsva—best for life, Ditthāsva—speculative interest ; Avijjāsva—ignorance. (S. Radhakrishnan, *Dhmp.*, p. 89 note-4).

[131] Childers says Buddha's attitude towards Brāhmaṇas or caste was decidedly hostile, "but he lost no opportunity of gaining over individuals by kindness and temporate argument and thus he was able to reckon great numbers of them among his converts". (*DPPN*, p. 95.)

'Brāhmaṇa' a respectful term

In Lŏkāyatika's conversation with Buddha[132] in Lankāvatar Sūtra, the term 'Brāhmaṇa' is used with great respect. In M.N.II. 104,[133] Buddha uses the word 'Brāhmaṇa' for Anglumala, because he had over powered his āsavas. Similarly Buddha is recorded addressing Kappina as 'Brāhmaṇa'[134] though he was a Kṣatriya by caste. In Sutta-Nipāta[135] 1054, Buddha is styled as a Brāhmaṇa.

Brāhmaṇa and Srāmaṇa (Samṇas)

In Dhammapāda's Pakiññaka Vaggo verses[136] (5 and 6) the title Brāhmaṇa is used for a Bhikṣu or Arhat or a saint. Dandavaggo[137] gives a common definition of a Brāhmaṇa, Śrāmaṇa and a Bhikṣu (Arhat or saint) "...he develops tranquility, is quiet, subdued and restrained, leading a holy life and abstaining from injury to all living beings... ."

In Dīgha Nikāya[138] Brāhmaṇa Sāmaṇa are compounded 'Brāhmaṇa va Samaṇava...".

In Śīlakhanda of Tevigga Sūtta[139] 'Sāmaṇa-Brāhmaṇa' compound is used several times in argument of right conduct.

The Tibetan work, Bk-Hgyur (Udānvarga),[140] verses 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, equate Brāhmaṇa and Śrāmaṇa and lay great emphasis on the conquest of Āsravas (Āsvas), passions, and casting away small and great sins for both. But the sins need be washed with good conduct and not by pronouncing 'Om' or shaving head or taking bath.

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[132] Lankāvatar S., pp. 152-154.

[133] *MN* (*PTS* 1975), *Horner*'s *Tr.*, p. 290.

[134] *M.N A. III. 339* (p. 290 ft. n. 1).
Mrs. Rhys Davids, The Psalms of Early Buddhists, III, p. 255.
Buddha occasionally addressed his Arhants like this. (*Ibid.*, ft. n).

[135] *SBE. X.*

[136] रट्ठं सानुचरं हन्तवा अनिघो याति ब्राह्मणो ।।
Dhm. (Bombay Ed.). 294 (or P. Vagga 5).
वैय्यग्घपञ्चमं हन्त्वा प्रनिघौ याति ब्राह्मणो ।।
Ibid., 295 (or P. Vagga. 6)
S. Radhakrishnan vide note of this verse (p. 152), concludes that the term Brāhmaṇa is applied by Buddha for an Arhat or Saint. Here S. Beal, vide Dhm. pp. 3-4, quotes similar lines from Lankāvatār Sūtra, where the term Buddha (enlightenment) is used for a Brāhmaṇa.

[137] *Dhm.* 142 (*or D. Vaggo.* 14).
सो ब्राह्मणो सो समणो स भिक्खु ।
In fact Bhikṣu, Muni, Brāhmaṇa and Isi., are the appallations used synonymously,
(*SBE. X. Intro.* p. XV).

[138] *D.N. Vol. I.* (*PTS. 1890 ed.*), *60-69, 71, 72, 76 etc.*, p. 43.
Vol. II. 323 (p. 353).

[139] *SBE. XI*, pp. 189-200.

[140] *Tr. by Rockhill*, pp. 185-187.
Fa-hein, while describing the famous religious procession of images in four-wheeled and five storeyed cars, says that Brāhmaṇas came forward to invite Buddhists to enter the city. (*Legge*, *Fa-hein*, pp. 77-79).

In the words of Childers[141] "...Gautama, whose mission it was to break down the Brāhmaṇical system, nevertheless held up the Brāhmaṇas themselves to the respect of his followers, placed them on a level with his own monks, and even adopted their names into his own system, applying it figuratively to the 'Arhat' or Buddhist monk, who has attained the highest sanctification. Hence we have the word 'Brāhmaṇa-Śāmaṇa' in which Brāhmaṇa, sometimes has its ordinary meaning and sometimes its secondary meaning Arhat."

Hence the Vedic term 'Brāhmaṇa' is accepted by the Buddhists, as a term for an Arhat or saint.

J.G. Jennings reasons "Buddhism is reformed Brāhmaṇism as is evidenced by the invariable honorific use which Gautama makes of the title 'Brāhmaṇa' and it therefore takes for granted certain Vedic or Vedantic postulates. The background of Buddhism as that of Brāhmaṇism is 'Brāhmaṇ', the impersonal divine underlying and harmonising all individualities all egoism, all differences and all strife".[142]

Qualities of a True Brāhmaṇa

Śila

According to Soṇadaṇḍa Sūtta,[143] the essential qualities which constitute a true Brāhmaṇa are paññа (wisdom) and conduct (Śila).

Vajrasūci

Though there is a gap of centuries between Buddha and Aśvaghoṣa, the tradition seems to have lingered on. The domination of the Brāhmaṇas their costly sacrifices and Yajñas along with their domination over other classes were not only a corruption but also a great hindrance in the progress of Buddhism. So Aśvaghoṣa, in *Vajrasūci*, on one side followed the footsteps of the Master and propagated Śila and depricated caste system, and on the other hand reminded them with examples from their own literature (Brāhmaṇic and Vedic) the qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa, who has been equated by Buddha with an Arhat.

Aśvaghoṣa is not the only writer to take the cudgels to criticise Brāhmaṇical religious theories and social customs. But Vasumitra II (Kaniṣka's contemporary and hence our poet's contemporary) also refuted for the first time the Brāhmaṇic doctrine of Sāṁkhya and Vaiśeṣika.[144] Clearly this points to the changing trend in the society, who did not want to be dominated by Brāhmaṇas, their religious theories caste system etc. Aśvaghoṣa could not remain immune from these influences and hence wrote *Vajrasūci*.

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[141] *DPPN*, p. 427.

[142] J.G. Jennings, *The Vedantic Buddhism*, pp. 573-74.

[143] *D.N.* (*PTS. 1967*), *IV*, pp. 111-116.
Infra, Ch. Religion, Śila.

[144] A.K. Warder, *I. Buddhism*, p. 346.

Vajrasūci, or diamond needle is a small Sanskrit work of thirty-seven verses. W.H. Hodgson published its English translation in 1829 and edited Sanskrit version in 1839 of the copy which he got from Elichpur.[145] In 1859 A. Weber published it in German Journal 'Abhanḍiungen der Berliner Akademic der Wissenchaften'. In 1949, for the first time an Indian published it in Viśva-Bhārati annals vol. II. One year after this Sino-Indian Society, at Śantiniketan published ṭhe same.[146]

The revised edition of Viśva-Bhārati Annals vol. II, of December 1960, is based on the following six Mss : (i) two original Mss. of (a) Asiatic Society of Bengal and (b) the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, Poona; (ii) one transcription made from a Ms. of the Adyar Library, Madras; and (iii) three Rotographs, one from Cambridge University and ṭwo from India Office London. All these Mss. assign the work to Aśvaghoṣa.[147]

Buddhacarita and *Saundarananda* have plenty of allusions of Brāhmaṇical legends and epics. But Vajrasūci reveals Aśvaghoṣa's intimate knowledge of Brāhmaṇical religious literature.

Learned Brāhmaṇa as our poet was before his conversion to Buddhism, he has given numerous quotations in it from Vedas, Epics, Law books and has vindicated Buddhist standpoint. To quote the tribute paid to this work by W.H. Hodgson. "It consists of a shrewd and argumentative attack, by a Buddha upon the Brāhmaṇical doctrine of caste. And what adds to pungency is, that, although throughout the text, the truth of the Brāhmaṇical writings is assumed, however proofs of erroneousness of the doctrine of caste are all drawn from these very writings. He possesses himself the enemy's battery, and turns their own guns against them... ."[148]

In *Vajrasūci* the poet defending the equality of all classes of men says, "...as there is similarity in joy and sorrow, in life, intellect, in functions, in conduct or in behaviour, in birth and death, in sexual enjoyments and in fear, there is indeed no distinction between a Brāhmaṇa and others.[149]

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[145] Winternitz, *HIL. II*, pp. 265-66.
Other copies of the work are found in Nepal Library. They are written almost in the same words and are attributed to Śankarāchārya. It shows Advaitamata's debt to Aśvaghoṣa.
(H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind. 192*, pp. XXII-XXIII).

[146] S. Mukhopadhyaya, *V.S.*, *Intro.*, p. vii.

[147] *V.S* (*Viśva-Bhārati Ed. 1962*), *Intro.*, p. xi.

[148] *VS* (*Viśva-Bhārati Ed.*), *B.H. Hodgson's letter to Secretary Asiatic Society*, p. 25.

He puts the arguments, based on Vedas, Epics, Mānavadharma Śāstra in such a convincing manner that Brāhmaṇic customs and caste[150] is depicted frail, shallow and hollow. He depricates caste system and defines a true Brāhmaṇa—one who has the Right Conduct (Śila qualities).

He says, a true Brāhmaṇa is not he who is born in a Brāhmaṇa family, well conversant with Vedic literature but a man who with words, actions and mind does not trouble or injure others (V.S. 36) with body, mind and actions (V.S. 52); is self controlled and not a slave to desires (V.S. 37); is compassionate for all sentient beings (V.S. 37); is far away from greed and does not accept what is not given to him (V.S. 37), who serves the cause of others day and night (V.S. 37), has renounced the worldly life (V.S. 37, 20), believes in Ahiṁsā and is free from attachment, hatred and contempt.[151]

The above mentioned qualities, which make a true Brāhmaṇa in V.S., are referred to in *Saundarananda* and *Awakening of the Faith.* AF[152] emphasises on "Treading the higher path in the way of spirit, truth and selfless compassion for all sentient being to attain salvation."

Identical or Parallel Works

Tevigga Sūtta and Vajrasūci

In Tevigga Sūtta (the twelfth and last Sūtta of Dīghā Nikāya) Buddha converts two Brāhmaṇas. They asked the Teacher, the road which would lead to union with god. Buddha argues that since they themselves admit that being holy and pure this was unattainable by impure, sinful and self-righteous, the only direct way to the union with god was 'Right Conduct'. He brought home to them, however great their knowledge of Vedas may be, purity cannot be achieved without following this path (of Śila and discipline). Here 'Right Conduct' is used (in all its twelve dia-

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149. सुख दु:खजीवितबुद्धिव्यापार व्यवहारमरणोत्पत्ति
भयमैथुनोपचारसमतया नास्त्येव विशैषो ब्राह्मणादीनाम् ।
(*V.S. 34, S.S. Singh, 1977 ed.*)

V.S. (*Viśva-Bhārati ed.*), p. 20.
This argument has close resemblance by Shakespeare's style in Merchant of Venice, "Hath not a few eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions, fed at the same food, hurt by the same disease etc." *Ibid.*, p. XIV.

150. Supra—position of Brāhmaṇas.

151. *V.S.* (*Delhi Ed.*) *46*— अहिसा-राग द्वेष ।

152. AF (Richard), p. 18 ff.
Infra. Śila.

logues) "as a sort of argumentum ad hominem for the conversion of two earnest young Brāhmaṇas", and for this reason it is called Śilakkhandha vaggo.[153]

Conclusion

As in Tevigga Sūtta, so in *Vajrasūci*, the Brāhmaṇas are defeated with the shrewd argumentative attack, with illustrations from their own literature and beliefs. Both the works show the path of 'Right Conduct' or advocate the qualities of Śila for attaining salvation or becoming a true Brāhmaṇa.[154] Aśvaghoṣa accepts the term and definition of a Brāhmaṇa for an Arhat according to Buddhist works.

Moreover as Sūttas are recognised authority for him, he has not deviated from the path while writing *Vajrasūci*.

Brāhmaṇavagga of Dhammapāda and Vajrasūcī

There are many parallel passages in Vajrasūcī and Brāhmaṇavagga of Dhammapāda (XXVI. 383-423).[155] The qualities assigned to a Brāhmaṇa in Dhammapāda's this section are so much in agreement with Aśvaghoṣa's expressions that the poet seems to have not only been inspired by Tevigga Sūtta, but appears to have even borrowed certain lines and words from the Sūtta.

Identical Passages in Dhammapāda (Brāhmaṇavagga) and Vajrasūci

True Brāhmaṇa

In Dhammapāda (393) Buddha defining a Brāhmaṇa says in Brāhmaṇavagga (11), "A man is not a Brāhmaṇa by reason of his matted hair or by lineage or his caste".[156]

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[153] *Tevigga Sūtta* (*SBE XI*) *Intro.*, pp. 159-60.
The qualities of Śila make a man real Brāhmaṇa (*Ibid.* 25).
Tevigga (Trai Vidyā) means the knowledge of three Vedas or as an adjective a Brāhmaṇa possessed of the knowledge and as a noun multitude, an assembly of such Brāhmaṇas. Since many Brāhmaṇas did not possess that knowledge, the word come to be applied as a complimentary title not very different from 'Doctor'. (*Ibid.* ,Intro., pp. 161-62).

[154] *V.S.* (V. Delhi Ed.).
न जातिर्दृषयते राजन् गुणा कल्याणकारका: । (44)

[155] Dhm. was written at the time of second Buddhist Council in 377 BC. (*SBE X.I*, p. xi).
Vaggas are arranged according to the discretion of the compiler. Winternitz, *HIL. II*, pp. 82-84.)

[156] *Dhmp.* (*Bombay Ed.*) *393*:
प जटाहि न गौत्तोन न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो । (11)

The same expression it found in *Vajrasūcī* 6F, 12L and 40,[157] where it is said, that a man is not Brāhmaṇa because of birth or by lineage or by ceremonies.

Brāhmaṇa

"Him I call a Brāhmaṇa, in whom craving for existence (in the three worlds) has died, and who by reason of this shines forth like the Moon, spotless, pleasing and clear."[158]

Aśvaghoṣa says :

"Abstention from all sins is Brāhmaṇahood which is white (pure) like Kūnda flower and the moon."[159]

Here the expression (words) and simili with moon is worth noting.

Detachment

"Him I call a Brāhmaṇa who has severed all fetters and thus without cares, who has transcended all ties and is absolutely unshackled."[160]

"...who has laid down his suffering's burden, and who, is free from attachment is a Brāhmaṇa."[161]

Quoting Vaiśampāyana, the poet emphasises :

"He who has abandoned the cruelty in his nature, become free from all selfishness, free from worldly connections, and possess the third characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa."[162]

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[157] *VS* (*V. Bharati ed.*):

जातिरपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति । (6G)
शरीरमपि ब्राह्ममो न भवति । (12.L)

Quoting Vaiśampāyana

न कुलेन न जात्या न क्रियार्भिब्राह्मणो भवेत् । (40)

cf. Sn (*SBE X*), *verses* 135 and 141.

[158] चन्दं च विमलं सुद्धं विष्वसत्तं अनाविलं ।
नन्दी भवपरिक्खीणं तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणं ।।
(*Dhmp. 413, B. Vagga. 11*)

[159] कुन्देन्दु धवलं हि ब्राह्मणत्वं नाम सर्वं पापस्यापाकरणमिति ।
(*V.S. 13 R*)

[160] सव्वसंयोजनं दत्वा यो वे न परितस्सिति ।
संगातिमं विसंयुत्तं तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 397, B. Vagga 15*)

[161] पन्नभारं विसंयुक्तं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 402, B. Vagga. 20*)

"...He who performs his duty, free from attachment is recognised as Brāhmaṇa."[163]

Lust

"Him I call a Brāhmaṇa, from whom lust, ill-will, pride and envy have fallen off."[164]

Aśvaghoṣa quoting Vaiśampāyana says :

"He who is detached from lust and hatred...is a Brāhmaṇa."[165]

Kāma (Sensual Pleasures)

"Him I call a Brāhmaṇa in whom lust for existence has become extinct because he has put aside sensual pleasures in this world and has become a homeless and wanderer."[166]

"...who has renounced pleasures is a Brāhmaṇa."[167]

"...in whom the pleasures of senses make no impression."[168]

In the end Dhammapāda exhorts, "O Brāhmaṇa, dam the torrents (of craving) and drive away sensual pleasure."[169]

Aśvaghoṣa advocates the same, quoting Vaiśampāyana :

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162. त्यक्तत्वा कूरस्वभावं तु निर्ममो निष्परिग्रहः
मुक्तपूचरति भो नित्यं तृतीयं ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ।

163. मुक्ताश्चरति यो धर्मं तमेव ब्राह्मणं विदुः ।

164. यस्त रागो च दोसो च मानो मक्खो च पतिति ।
· · · · · तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणो ।
(*Dhm. 407, B. Vagga, 25*)
cf. Dhm. 298, B. Vagga. 16.

165. रागद्धेषनिवृतिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ।
(*V.S. 47*)

166. यौध कामे पहत्वान अनागारो परिव्बजे ।
काम भव परिक्खीणं तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणं ।।
(*Dhm. 415. B. Vagga. 35*)

167. हित्वा रति च....तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 418, B. Vagga. 36*)

168. यो न लिम्पति कामेसु तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 401, B. Vagga. 19*)

169. छिन्द सोतं परक्कम्प कामे पनुदब्राह्मण ।
(*Dhm. 383, B. Vagga: 1*)

"He who abandons sexual pleasures...is a Brāhmaṇa."[170]

Ahiṃsā (Non-violence)

No small advantage gains the Brāhmaṇa, who restrains his mind from things dear to him. He averts his mind from indulging in violence... ."[171]

Quoting Vaiśampāyana the poet propounds :

"Non-violence, selfishness, abstinence from actions that are not approved (in scriptures)...are the characteristics of a Brāhmaṇa."[172]

Buddha says : "Him I call a Brāhmaṇa who laying aside his rod, abstains from using it on all creatures, whether they be moving or still, who neither kills nor incites others."[173]

Quoting Vaiśampāyana, Aśvaghoṣa advocates :

"...he does not commit dreadful crimes to any sentient beings in mind, speech and with body attains to the Brāhmaṇa.[174]

This agrees with Mahābhārata's Adi P. 75, 52 ; Śānti P. 174, 57 ; 250, 261.17 ; and Harivaṁśa P. 30.43.[175]

Greed

"Him I call a Brāhmaṇa who accepts nothing in this world, that is not given to him, be it long, short, small or big, beautiful or ugly."[176]

[170] मैथुनं हि सदा व्यक्तं ब्राह्मलक्षणम् ।
(V.S. 37)

[171] न ब्राह्मणस्सेत तब किञ्चि सेटो ददा निस्नेधो मनसो पियहि ।
यतो यतो हिंसमानो निवत्ताति ।
(*Dhm. 390, B. Vagga, 8*)

[172] अहिंसा निर्मसत्वं च मत्कृत्यस्य वर्जनम् ।
(V.S. 47)

[173] निधाय दण्डं भूतेसु तसेसु थावरेसु च ।
यो न हन्ति न घातेति तमहं ब्रुमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 405*)

[174] यदा न कुरुते पापं सर्वभूतेषु दारुणम् ।
कायेन मनसा वाचा ब्रह्म सम्पद्यते तदा ।
(V.S. 51)

[175] *V.S.* (V. Bhārati Ed.), p. 46.

[176] योघे दीर्घं व रस्सं व अणुं थूलं सुभासुभं ।
लोके अदिन्नं नादियति तमहं ब्रमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 409, B. Vagga. 27*)

Aśvaghoṣa quoting Vaiśampāyana, advocates the same :

He is a Brahmaṇa, "who does not take anything that belongs to others, unless it is given to him, whether that is in one's house or lying on the way...".[177]

A Brāhmaṇa, Śramaṇa and Arhat's qualities

"Even though a man be richly attired, if he develops tranquility, is quiet, subdued and restraint, leading a holy life and abstaining from injury to all living beings...he is Brāhmaṇa, he is Śramaṇa (ascetic), he is Bhikṣū."[178]

Aśvaghosa, quoting Vaiśampāyana, concludes :

"Tolerance, compassion, control over the senses, charity, truth, purity, remembrance (Smṛti), pity, learning, wisdom, are the characteristics of a Brāhmaṇa."[179]

Śila

Regarding Śila Dhammapāda says :

"Him I call a Brāhmaṇa, who is free from anger and faithfully keeps to his observances : who follows the moral precepts and is without craving, who has subdued himself and who wears this body for the last time."[180]

Heightening the value of Śila, the poet says :

It is not birth or lineage but the moral conduct that is considered essential. What is the use of birth or lineage, if a man is devoid of moral conduct? Many wise persons born in low families, have gone to heaven, having obtained the moral conduct.[181]

177. यदा सर्वं परद्रव्यं पथि व यदि वा गृहे ।
अदतं नैव गृह्णाति द्वितियं ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ।
(*V.S. 34*)

178. अलङ्कतो चेपि समं चरेय्य, सन्तो दन्तो नियतो ब्रह्मचारी ।
सब्बेसु भूतेसु निधायं दण्डं, सो ब्रह्मणो सो समणो स भिक्खु ।।
(*Dhm. 142*)

179. क्षमा, दया दमो दानं सत्यं शौचं स्मृतिघृणा ।
विधा विज्ञानमस्तिवयमेतद् ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ।
(*V.S. 47*)
सत्यं शौचं दया शौचं तपः पूरौचञ्च पञ्चम् ।
(*V.S. 38*)

180. अक्कोधनं वतवन्तं सीलवन्तं अनुस्सदं ।
दन्तं अन्तिमसारीरं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ।
(*Dhm. 400*)

181. शीलं प्रधानं न कुलं प्रधानं
कुलेन किं शीलविवर्जितेन ।
वहवो नरा नीचकुल प्रसूता: स्वर्गं गताः
शीलमुवेत्थ धीराः ।
(*V.S. Delhi Ed. 29*)

"Even a Śudra bedecked with virtue of Śila becomes a virtuous Brāhmaṇa."[182]

Quoting Vaiśampāyana the poet says :

"Brāhmaṇhood is full of morality (Śila) and purity."[183]

Conclusion

Good qualities, based on 'Śila', is the path of salvation shown by Buddha in Dhammapāda 400 etc., in Tevigga Sūtta of Dīgha Nikaya and other Pāli works.

As in religious bouts oral arguments are given to persuade, to combat the errors of the opponents and to exalt one's own Law, our poet, in Vajrasūcī has tried to combat the errors of Brāhmaṇism and exalt the qualities of Śila. The beauty of the work is that he has expounded these qualities in the garb of the qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa. He has indirectly preached and encouraged Buddhism.

Not only this, he has very wisely recorded the changing trend (from Tapa to morality)[184] of the religious reformers of his time.

In addition to the great importance of the works in propagating Buddhist teachings of Śila, and equating all castes, it has mentioned a host of legendary figures and Historical personages from different ancient sources :

Acala (VS. 7), Agastya (7), Arṇi (22), Droṇāchārya (8), Gautama (8), Indra (5,18 V), Kapila (7, 8), Kaṭhamuni (30 z. 22), Kauśika (7, 8), Keśapiṅgala (7), Kunti (46), Kuśika (9), Maheśvara (18 V), Nārda Mahāmuni (27), Paṇdu (32), Paṇini (18 V), Rāvaṇa (12, P), Reṇukā's son Rāma (9), Śṛṅga Ṛṣi (9, 25, 30z), Sūrya (5), Tittirī Ṛṣi (8), Uma (18 V), Urvaṣi (10, 24), Vaśiṣṭa (10, 24, 30z), Vaiśampāyana (31 kk, 32, 34), Viśvamitra Mahāmuni (10, 26, 30z), Vyāsa (9, 33, 30z), and Yudhiṣṭhira (31 kk, 32, 39, 44).

Śrāddhotpada-Śāstra

Authorship

It is one of the world's most famous and important Mahāyāna work. The historians and philosophers are of divergent views regarding its authorship. The most prominent to refute its authorship to our poet, are Prof. Takakusu, Winternitz and Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya, while the most important to assign the authorship to our Aṣvaghoṣa are, Nanjio Catalogue Nos. 1249 and 1250, Prof. Teitaro Suzuki, Prof. Dwight-Goddard and Bhikṣu Vai-Tao, Timothy Richard, H.P. Shastri and A.F. Keith.

Those who refute the authorship to our poet, argue that there is no affinity of 'Philosophical discussion' between his two Kāvyas (S & B) and this work. The

[182] शूद्रोऽपि शीलसम्पन्नो गुणवान् ब्राह्मणो भवेत ।
(*V.S. 42*)

[183] शीलशौचमयं ब्रह्म ।
(*V.S. 28*)

[184] Supra '*Tapa*'.

Kāvyas believe in the 'non-entity' of the soul and there is no mention of 'Tatthatā' while *Śraddhotpāda* is essentially a deviation. It believes in the existence of soul. The central theme of A.F. is the philosophy of 'Tatthatā' (Suchness, True likeness, Absolute Truth, True Nature, External Soul, True Model, Ond Mind etc.) and it is a Mahāyāna work.[185]

Aśvaghoṣa himself says,[186] "For the purpose of awakening in all beings a pure faith in the Mahāyāna, of destroying their doubts and attachment to false doctrines, and of affording them an uninterrupted inheritance of Buddha-seeds, I write this discourse."

Prof. Suzuki[187] suppports his view point and argues that the term Mahāyāna adopted by Aśvaghoṣa points the greatness of suchness (bhūtatatthatā) and he used it to prove that this was the safest and surest means of salvation.

Dr. H.P. Shastri, who assigns the work to our poet, says that it was written after Kaniṣka's council in Kashmir. According to him, Aśvaghoṣa took the cause of a few Mahāyānist, who though present in the council, could not impress much and so wrote Śrāddhotpāda Śāstra and Sūtralaṁkāra.[188]

Historical View

Historically reviewed, the change in the rigid rules of Buddhism, preached from Buddha's time to our poet's time, was a natural evolution. It was no longer confined to its original home Magadha, where the teachings of the Master were written probably in Magdhan dialect. The original Sūtras were felt inadequate, as soon as the competition with Hindu philosophers began, when Buddhists penetrated in the western part of the Gangetic basin. The monks found this region the home of philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣads. The close contact not only influenced the Buddhist philosophy but made them adopt Sanskrit language in their works and preachings.

Aśokāvadāna (150-100 B.C.), in Sanskrit, tells us about the happenings during the time that followed the death of Buddha and contains narrations of Aśoka's reign. The earlier writers (of Magadha) chiefly show the path of Nirvāṇa to recluses eager for obtaining Nirvāṇa, while the later writer does not address to the clergy only but to the pious laity also who sustains the church also by its charity. He moralises by the lives of saints and greatmen.[189]

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185. B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, pp. 154-55 gives 40 translations of the word.
A.F. Keith, *Buddhist Phil.*, p. 228.
186. *A.F.* (*Suzuki*), p. 48.
187. *A.F.* (*Suzuki*), ft. n I, p. 48.
188. H.P. Shastri, *Adv. V. Sang. Intro.*, p. XXI.
189. *cf. Ft. n. 55.*
For details please see my ***History of Buddhism in Kashmir***, p. 34 ff.
Supra—***Aśvaghoṣa a Writer Preacher.***
Infra—Ch. Literature.

Reaching North Western regions, the doctrine became flexible, as the population was mixed one due to foreign invasions. The Buddhism ceased to be purely Indian religion and became complex structure, in which Greek Art, Iranian dualism philosophy of Madhyadeśa and the old Magadhan elements all had their place. After Scythian and Parthian invaders, Yu-Chis invaded forcefully the Indian frontiers. As such under Kaniṣka the unlimited expansion opened before Buddhism towards Central Asia.[190]

Thus the society under the Kuṣānas became more cosmopolitan and the prejudices of race, caste and creed seem to have slackened. Buddhism was transformed into almost a world religion. The reasons for this change may be briefly summarised as follows :

(*a*) It was natural that the religion was threatened with destruction, due to its rigid rules of Vinaya and Dharma.

(*b*) Automatic changes came (due to foreign influence) and were also introduced by the monks, who were wanderer preachers. They in order to attract more and more followers of weak and sound understanding, made the life of Buddha interesting and philosophy easy (having the influence of Upaniṣads also).

This naturally brought a psychological change in the outlook of the Buddhists.

Aśokāvadāna 150 B.C.—100 B.C. records the decline of Arhat. In Kaniṣka's Council, 499 Arhats, who formed the assembly refused to admit Vasumitra, because he had not still attained emancipation. The latter however declared that he cared very little to acquire the benefits of Arhatship and his aim was to become a Buddha. A moment after the gods predict that his wish shall be fulfilled and he shall be a successor to Maitreya.[191]

The theory of Nirvāṇa changed into rebirth in heaven and the conception of sainthood or Bodhisattvas was brought forth, against the theory of Arhatship to preserve the faith.[192]

Mahāvibhāṣa (the great commentary) on the Jñānaprasthāna, composed by Pārśva and Vasumitra II (nephew of Dharmatrata) in Kaniṣka's time, rejects the explanation of 'all exists', given by Dharmatrata and Buddhadeva and upholds Vasumitra second's views of 'Change of situation' (anasthāpariṇāma) : a phenomenon has different designations in different situations, such as past, present and future—though its nature does not change and exists in all three situations. As a parallel, he gives the place system—in Arithmatic. The same symbol is differently designated, according to its position as 'unit', 'ten hundred' etc. This became the orthodox explanation of the school."[193]

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[190] *LEA, 113-14.*
Please refer to my *History of Buddhism Ch. IX and Gupta Civilization*, Ch. IX.

[191] *Watters, Y-Ch*, Vol. I, p. 271.
Si-Yu-ki. II, p. 193.

[192] Les. Seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi, JA. 1916 quoted in *LEA*, pp. 208-9.

[193] A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 346.

Mahāvibhāṣa's acceptance of Vasumitra second's views tell about the change which had crept in the Buddhist thinkers by first century A.D. This era produced such a vast literature (Mahāvibhāṣa) with a changed philosophic trend, that Aśvaghoṣa, who was Kaniṣka's contemporary and present in his council, could not remain immune from these influences.

He also produced the first great work on Mahāyāna 'Śraddhotpada Śāstra', which depicts the later Buddhism, or Buddhism nearly six centuries after Buddha and records a change in the philosophic thinking of the period.

His Śrāddhotpāda Śāstra constitutes three most important salient points in his doctrine, which distinguish him from all Hinayāna Schools. They are : "(1) The conception of suchness (Bhūtatatthata), (2) the theory of triple personality and (3) the salvation by faith or the Sukhāvati doctrine".[194]

"The conception of suchness in its 'absolute aspect' foreshadows the Śunyata philosophy of the Mādhyamika school. ...The Theory of triple personality, the most distinctive character of the Mahāyāna, seems to have been first established by Aśvaghoṣa... ." Similarly the salvation by faith, appears for the first time in this Śāstra.[195]

Thus, from historical point of view, A.F. is Aśvaghoṣa's work. From philosophical point of view, it records the evolution of religious thinking, which underwent a change due to political and social environments. Traditionally also, it is our poet's work, as Nanjio has also assigned the work to him.

The Śāstra (AF)

The 'Shan-khi-sin' or 'Mahāyāna Śrāddhotpāda Śāstra'[196] has two Chinese translations. The first is by the Buddhist missionary Parmartha (also known as Kulanatha). He translated it from Sanskrit into Chinese in Circa 557 A.D. with the aid of interpreters and scholars of Lian or Liang Dynasty. The second is by Śikśananda (695-700 A.D.), a Buddhist missionary in that country. He is said to have brought the Sanskrit text and also found the older Sanskrit original in the T'ezuan tower.

Timothy Richard worked on Parmartha's version and published its translation

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194. Suzuki, A.F., p. 43.
195. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
196. *Nanjio 1249 and 1250* (They are wanting in Tibetan language).
    A.F. (Richard), *Intro.*, p. 29.
    F.A. Suzuki, *Intro.*, pp. 27, 39-40.
    Cheng Yuan and K'ai Yuan catalogue affirm that both the translations are from the same text. (Suzuki, A.F., *Intr* ., p. 40)
    'The Shine Wisdom' Magazine published another translation made by several Sanskrit Scholars from a Sanskrit text made from the Chinese in 1929 and 1930. It misses the profound eroterie significance of the original". (*Appendix, The Buddhist Bible*, p. 668)

as "The Awakening of the Faith".[197] Its Sanskrit version has been lost so it could not be consulted while translating. Timothy Richard's work originally appeared at Shanghai in 1907 and then in 1910 at Edinburgh (Richard A.F., Intro., p. 29).

Teitaro Suzuki worked on Śikśananda's Text and it appeared in Chicago in 1900, as "Aśvaghoṣa's discourse on the awakening of the Faith in the Mahāyāna".

Another translation of Parmartha's work was made in English by Bhikṣu Wai Tao and Dwight-Godderd in 1936 and 1937. It was published in 'The Buddhist Bible' (Appendix—The Buddhist Bible, p. 668).

Śrāddhotpada Śāstra[198] begins with a hymn and ends with a hymn. It is divided into five sections :

1. Introductory or the Reasons for writing the book.
2. General Statement of Principles or the fundamental doctrine of the Mahāyāna Faith.
3. The explanation itself or the exposition of the Mahāyāna Faith.
4. The Practice of Mahāyāna Faith.
5. Benefits of the practice of Mahāyāna.

According to our poet, he wrote this work with eight points in view :

1. To save all sentient beings from suffering.
2. To present the true meaning of Tathāgata's teaching.
3. To conserve the gain of those, who have made some advance on the path to enlightenment.
4. To awaken and strengthen the faith of the beginners.
5. To show all the followers, the path to keep their mind free from cravings and infatuations.
6. "To help all seekers, to practice right methods for practising "stopping and reflecting", so as to guard them against the false view-points of both worldly minded people and the disciples of Hinayāna (elementary school) besides Madhayma to middle school of Buddhism.
7. "To explain the expedient means of reciting the Divine the name of Amitābha Buddha and to prove that those who recite are born in Buddha's pure land."
8. To show the readers of this treatise, whose faith is awakened, the inestimable advantages of the practice of Dhyāna and to persuade them to preserve it. [A.F. (Wai Tao) vide Buddhist Bible, p. 360, Richard (A.F.) pp. 41-42.]

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[197] *Nanjio No. 1250* says : It was translated by Parmartha of the Lian dynasty (502-557 A.D.) in 553 A.D. Towards the end of this Śāstra Aśvaghoṣa quotes a Sutra (probably the Amitāyus Sūtra or Sukhāvati-Vyuha) on Buddha Amitāyus or Amitābha and his Buddhakṣetra Sukhāvati. (*Suzuki, A.F.*, p. 39)

[198] A.F. (Suzuki), p. 49.
A.F., Richard, pp. 44-91.

The Śrāddhotpāda-Śāstra or the Awakening of the Faith entitles Aśvaghoṣa to rank as first systematic expounder of Mahāyāna.

In A.F. the poet has explained the fundamental Doctrine of the Mahāyāna Faith, its practice and advantages. He says, "All men should respectfully believe and not speak evil of it, thereby injuring themselves more and more and others too, destroying every hope of deliverance by destroying the Eternal soul of three precious ones originally, in man (the soul of the universe, the body of laws pervading the universe, the body of men teaching these Laws) for all the Divine Ones attain Nirvāṇa by this means, and all the saints attain Buddha wisdom by the same practice."[199]

In fact "the Teaching of Aśvaghoṣa is that one becomes identified with Truth, neither by doctrinal belief nor by behaviour, but by following the True Faith in the right way and thus ultimately to become identified with the true principles of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which is selfless compassion for all animal life". (Appendix, The Buddhist Bible, p. 669.)

Aśvaghoṣa debt to Ancient Literature

Aśvaghoṣa's work clearly reveal his knowledge of Vedas, Vedaṅgas, Sāṁkhya Philosophy, Epics, Upaniśadas, Geeta, Nātya Śāstra, Arthaśāstra, Śhāstra and Astra Vidyā, Smṛtis and Sṛutis, Dharmaśāstras, medical works, Grammar, and Buddhist literature including Tripitakās (Vinaya, Sūtta and Abhidhammā), Divyāvadana, Aśokāvadana, Jatakās, Milinda etc.[200]

To elaborate the debt, which our poet owes to these works is not within the scope of this work (and which perhaps requires a separate volume), but here are a few references to give a glimpse of our poet's knowledge and debt to pre-Aśvaghoṣa literature.

Vedic Literature

In both the Kāvyās (B & S), there are numerous references to Vedic termino logies, gods, rites etc.

In *Buddhacarita*, the terms used 'aurvśeya' (B. IX. 9), 'prokṣna and Abhūdya' (B. XII.30) speak of poet's deep knowledge of Vedic-rites.[201] He has used Vedic word, 'Jātvedsa' (S. VIII.19) and referred to 'Havi'[202] (oblation to fire) with great respect. Though the Vedic scheme of worship has found special place in his works, he has rejected formally, animal-sacrifice and its efficacy in B. (XI. 61 ff). The great regard towards 'Vedas' and 'Smṛtis' is seen in *Vajracūsī* (3, 4, 16 etc.). Brahmaṇa are told to possess the knowledge of Vedas and Vedāṅgas (S. I. 44).

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[199] A.F. (T. Richard), p. 91.

[200] Infra. Ch. Education.

[201] और्वशेयः प्रोक्षणाभ्युक्षणादयः ।

[202] S. X. 6 (clad in the smoke of salvation) :
हविर्धूमकृतोत्तारीदे धभ्युदयः ।

Poet's depth of Vedic literature is further seen, wben he mentions the seer (Vaśiṣtha), the son of Urvaṣi (B. IX. 9). Johnston concludes that "Vaśiṣtha's decent from Urvaṣi is only alluded to in Ṛgveda but had apparently already been lost sight of by the time of the epics".[203]

Gods

Indra is the most powerful Vedic god in Ṛgveda. Two hundred and fifty hymns have been addressed to him (Vedic Mythology, p. 59). In both the Kāvyās of our poet, this god has found a prominent place. B. (I. 10, 62; II. 27; III. 12; IV. 72; VII. 43; VIII. 79; IX. 5, 10; X. 19, 39; XII. 9), S. (I. 59, 61, 62; IV. 2; X. 35; XI. 43, 48) and even *Vajrasūcī* also has not ignored him V.S. (5, 18V).

Saundarananda mentions the god in pairs also *e.g.* Indra and Māruta (S. I. 62), Indra and Āditya (S. I. 61), Indra and Kubera (S. IV. 21, 46) and uses the word 'Shakr' also for Indra (S. II. 45).

'Soma', a prominent beveredge and god of the Vedic Times is referred many a times (S. I. 15, II. 36, V. S. 5) which displays poets knowledge of Śatpatha Brahmaṇa.[204]

V.S. (5) mentions Sūrya (god of Vedic times).

The stories of the classification of Vedas by Vyāsa and their promulgation by Sārasvat (the son of Sarasvati) are found in *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* Kāvyās.[205]

Epics

The rich use of references from Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita* indicate that the poet had not only studied them thoroughly but was greatly influenced in making plots for the stories of his Kāvyās.

Rāmāyaṇa and Buddhacarita

Valmiki seems to have influenced and attracted our poet much. He speaks in high terms about the Sage and calls him 'Ādikavi'[206] and extols him as 'dhiman'.

To compare, there are many references and parallel passages in the two works :

1. Maharaja Daśratha wailed, cried and ultimately died in separation from his dear son Rāma. This the poet has referred in (B. VIII.79). King Śuddhodana

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[203] *Johnston, B. IX*, ft. n. 9 (p. 124).

[204] *Infra*, Food & Drinks, Ch.

[205] B.I. 42; S. VII.29,31.

[206] S. I. 26—बाल्मीकिरिव धीमोंश्च धीमतो मैथिलेययो ।

is also grieved over the separation from his son, laments like Daśratha, but only looses his steadfastness (B. VIII. 81).

Sumanta returned to Ayodhya without Rāma and Chandaka to Kapilvastu without Siddhārtha. The feelings of both are identical (B. VI.66-68). Similarly Yaśodha's lament for the suffering of her husband in the life of hardship (renunciation) are modelled on Sita's sufferings for her husband's (Rāma) lot in the forest.[207]

Hanumāna entered Rāvaṇa's palace at night, saw his wives asleep in the seraglice and their various unconscious attitudes. This resembles Aśvaghoṣa's description of night scene of women in the palace, on the eve of Buddha's departure from home for ever. (B. V.61-69)

The above description in Rāmāyaṇa is introduced merely, as an ornamented episode. But in Aśvaghoṣa's works, it is an essential element in the story, which later on stirs Gautama to escape from this world.[208]

Aśvaghoṣa is a master of simple pathoes "With deep longing and many a pain did she bear me in her womb ; all her efforts have come to naught, why was she mother, why was I her son ?" "This idea has a prototype in Rāmāyaṇa also. But Aśvaghoṣa has heightened the effect by his delicate touch."[209]

A.B. Keith[210] firmly believes that Rāmāyaṇa is one of the sources of Aśvaghoṣa.

Rāmāyaṇa and Saundarananda

The description of Kapilvastu in *Saundarananda* resembles the description of a city in Rāmāyaṇa. The description of Aśramas (hermitage) in S. resembles the description of an hermitage in Rāmāyaṇa.[211] The lementation of Sundari in separation from Nanda is similar to Sita's lamentations.[212] Sundari, in great agony threw her ornaments. This is exactly what Kaikeyi's also did in Rāmāyaṇa.[213] The description of mountain in *Saundarananda* is similar to the description of mountains in Rāmāyaṇa.[214]

In *Saundarananda*, the poet has referred to both the epics in one verse (S. I. 26). Here again, Valmiki is honoured for being the teacher of two sons of the princess of Mithilā, and Kaṇva is praised for doing much for Śakuntlā's son.[215]

Mahābhārata and Buddhacarita

Arāḍa Kalama's sermon to Siddhārtha in *Buddhacarita* (XII. Canto) agrees with

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[207] A.B. Keith, *HSL*, p. 59.

[208] E.B. Cowell (*SBE*. XLIX), Intro., p. XI.

[209] *Rām. II.* 53, 20.
A.B. Keith, *HSL*, p. 63.

[210] A.B. Keith, *HSL*, p. 59.

[211] *S.I. 5-17*; *Ram. III*, XI. 1-52.

[212] *Rām*. V., XXV, XXVI, XXVIII sargas.

[213] *Rām*. XI, 9, 29.

[214] *Rām. V, sarga 56, 26-50*, VII. 62, 1.16.

[215] कण्वः शकुन्तलस्यैव भरतस्यतरस्विनः
बाल्मीकिरिय थीमांश्च थीमतोर्मैथिलेययोः ।

Mahābhārata Sāṁkhya principle.[216]

Buddhacarita's verse (VI. 47) "As the clouds come together and depart asunder again, so I deem the meeting and severance of creatures that draw breadth, "agrees with Mahābhārata's verse".[217]

Mahābhārata and Saundarananda

Saundarananda records host of stories of historical and legendary figures from Mahābhārata, such as of Shivi and Mandhāta,[218] Śakunṭlā and Kaṇva,[219] and Sāgar Bhārgva etc.[220]

H.P. Shastri[221] concludes "that Vedic and Paurāṇika allusions are almost identical in the two works" (Kāvyās). Parāśara's failings are mentioned in B. (IV. 76) and S. (VII. 29), Vaśiṣtha's failings in B. (IV. 77) and S. (VII. 28) and Pāndu's failings are described in B. (IV. 79) and S. (VII. 45). Vyāsa's troubles with a woman of ill fame are described in B. (IV. 16) and S. (VII. 30). Similarly, in both the Kāvyās, the failings of Ṛśyaśraṇga, Gautama, Visvamitra and others are narrated. Thus, in short, Aśvaghoṣa's deep knowledge of Brahmaṇical lore is very clear in both the works.

Both the Kāvyās refer to the legend of Mādri and Pāndu and depict the consequences of addiction to women (B. IV.79, S. VII.45).

Vajrasūcī

In *Vajrasūcī* Aśvaghoṣa has given so many illustrations from ancient texts (Dharmaśāstras and epics etc.) that Winternitz remarks, "For the sake of quotations Brahmaṇical texts, if on no other grounds, this work would be of great importance in the History of literature".[222]

Aśvaghoṣa and Nyāyasūtra

Aśvaghoṣa, in the opinion of Johnston, had the knowledge of Nyāyasūtra's first *adhyāya* (chapter), which was more primitive than the form which has reached us. S. XVI. 18 (Loksya dosebhya iti pravṛttih)) is deliberately taken from Nyāyasūtra's I. 1.18 (Pravartanalakṣana dosah), all the more so that the preceding verses 14 and 15 suggest an early theory of 'anumana'. There is also a clear reference to Nyāya principles at S. I.14, however we explain the verse.[223]

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216. A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 139.
217. यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं समापेतं महोदये ।
समेत्य चाव्यपेयतां तद्वम्दूत—समागमः ।
218. S.X. 42, 43; Mbh. XII, 11184.
219. S.I. 26.
220. S. I. 25—सागरस्येव भार्गव ।
221. H.P. Shastri, *Bib. Ind. No. 192*, Pref. p. III.
222. Winternitz, *HIL, II*, pp. 265-66.
223. E.H. Johnston, *Buddhacarita*, Intro., p. Lv-vi.

Doctrine of Salvation

Yoga and Aśvaghoṣa debt to Bhāgvat Gītā

Aśvaghoṣa is indebted to Gitā for such expressions as Karma Yoga,[224] Abhyāsayoga,[225] and Indriyāṇindriyārthebhyo.[226] There is close resemblance of Abhyāsayoga in the Bhāgvatgītā and the practice of Yoga or Dhyāna in *Saundarananda.*[227]

Aśvaghoṣa has taken from Bhāgvatgītā and other similar works what he found or believed to be consistent with Buddhism. He has not presented any other method of salvation except Buddhism.

There are some verses in *Saundarananda* which seem to have been paraphrased from the Bhāgvatgītā e.g. Bhāgvatgītā II. 30 and S. XIII. 20 and S. XIII. 40 and Gita II. 64 and 70.[228]

In short Aśvaghoṣa's works are strewn with references from Vedas, epics, Upaniṣads, Yogasutras, Śāstras, medical works of Carak and Suśruta ?, Dharma Śāstras, some Kāmaśāstra ?, etc.[229]

Aśvaghoṣa and Buddhist Literature

"Aśvaghoṣa is a poet by nature, a highly cultivated man by training and a religious devotee by conviction."[230] As the spiritual activities of his contemporary society were based on traditional Vedic and Brahmaṇical conceptions, he has tried to preach the gospel of Buddha in a very unassuming style, using very simple language.

In S. much space is devoted to preaching. However, his expressions are more on less the same as are found in Tripitakas "The joys of solitude and meditations are extolled in this poem as in other Hinayāna works." But the tendency towards Mahāyāna is seen in S. XVIII. 22.

In the Tibetan version of B. (canto XVI), 'The sermon of Benaras' is only a poetical expression and expanded version of Tripitaka, but it also has Mahāyāna tendencies. It speaks of body as 'empty without self' (Śunyam Anātmakam XVI. 28); calls Buddha not only the self-born but over-lord of the whole Dhamma and the 'Lord of the World' (XVI. 64, 69). He even goes to the extent of saying

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224. S.XVII. 19.
225. S. XVI. 20.
226. S. XIII. 30.
227. S. XVI (1-9).
     Gita. (VI. 16-17)
228. Sukumar Sen (*JASB. XXVI*, p. 187).
229. Infra. Chapter—Education.
230. S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 76.

that "he has attained the great vehicle, the Mahāyāna, that has been set forth by all the Buddhas, for establishing the welfare of all beings (XVI. 74, 85).[231]

Vajrasūcī,[232] which is a direct attack on Brahmanical custom of caste-system, is a great work, defining a True Brahmaṇa, which is none else than a Śramaṇa or a monk, or an Arhat, adorned with the qualities of Śila (defined in Buddhist literature).

Buddhacarita is an integral part of Vinayapitaka of Dharmagupts sect and *Saundarananda* is based on Dhammapāda's story of Nanda with variatives as already discussed.

Buddha's first sermon at Benaras, known as Dharma Chakra parivattana Sūtta, includes the four noble Truths about suffering and eight-fold path.[233] The same is elaborated by Aśvaghoṣa in *Saundarananda*.[234]

Aśvaghoṣa and Dhammapāda

According to Dhammapāda, the road to salvation lies in the control of speech.[235] Conquest of impure thoughts,[236] control of senses,[237] control of passions,[238] and abandonment of grief through all fetters.[239] Aśvaghosa, in *Saundarananda*, has elaborated on these in chapters XIII and XIV and has given great stress on Śila as the road to salvation.

Dharma Cakra-Parivartana

Dhammapāda (VII 2) reveals the philosophy of Dharma Cakra. In one of the pithy sayings, Buddha says :

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[231] Winternitz, *HIL*, p. 265.
Hinayāna too values highly the duty of instructions and conversion (Vinaya Pitaka Sūtra, p. 62. ft. n. from the Anguttara Nikāya). (Winternitz, *HIL*, ft. n. 2, p. 264)

[232] Supra, *Vajrasūci*.

[233] *SBE* (*XI*) *Dhamma-kakka-Pavattana-Sūtta* (p. 146 ff).

[234] Please see Chapter on Religion for details.

[235] *Dhm.* (*SBE. X*), 2.
Dhammapāda is as old as 377 B.C. (*SBE*. Vol. X, part I, p. XL).
Dhammapāda is a collection of verses, in which, at a later period, narratives were added in the form of commentary, which though were not the part of the canon, but related the occasion. They are generally quite short narratives, recounting generally some event of the life of Buddha. Most of these verses serve to glorify the Buddha's ideal of life. 'The deep blissful repose of mind of the saint (Arhat) torn away from all earthly things, the endless bliss of Nirvāṇa. It is difficult to decide where such saying first appeared. (Winternitz, *HIL*, *II*, p. 84)

[236] Dhm. (Ibid., 3)

[237] *Ibid.*, 7,8.

[238] *Ibid.*, 13.

[239] *Ibid.*, 90.
Infra chapter on Religion for details.

"The wheel is broken,
since he has become desireless.

The river is dried up,
and flows no more.

No larger the broken wheel rolls on ;
The end of sorrow is attained."

Winternitz interprets it : "The wheel is the recurring rebirth, the stream means sensual desires 'Dukha' ends only when one attains Nirvāṇa."[240]

Aśvaghosa's definition of Dharma-Cakra reveals deeper philosophy based upon Buddha's utternings :

Buddha, having reached comprehension of the supreme unaging truth, went to Varanasi (S. (III. 10) and expounded the everlasting victory over death. This Dharma-Cakra Parivartana is described by Aśvaghoṣa in S. (III. II).

"For the benefit of the world, the seer turned the wheel of law in the assembly." This wheel has truth as its hub (Nābhi), wisdom (Dhṛti), right-views (Mati), mental concentration (Samādhi) as its felloes, and ordinances of rule as spokes.[241]

"Mr. Da Cunha thinks that the Dhamma is symbolised by the wheel because Gotma ignored the beginning and was uncertain to the end."[242]

Rhys Davids opines,[243] "The setting in motion onwards of the royal chariot wheel of the supreme dominion of Dhamma" does not mean "the wheel of Law, but the inauguration or foundation of the kingdom of Righteousness".

Cita & Cakra

The idea of the 'Cakra' is not new to the Buddhists. In Gita,[244] the word 'Cakram' or wheel refers to cyclic process of creation. 'Even Pravarititam' signifies the process : "Sacrifices proceed from actions of man enjoined by the scriptures, sacrifice, in turn, brings rainfall and rainfall helps in the production of food ; food promotes the growth of beings, and man again, who is one of these beings does works which are turned into sacrifice and so the cycle goes on. This process of creation has been going on for ever in a circle."[245]

Early Buddhists seem to have borrowed the idea of 'Cakra' from Gita and named and first sermon accordingly. No doubt the idea of their Teacher is behind the name so assigned.

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240. Winternitz, *HIL II*, p. 86 and ft. n. 1.

241. अथ धर्मचक्रमृतनाभि वृतिमति समाधनेमिमत् ।
तत्र विनय नियमारमृषिर्जगतो हिताय परिषधवर्तयत् । (S. III. 11)

242. *Memoirs on the tooth relic*, p. 15 (*quoted by Rhys Davids, Intro. Dh. C.P. Sutta* (*SBE.* XI ft. n. 2, p. 140).

243. Rhys Davids, *Intro. to Dh. C.P. Sutta* (*SBE. XI*), p. 140.

244. Gita III. 16—एवं प्रवर्तितंचक्रं नानुवर्तयतीह यः ।

245. *Gita Gomy.* (*Gita Press ed*), p. 136.

Buddha for the first time had revolted systematically against : (a) the Karmakānda (sacrifices) of Vedic lore which had a grip over the masses to a great extent, (b) against the existence of soul as a permanent identity, and preached Anāttmavāda (non-entity of the soul), (c) freedom from sacrifices, (d) four truths and eight-fold path to lead to Nibbāna—it touched the very roots of pre-Buddha philosophies and is rightly named as Dharma-Cakra-Pravartana-Sūtta (Please infra. Soul ch.).

Buddhist Disciples

Tradition

According to tradition recorded in Mahāvagga (1.3) and Mahāvastu (II. 248-9), seven days after the enlightenment of Buddha, he starts his missionary activities. He delivers his first sermon at Sarnath (near Benaras).

In Mahāvagga (I. 4),[246] Tapuṣa and Bhallikas are the first two (merchants), to offer food (rice cakes and honey lumps) to Buddha, after enlightenment. They are his first two lay disciples, who were converted with the formulae of Buddha and Dhamma, as Saṁgha was yet not in existence.

In M.N. (I.171-75), Buddha first of all taught Dhamma to five monks, who were, in the beginning, unwilling to pay even due respect to Tathāgata. His teachings here consist of the philosophy of Dukka and the attainment of deathlessness (Nibbāna) through four meditations[247] or Law of causation, noble four Truths Atṭhaṅgikamagga.

Buddhacarita

Buddha started preaching Dhamma after seven days of his enlightenment, this fact is recorded in Tibetan version of B. (XIV.94).

The story of decision taken to start the missionary career differs : In MN (I. 169) Brahma Shampati exhorts him to preach Dhamma or the Truth realised by him, while in Mahāvastu (III. 315) Brahma and Śakra appealed to him. The story of Śakra appealing to Buddha is common in Mahāvastu and Lalitavistra (396) but is not found in Pāli[248] accounts.

In *Buddhacarita* when Buddha was pondering over the law of salvation after his enlightenment, two healthy chiefs approached him. They coaxed him to preach the Truth to the suffering humanity, out of compassion for them (B. XIV. 98). As soon as these divine seers vanished (B. XIV. 103) the gods of four quarters provided him with alms-bowl (B. XIV. 104). Two merchants of a passing caravan were the first to give alms and receive ordination (B. XIV. 105).

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[246] *SBE*. XIII, pp. 81-84.
Buddha was in 25th year at that time.

[247] MN. I. 169.

[248] J.J. Jones-*Mhv. III.* ft. n. 2. p. 304.

After the conversion of five Brāhmaṇas or two merchants, Buddha delivered a large number of sermons at different places in India. He converted from Kings to ordinary people and attracted disciples from Gandhara, Avanti Aṅga etc. throughout the year.[250]

Buddhacarita[251] of Aśvaghoṣa provides us the list of prominent converts, while Aśokāvadana or Aśoka-rāja-sūtra (in the most archaic form according to Przyluski), provides the list of Mathura monks, and Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins of the monks of North West. Pali works enumerate Upāli, Dāsaka, Senaka, Siggava, Candavajji, Tissa, Moggaliputta and a series of monks (after the coversion of Ceylon).[252]

The list provided by our poet includes the following disciples of Tathāgata. It can not be taken as a chronological list, though he (Aśvaghoṣa) in the Chinese list of Buddhist patriarchs in India, is always named after Pārśva and Punyayaśas and before Nagārjuna and Āryadeva.[253]

The famous legend about the need and importance of the patriarchs is found in Bu-ston II.109. "It is said in Mahākaruna Pundarika, in answer to the question, "Who is to be the guardian of the doctrine after the teacher had passed away ?" '. . . O Ānanda, the monk Kaṣyapa and thyself, ye two are to guard the highest doctrine for 40 years more. . . . In the city of Pātliputra, in Mārgārama, there will be a monk called Aśvagupta . . . and in the same city in the groves of ducks, the monk called Uttarā... ."[254]

Ajita (S. XVI.89)

G.P. Malālaśekkara[255] refers to nine Ajitas in Buddhist literature. The most prominent of them is Ajita-mānava. It seems our poet's reference is towards him.

Ajita Manava, a Brāhmaṇa of Sāvatthi and price-assessor (Agga saniya) to the king of Kośala, visited Buddha at the request of his teacher, Bāvari.[256] He was the first to ask Buddha, to explain him certain philosophical points. They are found in Ajitamānavapuccha of the Pārāyanavagga of the Sūtta Nipāta. He was so much impressed by the philosophical explanations that he entered the order along with his one thousand followers. He soon attained Arhatship.

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[250] The generally accepted view is that five Brāhmaṇās were the first converts of Buddha.

[251] *S. XVI.87-91.*

[252] *Tārānātha, H.I. supp. notes, pp. 355-359.* The Chinese translation of Aśokāvadana is called A-Yu-Wang-King and is well preserved work. (Ibid.)

[253] *Winternitz. HIL. II, p. 257.*
Puṇyayaśas was the pupil of Parśva. (Ibid.)

[254] *Tārānātha, H.I. supp. n., p. 357.*

[255] *DPPN., pp. 35-37.*

[256] According to Anguttara commentary he was the nephew of Bāvari. (Ibid.)
Bāvari was the royal priest of the king of Kośala. He, being an ascetic, went to Dakṣnapatha and dwelt in a hermitage on the bank of Godavari in Assaka. His disciples met Buddha at Rajagṛhạ. (*Sn. p. 194—N. Dutt, EMB., p. 125*).

Theragāthā attributes one verse to Ajita-mānava. Buddha expounds Ajita-pucchā to Śāriputta in Samutta Nikāya.[257]

Anuruddha (S. XVI.87)

He[258] was born at Kapilvastu in the Śākya family. His father's name was Anitodana or Amittodhana (A.N. Comy). As the name of the father tells, Anuruddha was brought up most delicately in great luxury.

When grown up, he was summoned to form a general guard of the Master, along with Śākyan Rājās. He was ordained by the Master in the Mango-grove, at Anupiya. Soon he acquired celestial vision, and mastered seven of the thoughts of the Master but could not learn the eighth. The Master taught him that too. With this Anuruddha "soon developed insight and developed Arhatship, accompanied by supernatural and analytic powers and attained celestial in-sight."

Thrilled as he was with the joys of his achievement he wrote psalm, narrating his life of luxury, leaving his mother, sister and brother, sitting in rapt reverie and ultimately attaining enlightenment.

When he[259] became old, he was tempted by a Devata (spirit) to take rebirth among gods but he replied :

"Sojourn amid the company of gods,
Never again, seducer comes for me,
Destroyed is all renewal of rebirth
Now is there no more coming back to be." (908)

The Bhikṣu attained a stage where he showed his mystic powers. He sang[260] :

"In fivefold concentrate ecstasy
My heart goes up in peace and unity.
Serene composure have I made my own
My vision as a god's is clarified." (916)
"I know the destinies of other lives,
. . . .

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257. *SN. II, 47 ff.*

258. Rhys Davids (Psalms of Early Buddhists, 1964), *p. 325 ff. SBE. XX. VII.186.*
Anuruddha was the son of Droṇadana, Śuddhodana's brother. He was given training in meditational exercises by Śāriputra and he attained Arhathood with B's help. He was a constant companion of the Teacher (*N. Dutt. EMB, 1960, p. 160*).
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 505.*

259. *Ibid., p. 328 ff.*

260. *Ibid., p. 330.*

Life where below, or other where of life . . .
Steadfast and rapt in fivefold Jñana such." (917)

The master ranked him foremost among those who had attained celestial eyes.[261] There is Anuruddhasūtta in MN. III.

Aṅṅata-Kodoṅṅa Kauṇḍiṇva (S. XVI. 87),
or Ajñata Kauṇḍiṇya[262]

He belonged to a very rich Brāhmaṇa family of Droṇavastu near Kapilvastu. He was well versed in Vedas and other Brāhmaṇical Śāstras. He was one of the Brāhamaṇās called by King Śiddhodana to ascertain the future of prince Siddhartha. He practised asceticism with Buddha and was one of the five Brāhmaṇās. He was Buddha's first disciple to comprehend his teachings.

Bhaddāli (S. XVI.88)

When Buddha was giving training to the order of monks at Jeṭa grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's[263] monastery, he laid down a rule that, in order to keep good health, the monks should eat only one meal a day. Bhaddāli protested and did not observe the rule and said, "If I ate my food at one time only, I might have scruples, I might have misgivings". For three months he avoided Buddha and continued to break the rule. Ultimately on the eve of Buddha's departure on a journey, acting on the advise of his colleague-monks, he confessed his guilt and begged forgiveness. Buddha praised his this action, preached him the four meditations and ten qualities recorded in Bhaddāli-Sütta in *M.N.*

It is known that in his previous birth he was a crow, therefore he was always hungry. He was known Mahāchātaka (great eater) among his fellows.

Cunda (S. XVI.91)

He was the son of a Brāhmaṇee named Rūpasāri and the younger brother of Śāriputta. He followed Śāriputta and soon won Arhatship with strenuous efforts.[264]

He enjoyed the bliss of solitude (of life) and uttered this psalm.[265] One of the verse is :

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261. B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 505.*
262. N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 96.*
263. *Bhaddāli-Sūtta (M.N. II. PTS. 1975), pp. 107-119.*
264. B.C. Law, *HPL. II. p. 503.*
265. He was born at Nalaka village.
(Rhys Davids, *Psalms, 1964, p. 118*).

Seek thee the lonely haunts,
remote from men,
Practice the life of liberty from bards,
If there ye came not by your hearts' desire
Dwell with the brethren,
mindful and controlled. (142)

Buddha's advise to Cunda the Great, is recorded in Majjhima Nikāya (Sellekha-sutta). Dhotaka (S. XVI.87) is named among the sixteen Brāhamaṇa disciples of Bāvari in Suttanipata (1006-1008). Dhatakamānapukkha[266] gives the details of his discussion with Buddha over Dhamma. He is mentioned as the renowned thinker of the world.

Godatta (S. XVI.88)

He[267] was the son of a carvan-leader of Sāvatthi. After his father's death he looked after his work and also managed his estate. He had 500 carts with which he travelled and maintained himself by trading. One day one of his ox fell off load. When his men could not raise it, he himself smote it severely. At his ruthlessness, the ox assumed human voice and apprised him of his ruthlessness. The ox told him, "Wherein henceforth you are reborn, I be there as your enemy able to hurt you'. Godatta was thrilled and touched. He felt the hurt which he was causing to living beings in this life. He took orders from a certain Thera and attained Arhatship in due course.

One day, abiding in the bliss of fruition, he discoursed on religion and worldly wisdom :

Despise not other men
Better the pain that comes from life austere
Than pleasure born of sensuous desire,
He exhorted, that it is better to die
by doing Right than to live a long life.
. . . .
They who have put off sense desire and wrath
Peace in their heart regarding life to one.
. . . .

Govampati (S. XVI.91)

He belonged to the Śreṣthi family when Yaśas became Buddha's disciple, he was one of the prominent to join the order along with others (Vimal, Ṣubāhu, Pūraṇa (Puṇṇaji) and fifty others).[268]

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[266] *SBE. Vol. X, p. 187 ff.*

[267] Rhys Davids, *Psalms, II, p. 281 ff.*

[268] N. Dutt, *EMB, (1960), p. 99.*

With his great devotion he soon won Arhatship. He is credited with great mystic powers. Once the Great teacher, with his bhikkus went to Añjana grove. The accommodation being insufficient, the bhikkṣus slept around the Vihara on the sandy banks of the river. At night there was flood. Govampati arrested the stream by his mystic power.

Mrs. Rhys Davids calls him "A Moses in psychic power."[269]

Kāppya (Kappa) (S. XVI.91)

He was born at Magadha, and was the son of a provincial hereditary rājā. He was addicted to self-indulgence and sensuality. Buddha saw him with his might and thinking that 'his discourse on foul things' would divert his heart from lusts, would make him renounce the world and win Arhatship, went to him by air.

Kappa heard the master's discourse, as the 'nature and destiny of body complex', in so many figures. In fear and aversion at his own body, he requested the Lord for ordination. The Teacher assigned this duty to one of the Bhikkhu. Kāppya received five exercises and attained Arhatship as his hair were being shaved. Then he went to see the Master and confessed añña in verses. These verses are known as Thera verses.[270]

Kappina (S. XVI.90)

He was born in a Kṣatriya Rājā's family in the border country town named Kukkata (cock). At his father's death he succeeded as Raja Kappina the great. He was fond of scholars and had deputed his men at four gates to the cross-roads to detain scholars and tell him. Once some traders who were followers of Buddha, were brought to him. Raja Kappina learnt from them about Buddha and his religion. Being impressed he forthwith renounced the world and his ministers also did the same.

Then they set out in search of the Master. They crossed the river Chandrabhaga. Master too discerning about Kappina's renunciation, went to see him at the bank of Chandrabhaga. Here the Master taught him the norms and took him to Jetavana.

One day the exalted one asked him to teach the norm to the newcomers. Kappina obeyed and in his very first discourse established a thousand recluses to Arhatship.

The master ranked him the foremost who taught the Brethren. He taught the sisters also. He wrote verses.

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[269] B.C. Law, *HPL. II. p. 501.*

[270] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms. II. p. 259.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 507.*
Añña means gnosis or intuitive enlightenment, constituting the guarantee of Arhatship (*M.N. I.479, SN. II.221*) (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II. ft. n. 1, p. 6*).

His verses, for the most part, are gnomic saws of popular philosophy than genuine Dharma.[271]

He is called Mahākapphina also.[272]

Kaśyapa Uruvela (S. XVI.90)

He was born in a Brāhmaṇa family and was the eldest of the three brothers. He got the name 'Kassapa' from his family name.

He was well versed in three Vedas. He did not find vital truth in the scriptures, became an ascetic[273] and lived on the banks of Nairanjna with 500 disciples. Once Buddha visited him. According to legend, he was defeated by Buddha in philosophical discussion and accepting defeat, reverently asked for ordination. He along with his pupils, cut off their hair and threw them in the river and were all ordained.

At first, he had 1000 followers after his ordination by Buddha all the followers stayed with him and each ordained a great number of others.[274]

He is ranked by Buddha, as chief among the Bhikkus who had great following.

Kātyāyana (S. XVI.87)

He was the son of King Caṇdapajjota of Avanti's priest. He was born at Ujjaini. He was called Kaccāna (Pali) because of his golden colour and the name of his Gotra. He was well versed in Vedas. After his father's death he succeeded him to the office of royal priest. The king deputed him to invite Buddha to Ujjeni with seven others. He, along with his seven friends, met Buddha at Benaras and listened to his discourse. He was so much influenced by Buddha's teachings that he, along with his friends, joined the order and soon became Arhat.[275]

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[271] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II. pp. 254-57.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 504.*
N. Dutt, *EMB., p. 127.*

[272] *Gilgit Mss. III, IV. p. 86.*

[273] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II. p. 209 ff.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 504.*
He was called Uruvela Kassapa partly to distinguish from other Kassapas and partly because he was ordained at Uruvela.

[274] *Malalaśekara, DPPN. I, p. 432.*

[275] *Malaśekara, DPPN. p. 468.*
N. Dutt, EMB., pp. 116-17.
He was named Katiyāna after his mother's family name (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 215*).

When he conveyed the message of the king of Avanti to Buddha, he refused to go to Ujjaini, saying now Kātyāyana can explain the Buddhist Philosophy.[276]

When in Ujjeni, Mahakātyāyana mostly lived in Kuraragharapapāta, in a hut in the Makkara-kata forest. Otherwise he mostly lived in Magadha and Kosala, explaining 'lucidly the terse and enigmatic sayings of the teacher'. He established a centre of Buddhism at Ujjeni, which gained great importance after Buddha's death. He is responsible for converting there Srona Kotikarṇa, a rich Setthi's son and a few Brāhmaṇas of the locality. This centre was the main centre of activity during II Buddhist Council. It was enlarged by Aśoka and his queen, Mahinda and Saṅghamitta's mother.[277]

Buddha's teachings to the great Kātyāyana are among the famous sayings of Buddha. A few lines are quoted :

Be addicted, contemplate, O Kātyāyana (414)
Concentrate O Kātyāyana,
Make the adept in the path to sure
salvation leadings,
Hast thou won the ultimate
purification,
Then shall reach the going out
As flame in water. (415)

It is said that it were these verses he remained uttering, though had won Nibbāna and developed insight and attained Arhatship.[278]

Kṣema (S. XVI.89)

Kṣema was born in a royal family at Sagala in Magadha. She was very beautiful and had skin like gold. Because of her beauty king Bimbasāra made her his chief consort. She came to know that Buddha hated infatuation for physical beauty, she avoided him. She was proud of her beauty.[279]

King Bimbasāra somehow managed to take her to Veluvana Vihāra, where Buddha was living. There she saw more beautiful women fanning the Teacher. Knowing the mind of Kṣema, the Teacher expounded the philosophy of suffering (the vanity of physical beauty) illustrating the example of a celestial nymph, who passed from youth to middle age and then to old age with broken teeth, grey hair and wrinkled face. Kṣema atonce thought of his body passing through all these

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276. B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 504*, adds that at the command of the Master he established the king to the faith and returned to the master.

277. *N. Dutt, EMB., p. 117.*

278. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 215.*

279. N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 127.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 81.*

stages. Then the master preached her the norm, which is recorded in Dhammapāda verse 347. She became a believer and attained Arhatship.[280]

According to commentaries she attained Arhatship as soon as Buddha had finished his discourse. But Apadana say, that she only attained the fruit of one with the consent of the king she entered the order ere she become an Arhant.[281]

Māra tried to tempt her but she replied that she was worshipping the Enlightened one 'the Duriṣuttama' or the supreme one.[282]

She is famous for expounding abstruse doctrines.[283]

Mahāmahākāśyapa (S. XVI.90)

He was the son of a Brāhmaṇa (Kapila), from his chief wife Sumandevi, born in a Brāhmaṇa family at the Brāhmaṇa village of Mahā-Titthta in Magadha. He was named Pippali Mānava.

He had no mind to get married but was married to Bhadda Kapilani. They lived separately though were husband and wife.

When Pippali-mānava's parents died, he along with his wife, decided to renounce the world. Husband and wife took yellow robes, cut each others' hair, taking bowls in their hands granted freedom to their servants and leaving them weeping they left their home full of luxury. They took different roads, so that each is not a hindrance to the other.[284]

According to legend Pippali had immense wealth and led a very luxurious life. He used twelve-measures of perfumed powder daily. He had sixty lakes with water-works and his workmen occupied sixteen villages each as large as Anuruddhapura.

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280. B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 509.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms. II, p. 82.*
Dhm. verse—347 :

ये रागरत्तानुपतन्ति सौतं
सयंकतं मक्कटको व जालं ।
एतम्पि छेत्वान् वजन्ति घीरा
अनपेक्खिनो सव्व दुक्खं पहाय ।

281. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms. II, p. 82.*
Quotes Apādāna version (92 verse in complete) and adds Arhatship outside the order was very rare, though not unknown.

282. Ibid., *Psalms II. p. 84.*

283. N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 128.*

284. *Malālaśekara, DPPN, pp. 476-77.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II., pp. 359-60.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 506.*

This big change in his life came when he saw worms being eaten by the birds in a field.[285]

According to Tradition, when Buddha learnt about great Kaśyapa's (Kassapa) renunciation, he along with his eighty chief Therās walked three leagues to see him. The Teacher sat at the foot of the Bahūputtaka Nigrodha (under a banyan tree) between Rājagṛha and Nālandā. Pippali here met Buddha, resplendent in all the glory of Buddha and prostrated. He ordained Kassapa here.

Together they returned to Rājagṛha. He exchanged his new soft robe with the Master's rag-robe. Being conscious of this great honour, Kassapya took upon himself thirteen dhutagunas (austere vows) and became Arhat after eight days.[286] Buddha delivered to him four-fold instructions of right exertion (samayakaprāhaṇa), importance of observance of disciplinary rules, control of sense-organs, and sense perceptions on non-grasping and phenomenal object and lastly on four-truths (N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 103).

He was pronounced by the master, chief among those who upheld dhutavādānam (minute observances of form) or who undertook extraordinary austerities showing detachment.[287]

Kassapa was not present at the death of the Buddha. An Ajiva met him while journeying from Pava to Kuṣinara. He was bringing one flower (Mādara) from the rain of flowers offered on the dead Buddha and told the sad news to the great (Kassapa).

According to tradition, Buddha's pyre could not be lit till he along with his 500 companions had saluted the feet of the Teacher.[288]

After the death of Buddha, there was a rift among the monks over the derogatory remark of Subbaddha that they were 'well rid of the great Samana, and could now do as they liked'. Kassapa convened a meeting of the five hundred selected monks. This was presided by him (Kassapa). Dhamma and Vinaya were recited in this assembly.

There are numerous references to Mahākassapa in Buddhist literature (Jātakas

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285. *Malālaśekara, DPPN, p. 477.*
N. Dutt, EMB, pp. 102-3.

286. *Malālaśekara, DPPN, pp. 477-78.*
According to this Dictionary, the robe was exchanged on the way to Rājagṛha. Mr. Rhys Davids opines that the robe was exchanged reaching Rājagṛha. (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 361*).

287. *Malālaśekara, DPPN, p. 476.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 361.*

288. *D.N. II, 163 ff.* (Malālaśekara, Ibid., *p. 479*).

and SN). He is known for his *Iddhi* powers. Buddha also equated him with himself in his powers of Jñana.[289]

Before he met Buddha he was a firm believer in the existence of body and soul. Buddhism (Buddha's teaching) convinced him "That sorrows of human life could be removed by suitable disciplinary practices."[290]

Maudgalyāna (S. XVI.91)

He was Sariputta's (Śāriputra) friend. Both the friends one day parted and went in search of a teacher who could impart them the Truth. Both promised to tell each other if he could find one.

Śāriputra found 'Sanjay' as such and informed Maudgalyāna what he had discovered. Both penetrated into the Truth and gained the eye of wisdom. Then both become Buddha's disciples. Their example was followed by 250 other disciples of Sanjay.[291]

Meghikā (S. XVI.89)
or *Meghakathāllikā*

He was originally the student of a 'bamboo-acrobat' (Caṅdala-Vaṁṣika). One day his master asked him to climb the bamboo and stand on his shoulder. In this performance they should look after each other. But Meghikā replied each should look after oneself. The Buddha narrated this story at Dasakā in the Sumba country and said in the same way each man should look after himself. 'By guarding oneself one guards another. This is done by the cultivation of Satipaṭṭhānas.'[292]

Aśvaghoṣa has also given the example of Meghikā's balance of power to attain the stage of glory (S. XVI.92) to Nanda.

Moharāja
or *Mogharāja*

He was one of the 16 Brāhmaṇa pupils sent by Bāvari to Buddha. He is famous for questioning Buddha, how the world should be regarded, in order to escape death. Buddha explained him that it should be regarded empty (Suññato). The Teacher further told him to get rid of the thought of self (attānuḍiṭṭhi).

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[289] *Malālaśekhara, DPPN, pp. 479-482.*
Mahākaśyapya was so called to distinguish him from other Kassapas.

[290] *N. Dutt, EMB, p. 103.*

[291] *Ibid., p. 102.*

[292] *Malālaśekara, DPPN. II. p. 662.* It is added in the Comy. (S.A. III.82) : In this performance the end of the pole rests on the forehead or throat. The man concerned has to watch the balance carefully and not attend to the man at the end of the pole. (Ibid.)

The legend tells he had asked Buddha the same question twice before; but since he was not mature, enough to understand the philosophy, the Master did not reply or teach him. But when he received Master's reply he soon attained Arhanship.

He attained distinction by wearing rough clothes thrown away by carvaners, tailors and dyers. Buddha declared him the foremost wearers of rough clothing.[293]

Nanda (S. XVI.87,90)

He was the son of Śuddhodana and Prajāpati. Born at Kapilvastu, he was a brother to Buddha. Vasantara Jātaka narrates the story of Master's visit to Kapilvatthu. He was taken away by the Master, on the day of his marriage and was ordained. But he had no interest in the life of renunciation. Buddha trained him and established insight. He soon attained Arhanship. He, while enjoying the bliss of Nibbāna, uttered verses. He was declared chief among the disciples of the Master.[294]

Nandaka (S. XVI.89)

Nandakovada Sutta (MN III) describes him as one of the chief disciples of Buddha. He is described to have his own method of making the disciples understand the difficult Buddhist philosophy in questions and answers form.

He ordained 500 nuns, along with 'Mahāprajāpati, the Gotmi', at the command of Buddha. They were exhorted at Savatthi at the kings' Monastery.[295] The exhortation is in the form of questions and answers i.e. the expression 'we understand' if understood and 'we do not understand' if not understood.

Mahāprajāpati Gotmi, Buddha's stepmother (real sister of Māyā Devi) and Nanda's mother is said to have attained Arhatship before Nandakovada Sutta was listened by her. Later on, at an assembly of monks and nuns Buddha declared Prajāpati as chief of those who are experienced (Rattaññunam) (Malālaśekara, DPPN, II, p. 523).

At Sāvatthi, Nandaka explained the difficult Buddhist philosophy to Sālha (Migra's grandson, where the monk was staying) and Rohaṇa (Pekhuniya's grandson). In the end Sālha said "...formerly I had malice, that was evil. Now it exists no more : that is good. Formerly I was deluded, now delusion exists no more, that is good. Thus in this very life he is free from craving, he is released, he has became cool ; he of himself, abides in experience of bliss, by becoming Brahma.''[296]

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[293] *Malālaśekara, DPPN, p. 669.*

[294] He is distinguished in AN, I.25.
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II. p. 126.*
N. Dutt, EMB, pp. 106-7. (His coronation and marriage were fixed on the 3rd day of the visit of Buddha to Kapilvastu. But Aśvaghoṣa in S. has depicted him married and attached to Sundari.)

[295] Rājakārāma, built by Pasenadi, to the south of the city, corresponding to Thupārama at Anurādhapura M.A. v. 96 ; *J. II.15 and DPPN." Ft. n. 4, MN. Vol. II, p. 323.* Gotmi was her family name. (R. Davids, *Psalms, I, p. 87*).

Nandamātā (S. XVI.89)

She was a distinguished lay disciple of Buddha. Two Nandamātās, one called Uttarā and the other Velukantaki known to us may be one person with two names i.e. Uttarā Nandamātā of Velukanta village. She entertained Sariputta and other monks and thereby earned great merit. She became Sakadāgāmi.[297] The conversion of Velukantaki Nandamātā might have taken place in the eleventh year of Buddha's ministry. She is famous for memorising Buddhist texts, particularly Pavayāna Vagga of Sūttanipāta.[298]

Nanda's mother (Nandamātā), known as Mahāprajāpati Gotmi decided to join the order after Śuddhodana's death. Buddha came to Vaiśāli and later visited Kapilvastu to settle the water dispute between Śakiyas and Koliyas. When he was able to decide the dispute, taught Kalahavivāda Sutta. As a result 500 Śakyas joined the order. Their wives went to Buddha led by Prajāpati. They were converted at the command of Buddha. (DPPN, p. 528).

Pilindavatsa (S. XVI.87)

He is called Pilinda-Vaccha[299] or Pillindi-Vacca or Pillindiyo-vaccha in Pāli. He was a Brāhmaṇa of Sāvatthi and was born before Buddha's Enlightenment. Pilinda was his personal name and Vacca was that of his family.

Pilinda entered the Buddhist order in order to learn Cūla-Gandhāra-Vijja charm which had refused to work (of which he had the knowledge). Buddha gave him exercises in meditation and he soon became an Arhant.

According to Therāgāthā Aṭṭakathā (I.51 f) certain Devās, who were born in Deva's world, because of Pilinda's guidance in a former birth, waited on him day and night. For this reverence, he was declared by the Master the Chief among such monks.

King Bimbasāra got one monastery constructed for him which came to be known as Ārimikigāma or Pilindagāma. Pilinda's Iddhi powers are famous. According to tradition, one day when Pilinda went for alms in a village, he saw a girl weeping, because she had no ornaments to wear on the feast day. Pilinda gave her a roll of grass to put round her head. It soon turned into gold. The kings' officer suspected the wealth in the family and threw them in prison. Next day, Pilinda went to the king and demonstrated his Iddhi powers by converting the whole palace into gold. The king and courtiers being impressed, gave large quantities of the fine medicaments which, he distributed to the needy.

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[296] *AN. (Gradual Sayings) I, p. 176.*
"Comy. takes Brahma to be a title of Buddha, it probably means the most high." (Ibid., ft. n. 4, p. 187).

[297] *AN. I. pp. 26, 88 ; II. p. 164 ; IV. p. 348 quotes N. Dutt, EMB. pp. 121-22.*
Velukantakiyā was Nanda's mother (*AN.* (*Gradual sayings*) *II. p. 170*).

[298] *N. Dutt, EMB. p. 122.*

[299] *Malālaśekara, DPPN, p. 209 ff.*

Pūrṇa Pūrṇaka (S. XVI.90)
or *Pūṅṅa Pūṅṅaka* (Pali)

He was a Seṭṭhi of Rājagṛha and father of Uttarā-Nandamātā. He was very poor. One day, Sariputta went to his field and was given only tooth-stick and water. He then met his wife, who was taking food for her husband. Sariputta begged alms and she offered the food to him. This made Sariputta very happy.

She went home again, cooked rice and took it to her husband. After the meal, poor Purṇaka slept. When he woke up, he found that the field was turned into gold. When the king heard of it, he sent carts to bring gold. After king's men had taken, it again turned into gold. The gold was collected at the name Puṅṅa and he won the title of Bahudhana Seṭṭhi. He built a new house and "at the feast distributed great alms giving to Buddha and his monks. This Puṅṅa is mentioned in Jātaka and Milinda (pp. 115, 291) and he is also the famous disciple whose devotion brought reward in this very life.[300]

Pag Sam Zon Zang has recorded a traditional Pūrṇaka, who with Vasumitra presided at the 3rd Buddhist Council.[301]

Pūrṇa (X. XVI.90)

He was a chamberlain of Pasenadi. He met Buddha with his brother Isidatta at Saduka (S.N. 349 ff). Dhamma—Cetiya Sutta speaks great of these two men. They were ideal devotees of Buddha, who at night would sleep with their head towards the spot, where Buddha resided and with their feet towards the king.

Pūraṇa is mentioned as ideal layman.[302]

Pūrṇa (S. XVI.90)
or *Pūrṇa Maitrāyanipura*

He was the son of a rich Brāhmaṇa of Droṇavastu (in Kośala) near Kapilvastu. He was Annata Kodañña's sister's son. He received ordination from him at Kapilvastu after Buddha's departure from Benaras. He with his devotion and as a duty bond recluse, soon attained Arhatship. The master proclaimed Pūṅṅa chief among the Bhikkus in preaching the norm. He met Buddha at Sāvatthi.[303]

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[300] *Malālaśekara, DPPN. p. 221.*

[301] *S.C. Dass, P.S.Z. Zang, p. 44, Vide Index p. LXIII.*

[302] *Malālaśekara, DPPN, pp. 237-38.*

[303] *N. Dutt, EMB., p. 97.*
B.C. Law, HPL, II, p. 501.

Rādha (S. XVI.87)

He was a Brāhmaṇa of Rājagṛha. In old age when he could not perform his various duties he sought ordination.[304] Because of his old age the monks refused him. Then he went to Buddha. The Master, seeing his Upanissaya (graduation in essential conditions) ordered Sariputta to admit him. Soon after he won Arhatship.

He mostly remained near the Master. Because of his skill Buddha declared him foremost among those who could inspire and speak impromter (P. Pattbhānakeyyānam).[305] Soon he became the famous Paṭibhaniya Therā. Therigāthā contains two verses spoken by him. Rādha Saṁyutta[306] contains many Suttas preached by Buddha in answer to Radha's questions. Buddha often discussed subtle topics with him.

In *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (III. Text 188 ff).[307]

The philosophy of : Nibbāna, a Being, grasping, understanding and an Arhat are beautiful examples of questions and answers between Buddha and Rādha.

e.g. "Body Rādha is a thing to be understood ; so
is feeling, perception, the activities.
Consciousness in a thing to be understood,
What Rādha is understanding ?

The destruction of lust, hatred illusion—Rādha is called understanding."

To quote one of the famous sayings of Rādha[308] :

E'en as into an ill roofed house the rain,
Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
So into my mind by exercise untrained.
Doth passion ever pierce and penetrate
And as into a well-roofed house no rain
Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
So into my mind, by calm and insight trained
Doth passion never pierce and penetrate. (134)

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[304] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 113.*
Malālaśekara, *DPPN, p. 730* adds, being neglected by his children in his old age he sought ordination.

[305] *A. I.25* ; *Th. GA. I.253 f.* (quoted by Malālaśekara *DPPN, p. 730 ft. n. 2*).

[306] *22nd section of S.N.*

[307] *S.N. III. pp. 156-158.*

[308] *Mrs. Rhys Davids, Psalms II, p. 113.*

Rāṣtrapāla (S. XVI.89)

He was the son of a councillor called Raṭṭhapāla ; and was born in the country of Kurus, in a market town called Thhullakoṭṭhita.[309]

Being the only child of his parents, he sought the permission to adopt the faith and got it with great difficulty. He received Faith from a Bhikṣu at Buddha's command when the latter visited the town.

Soon by his super knowledge and diligent study he developed insight and won Arhatship. Then one day with the permission of the Lord he went to see his parents with a begging bowl in hands. He was provided with stale food at his father's house which he took happily. Next day his father tried to allure him with wealth and his wives so that he returns home. But it had no effect. His father made another attempt to tempt him through king Koravya. The Thera replied "These are, Sire, four expandings of dhamma expounded by the Lord who knows, who sees, perfected one, fully self-awakened one ; because I have known and seen and heard these, I have gone forth from home into homelessness."

Being again asked Raṭṭhapāla told that the four truths are : "The unstable world is brought to an end (Upaniyati loko addhuvo), ...the world is no refuge, no guard ; ...the world is not one's own, one must go, leaving everything...and the world lacks...is unsatisfied, a slave to craving."[310]

He wrote verses, which have been quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids in Buddhist philosophy of re-birth, sense desires and his love for Buddha. Raṭṭhapāla Sūtta narrates his confession of Aṅña :

Diverse sweet, delightful sense-pleasures
In various ways disturb the mind.
Having seen the peril in sense pleasures,
I O, Sire, therefore gone forth.
As fruits from the tree, so fall men,
Both young and old, on the break up of the body,
Having seen this too, I have gone forth sire,
Better indeed is sure recluseship.[311]

To quote a psalm, in Mrs. Rhys David's[312] collection :

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[309] *Raṭṭhapālasūtta* (*MN. II*), *p. 251 ff.*
Comy. tells that he was wealthy enough to prop up a bankrupt kingdom. (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II. p. 302*).

[310] *Raṭṭhapālasūtta* (*MN. II, pp. 361-62*).

[311] *MN. II. p. 267.*

[312] Mrs. R. Davids (*Psalms II*), *p. 306 ff.*

Then to me pierced and wounded as I was
Came fourfold victory : O'er sense desires
O'er rebirth, error, ignorance, victory. (791)
......
Low I have laid the heavy load I bore
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (792)

This impressed the king Koravya and he accepted the Norms. Then Ruṭṭhapāla went to Buddha, who in the assembly of monks, declared Raṭṭhapāla "foremost of those, who had left the world through faith."[313]

There is a Mahāyāna Text, called Raṣtrapālaparipṛhha, in which Buddha gave answers to the queries of Raṣtrapāla about the practices, leading to the attainment of Bodhi (Bodhicharya).[314]

Revata (S. XVI.91)

He was born at Nalaka village in Magadha in a Brāhmaṇa family. His mother was Rūpasāri Brāhmaṇee. When he came of age his mother wanted him to get married, but he announced himself as the younger brother of Sariputta and left the home.

After waiting for a long time, he got the formulae of meditation from Śariputta. Then he set out to see Buddha. On the way he stopped at Khadiravaṇa (Acaccia forest) during the rainy season and there he won Arhatship.

When Buddha learnt about Revata he went to see him in the forest. When Revata came to know, he constructed a splendid dwelling for the Master and his pupils. Buddha spent three months with him.[315]

After attaining Arhatship Revata went to see the Master alongwith Śariputta, and other great Theras and again returned to Acaccia wood. The Master assigned "Revata, the Acaccia woodlander, the first place among forest Bhikkus."[316]

Once while he was going to see Buddha, he stayed in a forest close to Savatthi. The running thieves dropped their booty near the Thera. The police took him to be a thief and produced him before the king. There he pleaded his innocence and also taught Dhamma to the king, by his incapacity for such an act.

According to tradition, he then and there, passed away. 'Like a flame going out'. The concluding stanzas of the chronicle relate that he sat cross-legged in the sky 'until his body burnt out'.[317]

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[313] *Ibid., p. 307.*

[314] *N. Dutt, EMB, p. 127.*

[315] *Malālaśekara, DPPN, pp. 752-753.*

[316] *AN. I.24.* See Revata's powers Sec. CCXLIV (quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms, II, p. 46, ft. n. 4*). B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 505.*

[317] *Malālaśekara, DPPN, p. 753.*
Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 279 and ft. n. 3.*

He is famous for ordaining his sister's three sons—Cāla, Upacāla and Sisupacāla going to his native village.[318]

Saṁgamajit or *Saṁgrāmajit* (S. XVI.88)

He was the son of a rich Sethi (merchant) of Benaras. Comming of age he was married and had a son. He wanted to become Buddha's disciple and a monk. But Buddha asked him to take the permission of his parents and then approach him. With great difficulty he got the permission, lived in forest after ordination and soon attained Arhanship.

He then returned to Śāvatthi where he paid homage to the Teacher. When he was spending the noon-day under a tree his parents, wife and child went to see him. He refused to see them. Buddha learnt this with his divine eye and was very happy.[319]

Sarpadāsa (S. XVI.88)

He was born at Kapilvastu, as son of Śuddhodana's Chaplain. He entered the order when Buddha visited his own people. Overpowered as he was with Kleśas (corrupt habits of mind and character) he was unable to concentrate and control his mind. Being disgusted he was going to commit suicide when suddenly the 'inward vision' in him expounded and he attained Arhatship. He confessed *aṅña* and said :

"Distressed and harassed by desires of senses,
In tears wringing my hands, I left my lodge. (406)

One day while he was going to cut his throat :

"In me arose a deeper thought,
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest,
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed,
And so my heart was set at Liberty.
O see the seemly order of the Norm !
The three fold wisdom have I made my own
And all the Buddha bids us do is done.''[320]

Śoṇa (S. XVI.88)

There are two Śoṇas :

(1) Śoṇa Potrriyaputta
(2) Śoṇa Kolivisa

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[318] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 46.*

[319] *Ud. I. 8., Ud. A. 71 ff* (quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms. II, p. 983*).

[320] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms. II, p. 214.*

1. *Śoṇa Potrriyaputta*

He was the son of a Zamindar of Kapilvastu. Coming of age he become the Chief Captain of the forces of Bhaddiya, a Śākiyān rājā. This death of his master effected him so much that he took orders.

He was very sluggish in his practices. The Teacher, once, while dwelling in the mango grove at Anupya, called him and aroused mindfulness in him. Śoṇa was agitated to listen to his shortcomings and adopted the open air practices to gain insight. Ultimately he succeeded.[321]

2. *Śoṅa Kolivisa*

He was born at Champā in the family of a distinguished Councillor.[322] He was brought upon amidst great luxury and lived in three mansions, suited to three seasons.

When the Teacher was staying in Rājagṛha and started rolling the wheel of Norm, King Bimbasāra sent for Śona. He heard the Master and with parent's consent, entered the order. But in the cool word he was unable to concentrate. Buddha corrected him. He went to Vulture peak and won Arhatship. He said verses declaring his *aṅṅa*. His famous verse is :

> Five cent thou off, Five leave behind,
> And five beyond these cultivate.
> He who the five-fold bond;
> Transcends . . . a Brother
> Flood crossed is be called. (633)

It is said that he used to practise meditation by circumambulating the sacred sites, which used to be marked with the blood of his feet.[323]

Śoṇa Kōtikarṇa (S. XVI.88)

He was born at Avanti. He belonged to a very wealthy family of a Councillor. He learnt the Norms from Mahākaccāna and was his lay devotee. He recited the sixteen aṭṭhakas and won Arhatship.[324]

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[321] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms. II, p. 143.*

[322] B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 507.*
N. Dutt, *EMB. p. 120.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms, II, p. 275 ff.*
He was named Soṇa because of his soft, fine body of golden colour. (b) his father's wealth increased from the time of his birth. (Ibid.)
Kolivisa was his family name. (Ibid.)

[323] N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 120.*
The palms of his hands and feet were extremely delicate. He could not walk barefooted.

[324] B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 503.*
N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 127.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms, p. 202 ff.*

Mahākaccāna deputed him to entreat Buddha to relax Vinaya rules, specially for the Saṁgha of the border countries (paccantimajanapada) including Avanti. Mul Sarvāstivāda Vinaya gives a long story of Śoṇa Kotikaṇṇa's (Pali) biography.[325]

He was called Śoṇa Kotikarṇa because he was wearing ear-jewellery worth a crore.[326]

Pūrṇa Śoṇaparānta (S. XVI.90)

He was born in the family of a burgess at the port or Supparaka in the Śoṇaparānta country. Once with a great carvan of merchandise he went to Sāvatthi. Here he heard the discourse of the Buddha. He entered the order and in due course won Arhatship.[327]

Subhūti (S. XVI.88)[328]

He was Anāthapindika's nephew. His uncle purchased the Jeta grove and presented the same to Buddha. *Subhūti* was present. He accepted the Norms preached by the blessed one, and realised the worthlessness of the wordly life. He renounced the world and gained insight on the basis of jñana and mastered the Vinaya rules (Norman Dharma). Soon he attained Arhatship. Buddha declared him "Chief of his disciples in universal *amity* (Metta-bhāvana) and chief among such as were worthy of gifts."

The great brother travelled far and wide for the good of many and in due course he reached Rājagṛha. King Bimbasāra came to salute him here. The King bid him "Here your reverence be pleased to dwell and I will make you a dwelling place." It is known that he stayed there, but finding no shelter meditated in the open air. According to the legend, because of bis dignity it did not rain and the people were oppressed with drought. Then a leaf hut was made for the Brother and it rained in drops. In order to discard the fear of drought, he confessed aṅña and uttered a verse :

> "Well roofed and pleasant is my hut,
> And screened from winds rain at thy will, thou god

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[325] N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 127*.

[326] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 202*.

[327] B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 507. See* :
Pūrṇa Śoṇa prante. cf. (*MN. III*, Puṇṇovāda sutta, *p. 319*).

[328] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, p. 4*.
B C. Law, *HPL II, p. 500*.
N. Dutt, *EMB, p. 126*.
N. Dutt says there is no evidence to show that he was the nephew of Anāthapindika.
Vinya Text I, *p. 273*.

my heart is well composed, my heart is a tree
And ardent is my mood, Now
Rain god, rain."[329] (1)

Sujāta (S. XVI.88)

He was a Brāhmaṇa of Benaras. While grieving for the death of his son he met Vasitthi Theri, who told him about Buddha. He went to Mithila and met Buddha. He was ordained, with his devotion he attained Arhatship on the third day. Perhaps he is the Thera mentioned in Saṁyutta Nikāya (II. 278ff), who is applauded by Buddha for his bright expressions.[330]

Tiṣya (S. XVI.87,90)

He was born in a royal family at the town of Roguva. He succeeded his father and became the ruler. He, being an absent ally of King Bimbasāra, sent him presents of jewels, pearls and robes. The king reciprocated the gesture of gifts by sending a painted penal of the life of Buddha and "the conditioned Genesis on a gold plate, specially inscribed".

Tissa (Pāli) was so much influenced that he abdicated and entered the order. Taking earthen bowl, he followed the prince Pukkusati. He left the town and went to Rājagṛha. There he lived in Sabhasoṅdika cave. He visited the Teacher and by learning he won Arhatship.

He uttered the following psalms, alluding to his experiences :

Renouncing costly vessels,
Wrought in bronze
In gold I grasped
this earthen pot
The second time I was annointed then.[331]

Upāli (S. XVI.89)

He was born in a barber's family. According to Pāli records, he met Buddha at Anupiya Grove. He followed Anuruddha and five other nobles and renounced the world. He lived with the Master and became proficient in both book-knowledge and insight. The Master himself taught him the Vinaya Piṭaka.

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[329] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms, II, p. 5.*

[330] *Malālaśekara, DPPN II, p. 1186.*

[331] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms, II, pp. 90-91.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 502.*

He soon won Arhatship. He was ranked first among those who knew Vinaya.[352] Upāli Sūtta (MN.II) mentions of the teaching of Dhamma to Upāli by the Teacher. The Sūtta narrates that he was a follower of the great Jain devotee, Nigaṇtha Naṭaputta. He went to Buddha to establish the superiority of his teacher and doctrine, but was won over by Buddha. Thereafter he became a great devotee of Buddha and was permitted to continue his charity to disciples of his Guru.[333]

Upasena (S. XVI.87)

He[334] was born in the village of Nalaka. He was the son of Rūpasari Brāhmaṇi and brother or Sariputta. Having come of age, he learnt the three Vedas. Later on, he renounced the world. He heard the Master teaching the Norm, and decided to join the order. One year after being ordained, he himself ordained another Bhikku. He went to see the Master with him. Buddha rebuked him for this hasty action.

Then he studied with devotion to gain insight and soon won Arhatship. He adopted austerior practices and asked others to do likewise. He was so successful that the Master ranked him foremost those who were generally popular.

Uttara (S. X1V.87)

She[335] was born at Sāvatthi in a clansman family. When grown up, she heard the Paṭacārā preaching the Norm. She decided to become a believer and joined the order. Soon she attained Arhatship. She wrote verses also.

Vāṣapa (S. XVI.87) or *Vāsabha Thera* (Pāli)[336]

He belonged to the family of Licchavi Raja of Veśāli. He joined the order, when Buddha visited the town. In due course he won Arhatship. He endeared himself to the common folk by accepting with grace whatever was given to him.

There was another monk living close to him. He was fraudulent and deceived people pretending to lead simple life. He was also greatly honoured by the people. (One) *Sakka* discovering this fraud, approached *Vāsabha* and questioned him about

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332. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, pp. 168-69.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 503.*
SBE. XX, p. 229 ff.

333. *MN. II PTS. (1975), p. 45 ff.*

334. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, pp. 261-62.*

335. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms I, p. 94.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 512.*

336. *Malālaśekara, DPPN, II, p. 843.*

the ways of an imposter. The elder replied him in two verses, with which Sakka warned the imposter.

Vimala (S. XVI.87)

He was born in a very rich family of Rājagṛha. He was named so, because he was born free of all impurities (as pure as a dew drop on a lotus leaf). Being impressed by Buddha's majesty, he joined the order, when the latter visited Rājagṛha.[337]

He lived in a mountain cave in Kośala and practised meditation. One rainy night, which dispelled heat and feverishness, the Thera was able to concentrate till he won Arhatship. He was so happy at this accomplishment that he broke forth :

> "The burdened earth is sprinkled by rain,
> The winds blow cool, the lightening roam on high,
> Eased ! Alleyed th'obsessions of the Mind,
> In my heart the spirit's Mastery."[338]

This was his confession.

Yaśas (S. XVI.89)

He was the son of a very rich merchant of Benaras. He was called Yaṣa or Yaśoda. He was brought up in great luxury. He lived in three mansions, suited to three seasons.

One mid-night he, leaving his palace, came to river side. While strolling, he exclaimed aloud 'Upaddutani vata bho upassaṭṭham vata bho' (I am in trouble, I am in distress). Buddha, who was staying at Ṛsipattana, was at that time sitting on the bank of the river Varuṇa. He over-heard this. He called Yaśas and delivered him first discourse. Finding Yaśas being influenced by the discourse, Buddha imparted to him the four Truths and the Law of causation. This enlighted Yaśas and he attained complete liberation, alongwith miraculous powers.[339]

After a long time, the parents of Yaśas came searching their son, to Buddha. They were also ordained by Buddha.

Yaśas went home with his parents and ordained other household members. His friends Vimala, Subhabu, Puṇṇaji, Gavamati also followed his example.

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[337] *Malālaśekhara, DPPN., II, p. 890.*
Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms, II, p. 54.*

[338] The Heart, consciousness of me is well composed.
(Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms II, ft. n. 2, p. 54*).

[339] *Malālaśekara, DPPN., pp. 685-86.*
N. Dutt, *EMB, pp. 98-99.*
B.C. Law, *HPL. II, p. 303.*

2

Geography

Mountains

Early Buddhism is mainly concerned with the life and Teachings of Buddha. Buddhist literature, therefore, abounds with geographical information of 'Madhyadeśa,' within the limits of which the first converts and the teacher confined their activities. Its border countries and the kingdoms were undoubtedly known to them and were often visited by the monks, but the distant north or south or the N-west seems to have been known by name only, as handed down to them by tradition.[1]

Aśvaghoṣa in his both the Kāvyās, *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita*, deals with the Ikṣvākus (Śākyas) and has mentioned India between Himalayas in the North and Vindhyas in the South. He has mostly confined himself to the Janapadas and rivers of 'Madhyadeśa'.

Himalayas

Aśvaghoṣa has described Himalayas as the protector of the northern boundary of India.[2] It is Ādri-rāja[3] and Giri-rāja[4] (the lord of the mountains). It is Himavāna and Himavata,[5] having snow capped peaks.[6]

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[1] B.C. Law, *G.E.B.*, Intro. p. xv.

[2] S. X.7. रक्षणमेव चाद्रेः ।

[3] S. III.7. (Himādri is Himalaya mountain, N.D. Dey, *Geog. Dic.*, p. 75).

[4] गिरिराजकीला ।

[5] B. VII.39 हिमवान् ; VIII.36 हिमवन्महीसमे ; IX.76 हिमवान्
S. X.5. हिमवन्तमाशु ; S. X.13. हिमवान् हिशैलः ;
S. I.5. हिमवत शुभैः ।

[6] S. X.8. सितै हि शृङ्गै ।

The poet has also alluded to many high mountain peaks and off-shoots, such as Kailash (B. II.30), Mandara (B. VI.13) and Meru or Sumeru (B. I.37, 21; V.26, 37, 42, 43) besides the Vindhyas (B. XIII.38).

Men'ion of Himalayas is also there in the ancient Brāhamaṇical literature. It is the Himavata of Mahābharata (Vana Parva), Ṛgveda (X.121.4) and Dharma Sūtras (B. 1.2.10, Va. 1.8) which describe it as the northern boundary of Āryāvarta.[7] It is Himavanta of Atharvaveda (XII.II) and is Himavana of Purāṇas (Mārkandeya, Chs. 54, 55, Varah P., Ch. 78). In Mārkandeya Purāṇa the Himavata range is described to have stretched from sea to sea like the string of a bow (Himovānuttare ṇāsya Kamukasya yathā Gunah) (Mar. P. 57, 59).[8] It implies that the name Himavat meant the entire mountain range that stretches from Sulaiman along the west to the Assam and Arakan in the east, including a number of smaller mountain ranges.[9]

In Mahāvaṁṣa,[10] Aśoka sent Majjhima Sthavira to Himavata (Himalayas) to propagate Buddhism. His ashes have been found in Tope 2 of Sanchi group with an inscription of 3rd century letters, on the inner lid of the relic urn (Sari purissa kāśapa Gotas Savahemavatāchariyvsa).[11]

In Milinda, Himalaya is the source of ten rivers.[12] It is one of the seven mountain ranges that surround Gandhamādana.[13]

Ray Chowdhary concludes[14] 'that Himavat or Himādri is only the varṣa-paravata, which is placed within the geographical limits of Bhāratvarṣa'.

Himalaya is the highest mountain range of the world. 'It forms a circular arch, with its convexity towards India, lying in between the two great rivers—Indus and the Brahmaputra, in the west and the east respectively. It consists of three almost parallel ranges of varying attitude viz. the great Himalaya, the lesser Himalaya and the outer Himalaya.'[15]

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[7] Even in the time of the composition of Baudhāyana the exact extent of Āryāvarta was a matter of controversy, this is indicated by Baudhāyana's reference to the views of others, according to whom this tract of land lies between the Ganga and Yamuna. Bhallavins (a school studying Sāmaveda *SBE* XIV. ft. n. 11, p. 147) referred to by Baudhāyana describes Āryāvarta Paścat sindhur visaraṇi Sūryasyodayanam purah. Yavat kṛṣno bhidhāvati tavadhi brahavarcsam (S.C. Banerji, *DS.*, p. 232).

[8] The statement of Mārkandey Puraṇa is supported by M.Bh. VI. 6.3 (B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 82). It is called Himavata, Himvanta, Himavāṇa etc. because its peaks are covered with snow. *Himavanta* : No. 836 in Luders list.

[9] B.C. Law, *G.E.*, p. 82.

[10] *Mahāvaṁṣa*, (XII. H. Ed.), p. 60.

[11] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 75-76. For details please see my *History of Buddhism in Kashmir*, pp. 13-14.

[12] *Milinda*, (Trenckner), p. 114.

[13] *DPPN*. II, p. 1325 ; *Parmathajotika*, II, p. 66.

[14] Ray Chow.—*I. Antiquities*, pp. 94-101.

[15] B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 16.

Kailāsh

In Mahābhārata, Kailāsh mountain is called Hemakūta.[16]

It is Aṣtapada mountain of the Jainas[17] and Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans. It is situated about 25 miles to the north-east of Mansarovar, beyond Gangotri, which is also called Darchin and to the east of Niti-pass (Batten's Niti pass in JASB. 1838, p. 314).[18] The Kailāsh range runs parallel to Ladakh range, fifty miles behind the latter.[19] It is a spur of Gangotri range[20] and is famous for being the abode of Mahādeva and Pārvati. On either side of the mountain, through ravines the pilgrims perform their perambulation in two days. Mahābhārata (Vana Parva) and Varāh Purāṇa (Ch.48) mention the site of Badrikāśrama on this mountain.

According to Matsya Purāṇa (121.2), Kailāsh range formed a part of Himavat, though according to Mārkandeya Purāṇa it was a separate mountain.[21] Brahmānda Purāṇa (Ch.51) includes the mountains of Kumaun Garhwal in the Kailāsh range.

Aśvaghoṣa and Kailāsh

Our poet has described Kailāsh mountain, glorious in beauty,[22] having many unshakable and sparkling peaks.[23]

H. Stratchy says,[24] "That Kailāsh surpasses the big Gurle or any other Indian Himalayas that I have ever seen—it is full of majesty and a king of mountains."

Mandara

Mahābhārata (Vana. P.) recognises Mandara mountains as one of the Himalaya ranges. 'According to this epic, it is in the east, is perhaps a part of Gandhamādana, and is in the north of Badrikāśrama.'[25]

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[16] Bhīshama Parva.

[17] B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 88.

[18] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 82.
'Lake Mansarovar is situated on the Kailāsh mountain, in Huṇadeśa in western Tibet'. (*JASB*, XVII, p. 166, vide *G.D.*, N.L. Dey, p. 123).

[19] B.C. law, *H.G.*, p. 88.

[20] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 82.

[21] B.C. Law, *G.E.*, p. 83.
"So-called parvatas were in fact parts of Himalayan chain."
(Ray Chowdhary : *I. Antiquities*, p. 100)

[22] B.II. 30—कैलासवत्त्द्भवन रराज ।

[23] B. X. 41—कैलासो गिरिरिव नैकचित्रसानुः ।

[24] H. Strachy, *JASB*, 1948, p. 158.

[25] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 125.
N.L. Dey identifies Mandara, on the authority of Puraṇas, with a hill on the Banka subdivision of Bhagaipur. (*Ibid.*, p. 124).
According to Matsya P. (45-77) it is situated in Kuṣadvīpa and is full of minerals. It is famous for being the abode of gods and Ṛsis and for the Aśrama of Agastya. (Ali, *G.P.*, p. 41).

Aṣvaghoṣa's Mandara is lofty, blazing with sun,[26] and "thronged with Kinnaras, who are possessed of jewels, wander on the mountains and are skilled in arts (of songs etc.) and have charming smiles." (S. I.48)

Himalaya is Aśvaghoṣa's favourite mountain. It may be assumed that his reference to Mandara mountain is in accord with tradition. Kalidāsa[27] also seems to have followed the tradition and places it in the vicinity of Kailāsh and Gandhamādana or in the very range of Kailāsh.

Meru or Sumeru

Vedas do not mention Meru. Taittirya Āraṇyaka (I.7, I.3) refers to Mahā Meru or the great Meru.[28]

According to Mahābhārata (Śanti Parva) Meru is the Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal, from where rises river Ganga.

Padam Purāṇa says that Ganga takes its rise from the Sumeru Parvata and flows to the ocean through Bhāratvarṣa.

N.L. Dey[29] observes that if the accounts of Megesthenes and Arrian are considered, Meru or Sumeru is placed in the Pamirs.

S.M. Ali[30] identifies Meru of the Purāṇas with great Pamir knot of Asia.

But Meru or Sumeru of Aśvaghoṣa is perhaps the Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal. Himalaya has received fabulous treatment of the hands of our poet. Kalidasa also seems to have followed the tradition and has mentioned Śiva enjoying his honeymoon on the Meru, Mandara, Kailāsh and Gandhamādana (Ku. VIII.22, 23, 24, 59; 28, 29, 75, 86) all in the neighbourhood of Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal.[31]

Aśvaghoṣa refers to Meru or Sumeru as king of mountains[32] with high peaks,[33] which are illumined by the light of sun.[34]

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26. B. VI.13.—सादित्य ह्व मन्दरः ।
27. Vik, p. 87— कैलासशिखरोदृशं गन्धमादन वनं ।
    Ku. VIII.23, 24, 29, 59.
    Mārkandey P. (Ch. 57) and Skanda P. recognise the portion of mountains through which the river Alakhnanda flows, as Gandhamādana mountain.
28. Ali, *GP*. p. 47.
29. N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 197.
30. Ali, *G.P.*, p. 52.
31. *India in Kalidasa*, pp. 6, 7.
32. B. I. 36. राजेत शैलेषु यथा सुमेरूः ; 37 मेरूर्गरीणां, 21 सुमेरू ; V.37 मेरूगरूर्गुरूं ;
    V.43, XIII41 मेरू ।
33. B. XIII. 57—महागिरिर्मेरूरिवनिलेन ; B. XIII.41.
34. S. XIII.29—तमो नैशं प्रभा सौरी विनिर्गीणिवे मेरुणा ।

Mount Pāṇḍava

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned mount Pāṇḍava as the eastern mountain (B. X.15) which Siddhārtha had to climb (B. X.14)[35] on his way to Vindhyas. Here, king Śreṇya of Magadha, met him (B. X.20). Describing the shape of the top of the mountain, where Bodhisattva sat crossed-legged with tranquil senses (B. X.18), the poet says, that it was of dark-blue colour like an elephant's ear.[36]

Early Pāli texts describe a group of five hills which encircle the capital of Magadha. Isgili (Ṛsigir), Vebhāra (Vaihara), Pāṇḍava, Vaipulla (Vipula) and Gijjhakuta (Gṛdrakutta) which stood to the south of Vepulla.[37]

Suvarṇagiri (*Golden Mountains*)

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned 'Kanchan Paravata'[38] and 'Kanchan Shaila'[39] as bright and high (tall) golden mountains.

Minor R.E.I. (Brahmagiri Text) of Aśoka mentions 'Suvarṇagiri' as the Deccan Viceregal seat of the emperor (Aśoka). Hultzch identifies it with Kanakagiri in Nizam Hyderabad's dominions, south of Maski (where an edict of Aśoka has been found) and north of the ruins of Vijayanagar[40] (in the Ballary district of Madras Presidency). G. Būhler (Ep. Ind. III, p. 137) looks Suvarṇagiri in the direction of Western Ghats.

Yuan-Chwang has described the extent of la-lan-na-po-fa-ta (Hiraṇya-Parvata) i.e. the golden mountain 33 miles east of Rohinala (close to the city stood Mount Hiraṇya). Cunningham judging from its proximity to Ganges and the distance from Rohinala, determines it to be Mongir.[41] In Mahābhārata it is mentioned as the capital of a kingdom in eastern India, near Banga (Bengal) and Tāmralipta (Tamluk).[42]

Vebhāro mountain of the Pāli annals and Jain Temple's mount Baibhara or Vyavahara are undoubtedly the same. In 543 B.C. a Buddhist synod was held at Sattapaṇi cave situated on one side of this mountain. This cave still exists and is known as Soṇ-Bhandār or 'Treasury of gold'.[43]

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35. B. X. 14—चैनन्महीधरं पाण्डवमारुरोह ।
    B.X. 17—पाण्डवं पाण्डवतुल्यवीर्य शैलोत्तमं शैलसमानवर्ष्मा ।
    मौलीधरं सिंहगतिर्नृसिंहश्च लत्सटः सिंह इव आरूरोह ।।
36. B. X. 21—वारणकर्णनीले शिलातले संनिषाद राजा ।
37. B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 20.
38. B. V. 42.— काञ्चनपर्वतावदातो ।
39. B.V. 26—काञ्चनशैलशृङ्गवर्ष्मा ।
40. CII. (Vol. I), p. xxxiii.
    सुवणंगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता . . . . ।
    (Brahmagiri, *R.E.*, p. 171) *C.I.I.* Vol. I.

41-42. *C.A.G.* (Majumdar Ed.), pp. 545-46.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-91.

Vindhyas

According to early texts, Vaitaḍhya or Vindhya range of mountains divide India into two halves, (a) Uttarārdha (the northern half), later on called Āryāvarta and (b) Dakṣinārdha (the southern half), later on called Dakṣinātya or Deccan.[44] From a very early period Vindhyas are famous for being the home of Sāṃkhya system of philosophy and one of its famous teacher was known Vindhyavāsin. Tattvasṁgrah (pp. 22-27) mentions a special Sāṁkhya system called Vindhyavāsita.[45]

Vasiṣtha Dharma Sutra (I) and Manu (I.21) mention Vindhya mountains as the boundary of Āryāvarta.

In Rāmāyaṇa (XLI.8 ff)[46] Sugriva sends the monkeys to explore Vindhyan range, consisting of a thousand peaks and covered with trees. Here Āryāvarta is referred as bounded by Vindhyan range in the south.

As each Kula-parvata is associated with a distant country or tribe, Vindhyas are associated with Āṭavyas and other forest folk of Central India in Purāṇas.

"Āṭavyah Savārascha ye Pulanda Vindhya-mauleyā Vaidharbha Daṇḍakaih Saha."[47]

As conceived in Purāṇas, Vindhyas covered a vast region which included 'almost all the plateaus and hills between the Yamuna and Chambal in the north, the Tapti and Mahānadi axis in the south, the western sea board (within the present Gujarat State) on the west, and the Chhota Nagpur and Orissa hills on the east. This is a vast region, whose characteristics are its rugged terrain, mostly covered with thick forests, narrow and entrenched river valleys, sparse population and paucity of thorough routes.[48]

Inscriptions and grants

Vindhyas are mentioned in many inscriptions and grants. The grants of Buddharāja, Sankaryana and Dadda II mention the waterless forests of Vindhyas.[49] The crevices of Vindhyas, where the Andhara king took shelter, are referred in

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[44] B.C. Law, *I. Early Texts*, p. 4.

[45] Johnston, ft. n. B. VII.54.

[46] *Kiskindhā Kānda*, Gita Press ed., p. 1028 and ft. note.

[47] Matsya P. 46-48 ; Vāyu P. 45, 126 ; Mark. P. 57, 47 etc. Ray Chowdhary, *I. Antiquities*, p. 96. Vidyādharas were not mythical beings but some aboriginal tribes that settled along Vindhyas. (B.C. Law, *I. Early Texts*, p. 107).

[48] Ali, *G.P.*, p. 157.

[49] E.I. VI, p. 298 ; *Ibid.*, IX. 298, CII. IV. p. 60.

Jaunpur inscription,[50] while Mandasore inscription[51] of Yaśodharman and Viṣnudharma refer to the crevices of the Vindhya mountains, which resound with the noise of the armies journeying through their forests.

River Narbadā flows to sea at Broach, running through two great mountains, ranges of Vindhyas and Satpura.[52]

Ptolemy[53] has also mentioned Ouindon (Vindhyas the source of Namodos and Namagouna, identified with Narmadā and Tapti.

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned Vindhyas full of rocks and trees (B. XIII.38)[54] and there lived sage Arāḍa in Vindhyakoṣṭa (B. VII.54).[55]

As Siddhārtha was advised by one of the ascetics to see sage Arāḍa on the Vindhyas (B. VII.54) it tells that even before the rise of Buddhism hermits used to build their hermitages on this mountain.

Paripatra or *Pariyatra*

Pariyatra (the mountain which curves around) or Paripatra (mountain, shaped like an enclosing receptacle) is known as 'Ṛkṣavat' and Vindhyapāda. When distinguished, the term 'Ṛkṣavat' denotes the chain, lying south of Narmadā river. Otherwise the ancient Hindu writers used the term Vindhyas for the whole chain of hills, lying on both sides of Narmadā.[56]

The earliest source of information regarding Pariyatra or Paripatra is Dharma Sutra of Baudhyana (I.1.25) which describes it to be the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (Prāgdarśanāt pratyāk kālakvanād dakṣiṇena Himavantam udak Pāriyātram Āryāvartam).

Rāmāyaṇa[57] mentions it situated by the western sea. Skanda Purāṇa puts it as the extreme limit of Kumāri Khanda—the heart and centre of Bhāratvarṣa.

However it is actually that portion of Vindhya range, which is situated west of

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50. CII. III. p. 230.
51. CII. III, p. 154.
52. B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 36.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
54. B. XIII.38.

    पेतु सवृक्षाः सशिलास्तथैव वज्रावभग्ना इव विन्ध्यपादाः ।

    Vindhyapada is the sardonyx of Ptolemy. It may be identified with Satpura mountains from where rises the river Tapati. (B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 20).
55. B. VII. 54— गच्छतु विन्ध्यकोष्ठम् ।

    असौ मुनिस्तत्र वसत्यराडो नैष्ठिकेश्रेयसि लब्धचक्षुः ।
56. Ray. Chow.—*Studies in I. Antiquities*, p. 114.
57. *Rām.* (Gita Press), p. 1034 mentions Paripatra mountain with golden summit of a hundred Yojanas.

Bhopal, together with Aravalli mountains.[58] This agrees with Pargiters' identification of the mountain and is also identified with Apokopa by Ptolemy.[59]

It appears to include the ancient regions of Aparānta, Saurāṣhtra, Sudra, Mālapa (Mālva), Malaka etc. N.L. Dey concludes that, in short, it covers a great portion of the western coast of India.[60]

Mandasore inscription[61] of Yaśodharman and Viṣnuvardhana mentions Pariyatra mountain extending upto the ocean (Sindhu) and its trees bending down by the frolicsome leaps of long tailed monkeys.

Yuan-Chwang[62] also mentions a country called Po-li-ye-ta-lo i.e. Pariyatra ruled by a Vaiśya king.

Aśvaghoṣa has placed Madhyadeśa between Himalayas and Paripatra mountains. (S.II.62).[63] It is the southern boundary of the country of our poet.

Cities and Towns

Saundarananda and *Buddhacarita* Kāvyās of Aśvaghoṣa deal with the life of Gautama Buddha, in Kāvya style. As our poet's attention is concentrated on the life and teachings of the Teacher, he has mentioned only those places which are connected with Buddhism and has restricted his movements to the middle country (Madhyadeśa) only.

Madhyadeśa

It is Majjhimadeśa of Pāli literature[64] and the middle-country of Jātakas, Epics and Purāṇas.

Its north-western margins witnessed the great battle of Mahābhārata, western border was the land of Krishna's early exploits and Gautama became Buddha in its eastern district. Ayodhyā was the home of Rāma and Benaras or Varanasi was the prime seat of Brāhmaṇism. Since Buddha and his creed was born here, it became sacred for the Buddhists.[65] The country was exclusively the region in which the first converts and Buddhists confined themselves and Buddhist literature abounds with geographical information of this part of the country.[66]

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[58] Surya-Kanta, *Skt.-H-E. Dic.*, p. 534.
Paripatra is the central portion of the Vindhyas which skirts the province of Malwa.
(Griffith, *Ram.* ft. n. 5, p. 453).

[59] B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 19.

[60] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 149.
Kūrma P., Purva. ch. 47.

[61] CIII, III, p. 154.

[62] Y-Ch., *Watters*, p. 300.
The name is apparently taken from the name of the mountain.

[63] For details please infer 'Madhyadeśa'.

[64] Vinaya Pitaka (*SBE* XVII. 1976), II, p. 146.
AN. I, p. 213 ; IV, 256, 260.
DN. II, pp. 202-3.
M.N. of Sutta Pitaka.
Jataka 51 (Cowell's Ed. 1973) mentions the middle country. *Jataka* 463 (Indriya Jataka).

Madhyadeśa in Brāhmaṇical Literature

As early as the age of Dharma Sutras, B (I.2.9 etc.) and Vasiṣṭha (I.8), describe Āryāvarta, the country of Ārayans, which later on came to be known as 'Madhyadeśa'. It is described as lying down "to the east of the region, where river Saraswati disappears, to the west of Kālakvana or Black forest (somewhere near Prayāga), to the north of Paripatra, and to the south of Himalayas." Mahābhāṣya on Paṇini (II.4,10) gives, the same extent of Āryāvarta.[67]

Aitreya Brāhmaṇa (VIII.14) describes Madhyadeśa as a firmly established region.

However, it may be noted that the above description's eastern boundary excludes the present Bengal and Bihar, which in ancient days, included the entire Magadha region (including Benaras and Bodha Gaya). "The land par excellence of the Buddha and Buddhism."[68]

Kālakvaṇa

S.N. Majumdar[69] identifies " 'Kālakvaṇa', the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta of the Sūtras, with Prayāga, the eastern boundary of Manu's Madhyadeśa, which is identical with the 'Āryāvarta' of Sūtras". He further argues, "as the other three boundaries are the same (Paripatra being a portion of the Vindhyas), the eastern limit also ought to be identical. In the later age, there flourished a city (Prayāga) and a country, where the earlier literature locates a forest. Ayodhyā Kānda (LIV and LV) of the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that Prayāga was at that time a clearing in a forest."

E. Hultzch[70] does not agree with Majumdar. He is of the opinion that

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[65] L.W. Lyde, *The Continents of Asia* (London, 1938, p. 401).
Asoka made it the centre of his actions, though he was the emperor of nearly the whole of India. The traces of his Pātliputra are still surviving in the sub soil of Patna. (*Ibid.*)

[66] B.C. Law, G.E.B., pp. xiv-xv.

[67] Būhler (*SBE*, XIV), ft. n. 8, p. 2.
Anterveda, the Doab between Ganga and Yamuna, was included in Madhyadeśa, as the country was bounded by Sarasvati in Kuruksetra and Allahabad, the Himalayas and Vindhyas. (N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 8 and p. 116).

[68] B.C. Law, *G.E.B.*, p. 1.

[69] *CAG* (Majumdar), *Intro.* p. XLI ft. n.
"Julien and Cunningham Sanskritized it as Kajughara, but the real word is Kajangala—the eastern boundary of the middle country." (Majumdar, *CAG*, p. 723.)
Paripatra is the western Vindhya range (Monior William, *Skt.-Eng. Dic.*) and is the southern boundary (Āryavarta, S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 231).

[70] *I. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p. 179.

"Pratyak Kanakhalāt' may be considered the original reading and Kālakavanat etc. "the clerical mistake for it".

But Baudhāyana DS. I.210 and Vaśiṣṭha (I.8) mention Kālak-vana, as the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta.[71]

In *Manusmṛti* Madhyadeśa is defined as extending from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from Vinasana (the place where Saraswati disappears) to Prayāga in the east.[72]

Baudhāyana's Sūtra agrees with Manu's definition of Madhyadeśa, "where the corresponding words are Pratyag=eva Prayāgāch=cha, and 'the west of Prayāga (Allahabad)'.[73] The Himavat, according to Baudhāyana (I.2.10) and Vaśiṣṭha DS (I.8) constitute the northern boundary of Āryāvarta.[74] Vindhya (Vaśiṣṭha—DS. I.9) is the southern limit of Āryāvarta.[75]

Purāṇas and Boundary of Madhyadeśa

Mārkandeya Purāna and as a matter of fact Brāhmānda and Vāyu Purāṇa, along with other Purāṇas, which add nothing more, tell that 'The Madhyadeśa or central region, covered approximately the upper and middle Gangetic basin and the Yamuna-Chambal catchment area, upto and including the Son Valley on the east, Sutlej on the north-west, Himalayas in the north, Aravallis on the west and Satpura on the south."[76]

Jambudvīpa Varṇana[77] of Kūrma Purāṇa, follows Manu in its description of Madhyadeśa.

B.C. Law concludes that the eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa gradually expanded and included all the sacred places of Brāhmaṇical fold.[78]

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[71] S,C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 231.
'Kālakvaṇa may be sought in Bihar'.
G. Buhler vide *SBE.* (XIV), ft. n. 8, p. 2.

[72] हिमवद्विन्ध्योर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्कितः ।।
Manu. I. 21.

[73] E. Hultzsch vide
I. Antiquary, XXXIV. 1905, p. 179.

[74] S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 231.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[76] S.M. Ali, *G.P.*, pp. 131-32.

[77] *Kurma P. I.* (Barell, 1970), p. 495 ff.
(Madhyadeṣa is a part of Jambudvīpa)

[78] B.C. Law, *GEB*, p. 1.

Madhyadeśa Buddhist Literature

In Buddhist literature, the boundaries of Madhyadeśa expanded to the east. Mahāvagga[79] describes its boundaries extending in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala having Mahasala beyond it, the river Salavati or Sarasvati (Sallavati) in the south-east, the town of Setakarṅika in the south, the town and Brāhmaṇa district of Thuna in the west, and Usirdhaga (Usirdhuja) mountains in the north.

Divyāvadāna (pp. 21-22) extends the eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa to Pandavardhana, which, in ancient days, included Varendra, roughly identical with Bengal.[80]

The Jātaka Commentary and Sumaṅgalavilāsini,[81] add to the information supplied by Vinaya Text.[82] "The Middle Country is in Length 300 Yojnas, in breadth 250 Yojnas and in circumference 900 Yojnas."

Majjhima Nikāya[83] mentions Kajaṅgala near which in the Mukkelu grove, Buddha had discussion with a Pārsariya Brāhmaṇa.

Jātaka IV. 310 mentions its fame for Kuṣa grass. (JRAS, 1904, pp. 86, 88, 538).

All these evidences tell that Kajaṅgala was a place of importance even in Buddha's days for various reasons.

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[79] *Mahāvagga* (Vinaya Text—II) (*SBE* XVII) V, pp. 38-39.
I. Ant. Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p. 179.
Kajaṅgala—"is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan-Chwang, who located it at a distance of 400 li E from Champa (Bhāgalpur)." It is mentioned as Kayangala in the comy. on Rāma (pala) Charita (II. 6).
Majumdar, *CAG*, *Intro.*, p. LXIII. ft. n.
Thuna: As Yuan-Chwang's account relates Thaneśwar as the western-most country of the Buddhist-middle country. S.N. Majumdar proposes to identify Thuna (or Sthuna of Divyāvadāna) with Sthanveśavra, *Intro. CAG*. ft. n. p. XLIII).
Uṣīrgiri: perhaps is the corrupt form of 'Uṣīnavagiri', mentioned in Kathāsaritsagar in connection with Kankhala. Aitreya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) and Paṇini (II.4.20) also mention the name of this country. It perhaps reminded the Buddhists, the monks of the Uṣīra 'Khaskas'.
(*I. Ant*. Vol. XXIV, 1905, p. 179).

[80] B.C. Law, *GEB*, p. 2.
"Pundavardhana was the eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa. (Divya. *JRAS*. 1904, p. 86). It was the capital of a district in Bengal (Rājat IV), Pun-na-fa-tan-na above 60 li from Kajaṅgala, circuit 4000 li (Y-Ch. II, p. 184). . . . It included Varendra—one of the four divisions of Bengal—bounded by Mahānanda (W), Brahmaputra (E), Ganga (S) and Kuch Vihar (S) (C.A.S.R. XV, 145-6)". (*CAG*. Majumdar ed., p. 724).

[81] Rhys Davids, Notes on the Middle Country in Ancient India, vide—*JRAS*, 1904, p. 86.

[82] Mahāvagga, V, pp. 38-39.

[83] *MN*. III (PTS. 1971), p. 346.

Aśvaghoṣa and Madhyadeśa

Aśvaghoṣa[84] has mentioned Madhyadeśa between Himalayas and Pariyatra mountains. Thus in the Time of Aśvaghoṣa (first century A.D.) Madhyadeśa included Himalayas to Vindhya mountain region. This agrees with Manu's (I.21) description as far as : 'Himvad Vindhyo'r madhyam' expression is concerned.

Aśvaghoṣa has not clearly mentioned the eastern and western boundaries of Madhyadeśa. He has only referred to Vindhyakoṣṭha (B. VIII.54), Vindhyapāda (B. XIII.38), Pāriyātra (S. II.62) and Magadha and Rājagṛha (B. X.1, 2, 14, 17) and mount Pāṇḍava (B. X.14, 17).[85]

Thus his Madhyadeśa's boundaries seem to be Himavān[86] or Himalayas in the north, Paripatra or Pāriyātra mountain or Vindhyapāda and Vindhyakoṣṭha in the S-W, and Magadha (Rājagṛha's capital) with Pāṇḍava mountains in the east.

Inscriptions

Madhyadeśa is mentioned in the Belva copper plate of Bhojavarman and the Barrackpur copper plate of Vijayasena.[87]

Foreign notices

Describing the Middle region Fa-hein (399-414 A.D.) says,[88] "Throughout the middle country, the people do not kill any living creature, nor drink intoxicating iquor, nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of Chandalas."

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[84] S. II. 62.
"The Vindhya mountains stretch from Gujrat to Bihar (about 700 miles), appear under the name of Paripatra, Pāriyātra, Ṛksavat and Vindhyapāda. Pāriyātra is a portion of Vindhya range, which is situated west of Bhopal together with Aravalli mountains. (Surya Kanta, *Skt.-H.-E. Dic.*, p. 534).
"Vind-yah—C. India range running ENE from the borders of Bombay State N. of the Narbadā river's the northern border of Vindhya Pradesh, reaching heights of 4000-5000 ft.
Vindhya Pradesh (—Prahdesh) is "union of Indian states of which Rewa is the most important, representing the E part of the old Central Indian Agency, with Uttar Pradesh to the north and Madhya Pradesh to the S. Area 24,600 sq. miles.
(*Chamber's World Gazetteer*, p. 720).

[85] Please see their Geog. in this Ch.
As Aśvaghoṣa has not given the eastern and western boundaries of Madhyadeśa, it is difficult to define its boundaries. Whether by the term he meant the whole of Āryāvarta or N. India or the middle portion, washed by Gangestic system of rivers. His definition agrees with the Law Book of Vaśistha (I.8).
(B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 12).

[86] B. VII.39, VIII.36 ; S. I.5, V.5, X.13.

[87] *Inscription of Bengal III*, p. 16 ff and 57 ff.
Both the inscriptions are of 12 A.D.

[88] Fa-hein, *J. Legge*, p. 43.

I-Tsing (671-695 A.D.)[89] says that Madhyadeśa was the Centre of Buddhist learning.

Boundaries

According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang (7th century A.D.),[90] Central India extended from Satlej to the head of Gangetic Delta, and from Himalaya mountain to the Narbadā and Mahānadi rivers.

I-Tsing writes, "Roughly speaking, the distance from middle country (Madhyadeśa) of India to the border lands (Pratyantika) is more than 300 yojnas in the east and in the west. The border lands in the south and in the north are more than 400 yojnas. Although I myself did not see (all the limits and ascertain the distance) yet I know it by enquiry. Tamralipti is 40 yojnas south from the eastern limit of India."[91]

Madhyadesa Janapadas

Buddhist Sources

Madhyadeśa, in the 6th century B.C. i.e. shortly before or in the days of Buddha, comprised of sixteen Janapadas. Anguttara Nikāya[92] mentions 'Solasa Mahajanapada', which existed during this period. They are :

1. Kaśi (Kasi)
2. Kośala (Kosala)
3. Aṅga
4. Magadha
5. Vaji (Vṛji)
6. Malla
7. Chetiya (Chedi)
8. Vaṁsa (Vatsa)
9. Kuru
10. Pañchala
11. Machcha (Matsya)
12. Sūrasena
13. Assaka (Asamka)
14. Avanti
15. Gāndhāra
16. Kāṃboja

Mahāvastu (I.34) gives a similar list, but omits Gāndhāra and Kāṃboja. They are substituted by Sibi and Dasarna in the Punjab (or Rajasthan) and central India respectively.[93]

Gāṅdhāra and Kāṃboja may have been located in Uttarpatha or northern Division.[94]

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[89] *I-Tsing*, p. XXXIV. This agrees with Jātakas, which tell of hermits of Himalayas, who were agreed of going to Majjhimdeśa, because of two learned people. (*JRAS.* 1905, p. 86)

[90] Y-Ch. *Ibid.*

[91] *I-Tsing*, p. XXXIII.

[92] P.T.S. I. 213 ; IV. 252, 256, 260. *Vinaya Text* (*SBE. XVII*), II, p. 146, ft. n. 1. These are not the names of countries but of peoples.

[93] *PHAI.*, p. 95 and ft. n. 1.

[94] B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 42.

The Dīgha Nikāya[95] gives a list of 12 Mahājanapadas.[96] The list of Culla Niddesa[96] and Indriya Jātaka[97] also differ. But whatever the contention may be, fourteen of the Janapadas from the original list of sixteen, seems to have existed in the days of Buddha.[98] Mahāvastu (I.198),[99] which omits Gāndhāra and Kāṃboja, maintains that all the sixteen Janapadas belong to Madhyadeśa.

Purāṇas and Janapadas

By the time of Purāṇas, the boundaries of Madhyadeśa seems to have extended much.[100] Garūda Purāṇa[101] includes Pañcala, Kuru, Matsya, Yauheya, Paṭachchara, Kunta and Sūrasena in this part (of the country).

Aśvaghoṣa's Madhyadeśa and Janapadas

Aṣvaghoṣa (B. I.89) has hinted at Janapada adjoining Kapilavastu, who celebrated the birth of Siddhārtha. He has mentioned Kurus (B. IV.10), Kāśi,[102] Magadha (B. XI.1), Vindhya's spurs (B. XIII.38), Lumbini (B. I.6), Kapilavastu (B. I.89), Benaras (S. III.10) (the capital of Kāśi Janapada); and Rājagṛha (S. III.10,15). I-Tsing[103] writes that all belong to the middle country.

Kapilavastu

In the commentary on Majjhima Nikāya (II.135) there is mention of Kapilavatthu as 'Jaṭṭihāna' of Buddha.[104] Divyāvadāna[105] calls it Kapilavastu. Mahāvastu[106] gives the story of its foundation and mentions it as the city of the Śakyas. Lalitavistara[107] calls it Kapilavastu, Kapilapura and sometimes Kapilahvyapura, as the Janambhūmi (birth place) of Śākyamuni.

Aśvaghoṣa calls it Kapilavastu (S. I.57), Kapilhvyaṅpuraṁ (B. I.89) and Kapilasyapuram.[108] According to our poet it was named so after the sage Kapila and was built on the site of the hermitage of the seer (S. I.31,33). It was founded by Ikṣvaku family (of solar dynasty) to which Gautama belonged,[109] was the capital of the Śākyas and the birth place of Buddha.[110]

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[95] *DN. II*, pp. 202-203.

[96] *Niddesa* (*PTS*), II, p. 37.

[97] *Jātaka III*, 463.

[98] B.C. Law, *H.G.*, p. 42.

[99] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), I. 198, 157.

[100] Please see—*Puraṇas and Boundary of Madhyadeśa.*

[101] *Garuḍa P.* I. Ch. 55.

[102] S. IV.10, 15, B. XIV.107, 108.

[103] *I-Tsing*, p. XXII.

[104] MN. I. (PTS. 1976), ft. n. 2, p. 187.

[105] *Divya* (BST. 20, 1959), pp. 41, 54, 249 etc.

[106] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) I. p. 105.

[107] *L.V.* (P.L. Pandey), pp. 107, 162—कपिलवस्तु ;
p. 162—कपिलस्यपुरं ; p. 19—कपिलह्व्ये शौभते जन्मभूमि (5),

[108] S.I. 57— कपिलस्य तत्पुरं चक्रुः तस्मात्कपिलवास्तु तत् ।

Thus Aśvaghoṣa and Lalitavistara agree in assigning three different pronunciations to this name. And all these including Divyāvadāna (p. 548) connect it with sage Kapila.

Kapilavastu, being the home of Lord Buddha was the ideal city of Aśvaghoṣa. It was full of gardens, temples, hermitages, springs, water-tanks, groves of lovely shrubs (B. II.12) trees and smooth soft lawns (S. I.6). Here Sage Kapila's hermitage had forest aisles abounding in fruit and flowers on all sides.[111] The beasts of prey roamed there quietly with the deer (S. I.13). It was a Janapada (B .I.89) of Madhyadeśa.[112]

Lalitavistara (III ch.) tells that Kapilavastu had gardens, orchards, Viharas and rest houses (Uddhyān-arāmavihāra mandita).

The description of the city by Aṣvaghoṣa agrees with Milinda's[113] description of Sagala.

Location

According to Ambatta-Sutta,[114] the Ikṣvakus settled 'on the slopes of the Himavant, where there were many Śaka trees (tectona grandis) and was the bank of a lake (Yattha Himavantapasse pokharaṇiya tīre mahā śakāsando).

This description agrees with the Nepalese Tarai, better than the flat districts of Basti and Gorakhpur, which are at a little distance from the hills.[115]

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[109] S. I.18.

[110] B. I.89, V.83.
Mahāvaṁśa and Dīpvaṁśa also refer to the city as the birth-place of Buddha.
According to Saddharmaratnākara, Goutama spent 8th year, after his Buddhaship at Kapilvastu, and the 15th year in a cave of jewels, connected with the garden Nigrodha near Kapilvastu. The account seems to be taken from Buddhaghoṣa's comy. (S. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 356).

[111] S. I.9., III.17— शिवौपवनं....यथावनं ।
The whole upper gangetic plain was once covered with woodlands and forests. Mahāvana at Vaiśāli and Mahāvana at Kapilvastu were natural forests. The Āryans, who first settled here laid the foundations of Janapadas. They divided themselves into compact units. The boundary lines between different tribes and communities were either the broad flood plains or great rivers or thick forests. (Ali, G.P., p. 134.)

[112] *LV*. (P.L. Vaidya Ed.).

[113] *Milinda* (V. Trenckner), pp. 1 ff and 332.

[114] *DN. I*, Ch. III. 15.

[115] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I (I ed.), p. 493.

The chronicles place Kapilavastu near the southern slopes of Himavat mountains in the land of Kośala.[116]

Aśvaghoṣa[117] places this capital of the Śākyas in a Valley of the Himalayas.

According to Dr. Fleet,[118] the village of Piprawā (Biradpur Estate, Basti district) the find-spot of Piprawā vase-mark is the site of Kapilavastu.

Formichi takes it on the upland of the Himalayas, as Chandaka left Siddhārtha in the Tarai under the mountain.[119]

Fa-hein[120] (4th century A.D.) found the country deserted which neither had the king nor the many people. James Legge[121] notes that the city was destroyed even during the life time of Śākyamuni. "It was situated at a short distance N-W of Gorakhpur lat. 26°.46 N., long. 83°.19E. R. Davids[122] says, it was on the banks of river Rohini in modern Kohuna about 100 miles N.W. of the city of Benaras."

Yuan-Chwang (6th century A.D.) visited it and found it in ruins. This pilgrim records, that it was 500 li S.W. from the neighbourhood of Srāvasti. According to the pilgrim, Topes and shrines were built, after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, at or near Kapilavastu.[123]

Fa-hein and Yuan-Chwang,[124] who visited Kapilavastu, write that at the spot, where the palaces of Śuddhodana stood, there were found the images of (1) Śuddhodana's elder son and his mother Maya, (2) the son mounted on an elephant, when he entered his mother's womb.

Yuan-Chwang found the pictures of Yaśodhara and Rahula, beside the Tope in a part of the palace.

The site was explored by P.C. Mukerji. He identifies Kapilavastu with Tilaurā, which is two miles south of Tauliva. It is the headquarter of the provincial government of the Tarai. It is three and a half miles to the S.W. of Nigliva[125] north of Gorakhpur.

[116] J. Vijyatunga, *Lumbini* (*Pub. Div.*), 1956, p. 9.

[117] S. I.5. पार्श्वे हिमवतः शुभे ।
S. I.43. कुक्षिं हिमगिरेरिव ।

[118] *JRAS.* 1906, p. 180.

[119] *Johnston*, ft. n. B. VIII.36 ; B. VIII.39.

[120] *Fa-hein, Giles*, p. 38. It was barren and desolute with few inhabitants. White elephants and lions were found on the roads and travelling was not safe.

[121] *Fa-hein, Legge*, p. 64, ft. n. 3.

[122] R. Davids, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 25.

[123] Y-Ch. (Watters) II, p. 12.

[124] *Fa-hein, Legge*, pp. 64-65.
Y-Ch. (*Watters*), II, p. 2.

[125] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 90.

According to Dr. Rhys Davids,[126] Tilaurakot is the old Kapilavastu and Pipprāwa is the new city built after the destruction of the old city.

Thus P.C. Mukerji and Dr. Rhys Davids agree in identifying Kapilavastu with Tilaurā.

K.M. Srivastva[127] has most recently explored the site. He says that A. Führer, in 1896, was the first to declare Tilaurākot in Nepalese Tarai as Kapilavastu; and P.C. Mukerji, V.A. Smith and others were outweighed by A. Führer's opinion.

In 1898 C. Poppe, an English landlord discovered a casket in a shaft bored by him in a Stupa at Pipprawa. The inscribed pillar records the birth place of Buddha and the inscription on the relic-casket reveals that the stupa enshrined the relics of Buddha.

In 1972 K.M. Srivastva excavated Pipprawa thinking that it alone could be ancient Kapilavastu. He found caskets containing the relics of Buddha in the same stupa which had yielded the inscribed casket in 1898. Again in 1977 were found Terracotta sealings more than thirty in number, most of them with a legend "Om Devaputra vihāre, Kapilavastu, Bhikku Saṁghas".

Besides these Terracotta sealings from Ganwaria/Pipprawa, some other antiquities have also been found e.g. varieties of Terracotta heads of Buddha, some of them depicting foreign influence ; glass bangles ; beautiful pottery in grey black and red colour with mirror like plaster, silver and copper coins etc.

Thus the Archaeologist explorer Shri K.M. Srivastva concludes that "The discoveries made during the course of the excavation described above have settled a long standing controversy regarding the location of Kapilavastu. Now it can be said with authority that Piprahwa Ganwaria in Basti District of Uttar Pradesh is the site of ancient Kapilavastu."

This conclusion that Pipprawa is the site of Kapilavastu agrees with Dr. Fleet (JRAS, 1906, p. 180 and CAGI, pp. 711-12).

Lumbini

Lumbini is the actual place where Siddhārtha was born.[128] Aśvaghoṣa[129] has described it as a lonely, thick forest, suited for trance. Queen Māyādevi went to stay here in the grove, which was like the garden of Caittratha. Jātaka 1.52 also describes Lumbini as—

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[126] B.C. Law, *GEB*, p. 29.

[127] K.M. Srivastva, *Everyman's Science*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, June, July 1978, *Discovery of Kapilvastu*, pp. 89-93.
For details please see—A. Fuhrer, *ASI* (*NS*), Vol. VI (1897), p. 37 ff.

[128] B. I.6, 8, 9.

[129] B. I.6 ; S. II.53.
लुम्बनीनाम्नि वने मनोज्ञे ध्यानप्रदे देववनादनूने । B. I.6. वनं वनं B. I.5.

Sā Lumbinim nama vanantabhūmiṁ
Citradrumāṁ caitrarathābhirāmām

In the 20th year of his reign (250 B.C.) Aśoka made his pilgrimage to Lumbini. He built a Vihāra, a Chetiya, a Stupa and laid out a beautiful garden at the spot.[130]

Foreigners Visit

Fa-hein records that Lumbini garden is fifty li east of Kapilavastu. Here according to the legend which the pilgrim must have heard, queen Māyādevi took bath in the pond, before she gave birth to Siddhārtha. As soon as she came out of the pond, after walking nearly twenty paces, she had to take hold of a branch of a tree, and with her face towards east, delivered the child, Siddhārtha. "When he fell to the ground, he immediately walked seven steps".[131] Yuan-Chwang collaborates with this account. He also mentions of an Aśoka Tope, where two dragons gave hot and cold bath to the child. Then the pilgrim writes (1) about one Tope, where Indra received the new born infant, (2) four Topes of four Devarājās, who took charge of the baby after his birth, (3) one stone pillar set up by Aśoka with the figure of horse on the top. Near the pillar was seen (by Y-Ch) an oily stream of water, which was a tank or pond originally where Māyā Devi took bath and was changed into a stream of water, however which still retained its oily character".[132]

Inscriptions

The discovery of two edicts of Aśoka,[133] one at Paderia and the other at Nigliva, has solved the problem of the exact location of Lumbini, the actual birthplace of Buddha. Both these Edicts were found in the Tarai of Nepal. Nigliva is 38 miles N-W of Uska Bazar Station of Bengal . . . in the Nepalese Tehsil Tanlehva of Zillah Butel. Dr. Führer estimates the distance between Paderia and Nigliva as about thirteen miles.

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[130] G. Bühler, EI. V, p. 4. (*Nigliva* inscription records of Aśoka's visit to the place).
Divyāvadāna, p. 389 ff.
J. Vijayatunga, *Lumbini* (Pub. Div. 1956), p. 11.
The Stupa enshrines one-eighth share of the Buddha's relics, which were acquired by the people of Kapilvastu after B's Nirvāṇa. (N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 91).

[131] *Fa-hein, Legge*, p. 67.
Y-Ch. (*Watters*), II, p. 15.

[132] *Y-Ch.* (*Watters*), II, p. 15.

[133] G. Bühler, *EI*, Vol. V (1898-99), p. 1 ff.
Both the pillars were discovered by Dr. A. Führer. He reached the Paderia Pillar on 1st Dec. 1896. Mr. Landon, author of the standard book on Nepal, gives the date of discovery, wrongly, as 1895.
(J. Vijayatunga, *Lumbini*, Pub. Div., 1956, p. 12 and ft. n.)

The inscription[134] reads :

Line (i) Devāna-Piyena Piyadasina lājina-Visativāsbhistena
Line (ii) atana-āgacha mahiyite hida-Buddhe-jate-Śakyamuni-ti.
Line (iii) Śila Vigadabhi-chā-kālpita śilathabhe-cha usapapite.
Line (iv) hida-Bhgavam jate-ti Lumbini Game ubalikekate
Line (v) aṭhabhagiya-cha.

Translation of the above

"King Piyadasi, beloved of gods, having been annointed twenty years came (i) himself and worshipped (ii) saying (iii) "Here Buddha, Śākyamuni, was born", and he caused to be made a stone slate being a big sun(?) (iv) and he caused a stone pillar to be erected (v) Because here the worshipful was born ; the village of Lumbini has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth." (EI. Vol. V, p. 4) (II. Vol. I, pp. 164-66).

Lumbini Gāma, mentioned in the Paderia inscription line four is identified with Rummen De and is a corruption of Lumbini Devi. It is ṭen miles to the east of Kapilavastu, two miles N-E of Bhagvānpur[135] of Saina Zilla and about a mile to the north of Paderia.[136]

The above evidence of the inscription is very conclusive. Aśoka made this village free of taxes because it was the birth-place of Buddha. As for the name 'Lumminigama' of the inscription, as per the analogy of Pali 'ammā' for 'ambā' and 'ārammana' for 'ālambana',[137] leaves no doubt as to the exact location of Lumbinibana, where Siddhārtha was born.

Kāśi

Kāśi is the ancient city, mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa (X.38) by Daśratha, while explaining various kingdoms to Kaikeyi.

In Mahābhārata's Bhīṣma Parva it is incorporated with the kingdom of Kośala.[138]

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[134] *CII*, Vol. I, p. 164.
The words "Hida Bhagavam Jate", agree with Divyāvadana's (p. 389). words 'asam Maharaja pradesa Bhagavam Jatah' (CII. Vol. I, ft. n. p. 166).

[135] N.L. Dey, *Geog. Dic.*, p. 91.

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[137] Dr. G. Bühler, EI. V (1898-99), p. 2.

[138] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, p. 95.

It was one of the ancient Janapadas of Madhyadeśa.[139] With its capital at Vārānasi, which later on became famous as Kāśi-Benāras.[140]

Before the time of Buddha, this Janapada was quite powerful. But in the time of Buddha, it lost its political power. It was sometimes dominated by Kośalan and at others by Magadhan kings.[141]

Its importance can be judged from various references found in Jātakas (Nos. 5, 521, 526 etc). It is perhaps the Kassida or Kassidia of Ptolemy.[142]

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned, Kāśi, a sacred city, where Buddha delivered his first sermon, in the chain of Kāśi, Gayā and Rājagṛha (Girivraja).[143] Its forests were ornamented by the Vārānasi (B. XIV.107, S. III.10) and it was the beloved city of the king Bhīmaratha.[144]

Vārānasi or Benāras

In Mahāgovinda Suttānta (DN. II, p. 235) India is divided into seven political divisions, Vārānasi being the capital of Kāśi.[145] Fa-hein also includes it in Kāśi Janapada[146] (Legge, p. 94).

The Sārnath image inscription of Kaniṣka mentions Vārānasi and describes it as 'Bhagavata-Caṅkama' i.e. the place where Buddha used to walk.

Buddha expounded his doctrine first at Mṛgdeva or Dhamek (three and a half miles to the north of the city of Benaras). A stupa was built on the spot, which is esteemed as one of the four important monuments of Buddhism.[147] It is a place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists even today.

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[139] A.N. Vol. I, p. 213 ; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
(It is one of the 16 Janapadas).
According to Rāmayana, Kāśi was a kingdom, while Prayāga with the country around, was still a forest (Ādi Kanda, XII. 20) (B.C. Law, *GEB*, ft. n. 2, p. 3).

[140] *C.A.G.* (Majumdar ed.), p. 502.

[141] B.C. Law, *GEB*, p. 3.

[142] *CAG.* (Majumdar ed.), p. 502.

[143] S. III.15, B. XIV.108.

[144] B. XIV.107 ; S. III.10.
"The Tibetan ambiguous expression may possibly imply that the town was founded by him." (Johnston, ft. n. B. XIV.107).

[145] *Jātaka* (*Cowell's ed.*) mentions Benaras in Kāśi ; J. Nos. 5, 51, 53, 55, 60, 243 refer to Benaras as an important city.

[146] *EI.* VIII, p. 176.

[147] *CAG.* (Majumdar ed.), p. 501.

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned Vārānasi, encircled by two rivers—Varaṇa and Asi. Here Buddha preached his everlasting victory over death.[148]

Varaṇa and Asi are regarded as holy rivers. Varaṇa or Barṇa Nadi is on the north-east and Asi nala is on the south-west. The junctions of both the streams with the Ganga are considered particularly holy, and temples have been erected at Varṇi or Barṇi-sangham, down the city and at Asi-Sangham up the city. From the combined name of these two streams, which bound the city to the north and south, the Brāhmaṇas derived the name 'Vārānasi', which is the Sanskrit name of Benaras. The city of Benaras or Vārānasi is situated on the left bank of river Ganga.[149] Varanasi is mentioned in Viṣnu Smṛti (85.28) as sacred for Śrāddha, japa, homa and Tapa.[150]

Magadha

The name Magadha appears in Atharva-Veda[151] and the bards of Magadha are mentioned in Yajurveda.[152]

Rāmayāṇa (Ādi parva I.32.7) calls it (Magadha) Vasumati, while in Māhābārata (II.20,30,32 etc.). Magadhapura is a well fortified city, protected by five hills, and is also called as Varāha, Vrishabha, Ṛsigiri and Chaityaka.[153]

In Vedic, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra period, Magadha was considered outside the pale of Āryan and Brāhmaṇical culture.[154]

Prasara and Varāhmihira mention India's division into nine-bhedas with Magadha as the main division in the eastern division.[155]

In Buddhist literature [156] Magadha is always mentioned as a Buddhist holy land and is included in the Janapadas of Madhyadeśa.

Buddha paid a visit to king Bimbasāra of Magadha, who got the distance of five leagues between Rājagṛha and Ganga made smooth.[157] Here Bhārdvāja Brāhmaṇa of Ekanāla village (of Magadha) was converted by Buddha.[158] Śariputta delivered the famous discourse on Nibbāna in the village of Nālakagāma in Magadha, to a wandering ascetic, named Jambu-Khādaka.[159]

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[148] S. III. 10— नित्यममृतमुपदर्शयितुं स वराणसीपरिकरामयात्पुरीं ।
S. III. 11— अथ धर्मचक्रमृतनाभि - - - - - - -
तत्र विनयनियमारमृषिर्जगतो हिताय परिषद्यवर्तयत् ।

[149] *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), pp. 499-500.

[150] S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 236.

[151] V. 22.14.—गान्धारिभ्यो भूजेवद्भयो ङ्गेभ्यो मगंधभ्यः ।

[152] *Vaj. Sani.* XXX.5.

[153] B.C. Law, *GEP*, p. 9.

[154] *Ibid.*, ft. n. 4, p. 9.
B. Dharma Sūtra I. 1.2.14. mentions Magadhas as of Sankirna-yonayaḥ (of mixed origin).

[155] Varāhmihira is supposed to have copied the tradition, recorded earlier by Parāsara in his Parāsaratantra. (see—Kerr's ed. of Bṛhat Saṁhita of Varāh, p. 32) (Ali, *G.P.*, p. 203 ft. n. 6).

[156] *AN.* (I.213, IV.252, 256).
Mhv. I.34.
DN (Govinda Sutta)

"Magadha was the region of Buddha's early career as a religious reformer. As such it has a greater number of holy places, connected with Buddhism, than any other province of India. The chief places are Buddhagaya, Kukutapada, Rājagṛha, Kuṣagarapura, Nālandā, Indraśīla guha and Kapotika monastery."[160]

In Buddhacarita[161] King Śreṇya is described to be the king of Magadha and a true friend of Śuddhodana. He offered half of his kingdom to Siddhārtha, provided he changed his mind and did not proceed to forest.

Geography

Magadha, the province of Bihar or more accurately of S. Bihar (Mahbhārata, Ādiparva, ch.32; Mbh. Sabhā Parva. ch.24) "was bounded by river Son in the west and river Ganga in the north; and the spurs of Vindhya plateau, which touch the Ganga in the east and Vindhya forests on the south."[162] Girivrajaputra (modern Rajgir) was the ancient capital of Magadha at the time of Jarāsandha. Bhīma (of the five Paṅdavās) killed Jarāsandha. Subsequently, the capital was shifted to an insignificant village, named Pāṭligrāma.[163] This capital was enlarged and strengthened by king Ajātśatru, who was Buddha's contemporary, to control the advance of the king of Vaiśāli.[164] But according to another view, the fortification of the city was started by Ajātśatru and was completed by his son or grandson, 'Udaya', about 450 B.C.[165]

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[157] *Dhm. Comy.* (Harward Series), Vol. III, 439-40 (p. 170). It adds that each league of the journey was spread knee-deep with flowers of five colours and was decorated with flags, banners and standards. (*Ibid.*)

[158] *SN.* I, pp. 216-19 (Text I.171).
Ekanala is a village near the hill, guarding S. of Rājagṛha (*Ibid.*, ft. n. p. 216).

[159] *S.N.* IV, pp. 170-76.
('Woodwards' Tr.)
Nalaka of Magadha was the native village of Sāriputta and is frequently mentioned in Psalms of Brother. (*Ibid.*, p. 170, ft. n. 1).

[160] *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), p. 521.

[161] B. XI.1 ; X.10-11.
King Sreṇya is otherwise called Bimbasāra, the father of Ajātśatru.
(*CAG*. (Majumdar ed.) p. 535.)

[162] Ali, *G.P.*, p. 126.

[163] Aśoka transferred his court from Rājagṛha to Patliputra. In the eighth year of his reign here he convened the III great Buddhist Council (Fa-hein Legge, ft. n. 2, p. 77).

[164] N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, pp. 116-17.

[165] *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), p. 519.
Mahavaṃṣa gives the credit to Udaya the s/o Ajātśatru. According to Buddhist account (Turnour, *JASB*, VII, 998) Buddha, on his last journey from Rājagṛha to Vaiśali, saw two ministers of Ajātśatru engaged in building a fort at Patliputra, to check the advance of Vajjians or of the king of Vaiśali. (*Ibid.*)

Yuan-Chwang, who visited Magadha, says that it was bounded by the Ganga in the north, the district of Benaras in the west, by Hiraṇya-Parvata (or Mongir) in the east and by Kiraṇa-Suvarṇa (or Singhbhum) in the south.[166] The district of Patna is still called 'Magā', a corruption of Magadha. Lalitavistara (ch.17) includes Gayaśirsha in Magadha.[167]

Rājagṛha (Girivraja)

Rājagṛha is the ancient capital of Magadha. It is mentioned in both the epics as 'Girivraja'.[168] In Pali literature[169] the importance of Rājagṛha is great, as most of the activities of Buddha were within it. According to Saddharma Ratnākara,[170] Gautama spent second, third and fourth year of his Buddhaship near Rājagṛha. MN. (III.192)[171] mentions Tapota (hot springs) of Rājagṛha, where Buddha used 'to bathe his limbs'. Saṁyutta Nikāya,[172] attaches great importance to vulture peak (Gṅdh-kuta) at Rājagṛha, where the exalted one stayed.

Pāli and Prakṛt literature tells us that Magadha had a long rivalry with Aṅga and Vaiśāli and consequently the capital Rājagṛha was formerly subjugated by the Aṅgas.

According to the Tibetan source (Dulva I Vol.)[173] the king of Aṅga (capital Champa) conquered Magadha (capital Rājagṛha) previous to the birth of Śākyamuni (Gautama). But Bimbasāra invaded Aṅga, slew its king and liberated Rājagṛha. He lived in Champa only till his father was alive and then shifted to Rājagṛha.

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166. *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), p. 521.
Supra Golden-mountains.

167. N.L. Dey, *G.D.*, pp. 116-17.
Patna or Pātliputra is in Magadha kingdom (Fa-hein, Legge, p. 77) Legge notes (ft. n. 1, p. 77) that the modern Patna is lat. 25°28′, long. 85°15′ E. Its Sanskrit name is 'Pushpapura', based on the Indian flora.

168. *Rām. Ādi*. pp. XXXV. 1-9.
Mbh. Sabhaja, pp. XX. 798-80.
Jalalpur has been identified with Rājagṛha or Girivrāja, the capital of Kekayas (*CASR*, II. p. 14) whose country has been located in the Rāmayaṇa (II.68. 19-22) (Majumdar, *CAG*, p. 685).

169. *Divya*, p. 307.
MN (III. 1927), 192 ff.
SN. (PTS, 1950), pp. 137, 192, 263, 297 etc.

170. S. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 356.

171. These springs are still in use.

172. *S.N.* (PTS. 1950), pp. 137, 192, 263, 297 etc.

173. *Csōōma Kōrōsi*. quoted by S. Hardy vide Manual ft. n. p. 163.
Buddha was born in the region called Magadha.
. . . . "It is evident that his dominion was circumscribed." Hardy, Manual, p. 355,

Foreign Notices

Fa-hein[174] is the earliest Chinese pilgrim to visit and described both the old and new Rājagṛha. The pilgrim saw two monasteries in it. He also saw a grand and beautiful tope built by king Ajātśatru over the relics of Buddha. The valley according to him, was circular and surrounded by hills. Here was the old city of King Bimbasāra. It remained the capital (residence city) of Magadha kings from Bimbasāra to Aśoka. Here, at the foot of Gṛdharakuta (Vulture-peak) mountains the first synod assembled within a year after Śākyamuni's death.

It is called Rājagṛha, to distinguish it from Kuśāgarapura, a few miles from it the old residence of the kings. Citel says it was built by Bimbasāra, while Fa-hein ascribes it to Ajātśatru. But Legge concludes that the son finished what the father had begun.[175]

In Yuan-Chwang's time the outer wall of the town had already become ruinous, while the inner walls were still in tact and stretched to a length of 20 li (3½ miles).[176] Cunningham[177] surveyed and found that it was less than three miles in length.

Fa-hein and Yuan-Chwang,[178] both, found the valley of Rajgir quite desolate. I-Tsing describes the 'vulture-peak' sacred to the Buddhists. At 'vulture-peak' (Gṛdharakūta) he saw a spot, where the garments were folded.[179]

Hathigāma inscription of Khāravela[180] mentions the city of Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir) about 14 miles S-W of the town of Bihar Sharif, in the Bihar sub-division of Patna district.

The present village of 'Rājagṛha' has 800 or 900 houses. It is situated at about 13 or 14 miles S. S-W. of Bihar and to the N. of Rajgir hills. A little way up to the south of the village there are a number of hot springs.[181]

The five hills at present are crowded with Jain Temples built of old material.[182]

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[174] Fa-hein, *Legge*, pp. 80-81.
According to Buddhist Chronology, the foundation was laid not later than 560 B.C.

[175] Fa-hein, *Legge*, ft. n. 3, p. 81.
The original capital of Magadha was called Kuśāgarpura, the town of Kuśa grass (Majumdar, *CAG*, pp. 529-30).

[176] N.L. Dey, *GD*, p. 115.
CAG (Majumdar ed.), p. 535.

[177] *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), p. 535.

[178] *I-Tsing*, p. XXXII.
Majumdar on the basis of Y-Ch's account, thinks the city had two divisions viz. palace city and mountain city. (*JASB*. 1949, pp. 165-80).

[180] E.I. XX, p. 79.

[181] *JASB*. Vol. III (1834), Calcutta, p. 366.
It is 25 Yojnas from Kuṣinar (Rahulji, *DN* (H. 1979) ft. n. 1, p. 151).

[182] *IHQ*. XXXVII, p. 107.

Rajgir stone image inscription records the name '*Vipula*', one of the five hills of Rajgir, associated here as well as in Jain Tradition to king Śreṇya.[183]

Saṁyutta Nikāya (II.85) describes it as a massive hill and (S.N. I.67) one of the best of Rājagṛha hills.

It stands on N-eastern side of the hot springs to the north of Gajjhakuta hill, which is identical with Caiyaka of the Mahābhārata. An ascetic living on this mountain started a Buddhist school, called Caityaka school.[184]

Rājagṛha and Aśvaghoṣa

In Buddhacarita (X.1) Siddhārtha reached Rājagṛha after crossing Ganga. Aśvaghoṣa[185] has described it, as the city "distinguished by the five hills, which is guarded and adorned by mountains and supported and purified by auspicious hot springs", when enlightened Buddha preached and converted the people of Girivraja (S. III.15), who were earlier (B. X.9) sad to see him in Bhikṣu's robe.[186]

Gaya

Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā kānda, Ch. 107) and Mahābhārata (III.95.) mention the name of Gaya in connection with sage Gaya. According to Mahābhārata, Rājarṣi Gaya was the son of Amurtarayas, who performed many sacrifices at Brahmasaras (within Gaya) and distributed unlimited wealth and food. Perhaps the place got its name after the sage.[187] In Mahābhārata's Tirthayatra section of Vana Parva, there are two sub-sections on Gaya, which tell us, of the place, as a great Tirtha. The place is still famous as 'Brahma Gaya' to distinguish it from 'Bauddh-Gaya'[188] (where exists the famous pippal-tree under which Buddha attained enlightenment).

According to R. Edict VIII (CII, Vol. I, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII), ten years after the coronation, Aśoka visited Sambodhi, now called Bodh Gaya, in the province of Magadha, now called south Bihar.

Fa-hein (399-414 A.D.) visited Gaya and also the place (20 li south of the place) where Bodhisattva, for six years, practised painful austerities. He found the city of Gaya in ruins and forests all around Bodhisattva's place of enlightenment.[189]

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183. *JBORS*. XXII, p. 80.
Mbh. II.21.2 mentions this hill while enumerating the five hills of Rājagṛha.

184. *ASSI*, I. Burgess, pp. 100, 102.

185. B. X.2. शैले सुगुप्तं च विभूषितं च घृतं च पूतं च शिवैस्तपोदैः ।
पञ्चाललाङ्कं नगरं प्रपेदे शान्तः स्वयंभूरिव नाकपृष्ठम् ।।

186. B.X. 9.
Here is poetical expression that the goddess of fortune of Rājagṛha was perturbed to see him in Bhikṣu robe.

187. *Chung-hsu-chu*, Ch. VI, quoted by Y-Ch. (Watters), II, p. 111.

188. *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), p. 524.

189. Fa-hein, *Legge*, p. 87.

Yuan-Chwang[190] (7th century A.D.) also visited this holy place and writes "...five or six li to the S-W of the city of Gaya, was Gaya mountain with dark gorges and inaccessible cliffs, called by the Indians as 'Spiritual mountains'... on the top of the mountain was a stone Tope, built by Aśoka, where Buddha uttered Pao-Yun and other Sūttras.

Fa-hein and Yuan-Chwang, both the pilgrims, visited the famous Pippal tree (Akṣayavata) under which Śākya Siṅha sat in meditation and attained Buddhahood. Both the pilgrims have not given the accurate distance between the eastern mountain and Gaya or Brahmjuin. But the actual distance from Kia-ye or Gaya ṭo the neighbourhood of Bodhi ṭree is five miles or 30 li.[191]

Rivers

Rivers, in ancient days generally formed the boundary lines between different Janapadas. Literature and inscriptions are full of vivid pictures of their sources, courses, waters and banks.

Ganga

River Ganga is a legendary river of the country. It has received great adoration at the hands of different writers from time to time. It is still considered the holiest river of India.

It is mentioned in Ṛgveda (X.75.5), Rāmāyaṇa,[192] Dharma-sūtra,[193] and Purāṇas. Bhāgvat Purāṇa (Ch. 17) deals with Ganga river, Vāyu Purāṇa (Chs. 47, 32-35) narrate the legend of the release of Ganga from the tresses of King Bhagīratha. Ganga Avatāra Varṇaṇa (Ch. 47) of Vāyu Purāṇa and Matsya Purāṇa are identical in its description, with minor variations.

Inscriptions[194] also speak about this river's sanctity and refer to the legend of its flowing through the matted hair of Śiva, its rise from the Himavat and embracing the table land of Himalaya. The heavenly decent of Ganga is described in two grants[195] as well.

Milindapahna (114)[196] mentions 500 rivers which flow down from the Himalayas. Ganga is the first of the ten great rivers.

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[190] *Watters*, *Y-Ch.* II, pp. 110-111.
The pilgrim travelled 40-50 li to S-W from Silbhadra monastery to reach Gaya. (*Ibid.*, p. 118).

[191] *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), pp. 525-26.
Across river Phalgu to the east of Stupas of Kaśyapa there was a mountain named Po-lo-ki-pu-ti or Pragbodhi, which Buddha first ascended for purposes of silent solitude, but, being disturbed left the place and reached the famous pippal-tree at Baudhya-Gaya. (*Ibid.*, p. 525).

[192] *Kiṣkindhā Kānda*, Ch. XLI.

[193] *Viṣnu Dharma Sūtra* (LXIV. 17) considers the water of river Ganga 'purest of all',

[194] *CII*, Vol. III. 9 ; EI. III.p. 43 ; *Ibid.* XXX, p. 266 ;*CII*, III, p. 153, 146.

[195] *E.I.* XXVIII, p. 141, VI.141.

[196] *Milinda.* (R. Davids), p. 171 (para 114),

Aśvaghoṣa has given traditional regard to river Ganga. He has mentioned it along with its tributaries i.e. Varṇa, Asi, Mandākini and Yamuna; and important places concerning Buddhism on its banks i.e. Magadha, between Son and Ganga, Benaras on its left bank, between Varṇa and Asi, and Kuru and Kāśi in Gangetic Doab.

Giving the description of the river the poet says, Ganga, from where Siddhārtha crossed it to reach Rājagṛha, had tossing waves (B. X.1). Referring to the mythological tale, he refers to Bhīṣma's birth from the womb of Ganga (B. IX. 25). Recalling the old stories about the river, the poet reminds us "when his dearest wife was drowned in the waters of the Ganga, King Jahnu, with his mind overcome by the disembodied god, blocked the river with his arms, just as Mainaka, lord of the mountains, held up the Ganga" (S. VII.40). Illustrating a pun upon the word 'Ganga', the poet adds "King Śāntanu, lost all self-control, when Ganga left him and tossed about like a Śāla tree, torn up by the roots, by the waters of the Ganga" (S. VII. 41). "In the Awakening of the faith"[197], the thoughts are compared with the sands of Ganga i.e. "The thoughts are mundane like the sands of Ganges."

Varṇa and Asi

With due reverence, Aśvaghoṣa mentions Varṇa and Asi, two tributaries of Ganga, encircling the city of Benaras. "...He (Siddhārtha) took his way, in His all-pervading mercy, to the city girdled by the Varanasi, to expound the everlasting victory over death" (S. III.10).[198] In the days of Buddha, its banks seem to be covered with thick forests.

Geography

Barṇa nadi flows in the N-E and Asi nālā in the S-E of Benaras. Barṇa rises from the north of Allahabad and is a big rivulet, having a course of nearly 100 miles, while Asi is a mere brook of no length. The points of junction of both the streams with the Ganga are considered holy.[199] As described by Aśvaghoṣa (S. III.10), the name of the city of Benaras or Vārānasi is derived from the joint name of these two streams.

Mandākini

In *Saundarananda* (XI.50) Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned Mandākini as the holy river of paradise.[200]

The river is mentioned in AN (IV, p. 101). It is the Kaligangā or western

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[197] A.F. Richard, p. 62.

[198] B. XIV. 107 ; mentions the city (Kāśi) whose forests were ornamented by Vārānasi.

[199] *CAG* (Majumdar ed.), 499-500.

[200] In B. XIV. 41 (R.C. Dass, ed.) which Johnston has translated but not included in the original Sanskrit of the poet's work, has identical expression.

Kali or Mandāgni, which rises in the mountains of Kedara in Garhwal. It is a tributary of Alakānandā and thus a tributary of Ganga.[201]

Mandākini river is mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa (LXIV, III.14).[203]

Nairanjna River

Nairanjna River has great importance in Buddhist literature[204], as the place is connected with Buddha's enlightement as well as Parinirvāṇa. According to Fa-hein[205], the river is located in the north of Kuṣinagara (where Buddha attained Parinirvāṇa between two Śāla trees). The river maintained the same name, between two centuries after when Yuan-Chwang crossed it to reach Gaya. Nowadays it is called 'Phalgu' river.[206]

Aśvaghoṣa and Nairanjna River

Reaching Nagri hermitage of the royal seers of Gaya, Gautama decided to take his dwellings at a lonely place on the banks of river Nairanjna (B. XII.90). The five mendicants, who were already there, met and joined him (B. XII.91-92). It was here that the sage practised extraordinary austerities and almost starved for six years to conquer birth and death (Ibid. 94-96). He realised that it was not possible to practice trance without inward tranquillity, which can only be achieved by a well-balanced mind (B. XII.104). So he made up his mind to take food. He took bath in Nairanjna river and climbed up to the bank, with great difficulty, due to weakness, holding trees (branches) growing in its slopes, and accepted food from Nandabālā, cowherd chief's daughter. (B. XII.105-109). Then he sat under the 'pipal' tree, with a resolution to attain enlightenment[207] and not to budge from the posture till he had achieved his goal (B. XII.120).

The story of Siddhārtha's extraordinary austerities is told in almost all the Pali and Sanskrit works including Jātakas.[208] Jāṭaka sixty-seventh's expression that the Master realised that self-torture was not the road to enlightenment and "he had been trying to tie the air into knots" is worth-noting.

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[201] B.C. Law, *G.E.B.*, p. 39.
India in Kalidasa, p. 16.

[203] *Rām.* (Gita Press), p. 828.

[204] *SN* (PTS. 1956) V, p. 147—even after obtaining enlightenment, Buddha stayed near Uruvela, on the banks of river Nairanjna.

[205] *Fa-hein, Legge*, p. 70 (Kuşinagar is 80 miles due east of Kapilvastu. *Ibid.*, ft. n.).

[206] *Cunningham, A.G.* (Majumdar ed.), pp. 523-24.

[207] B. XII.115. सोऽश्वत्थमूलं प्रययौ बोधाय कृतनिश्चयः ।
As soon as the sage took food, the five mendicants left him, taking that he had renounced the holy life. (B. XII.114)

[208] J. 67.

Yamuna River

Yamuna is one of the five great rivers (Ganga, Yamuna, Aciravati, Sarabhu and Mahi) mentioned in Pali literature.[209] Milindapanha[210] tells of 500 rivers rising from Himavata; Yamuna is mentioned as one of the ten important rivers.

In fact this is a very old river of the country and is mentioned in Ṛgveda (X.75.5) also.

The Iron-stone inscription of Buddhagupta mentions it by the name of Kalindi.[211]

Aśvaghoṣa[212] has described it as one of the best rivers having dark blue waters, wreathed with foam.

Siddhartha's Route in Search of Truth

Siddhārtha left Kapilvastu at midnight (B. V.67-79), with a resolution not to return to Kapilvastu till he had seen the further shore of life and death (B. V.83, 84).[213] He travelled many Yojnas till dawn (B. V.87)[214] to reach a place of settlement from where he could see Bhārgva's Āśrama,[215] which was close and in front of Himavat (B. II.39) is a mere poetical expression. Thus Aśvaghoṣa is silent about the name of the place of his first settlement.

According to Mahavastu,[216] riding towards the country of Mallas Siddhārtha reached a place called Anomiya. It was not far from the Aśrama of Vaśiṣṭa, but was twelve Yojnas to the south of Kapilvastu.

In Pāli literature[217], the place is named Anumaineya. It is beyond the river Anoma and thirty yojnas away from Kapilvastu.

Lalitavistara (Ch. XV) speaks of a township, called 'Anumaineya' where Boddhisattva, arrived after six leagues journey on horse-back,[218] passing through the territories of Śākyas, Krodyas and Mallas.

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209. *SN.* II, p. 135, V, pp. 401, 460-1 ; *AN. IV*, p. 101, V, p. 22.
     Sumaṅgalvilāsini (*PTS*), p. 4.
210. *Milinda* (R. Davids), 114 (p. 171).
211. *CII*, III, p. 89.
212. B. IV.76.
     B. XII.10.
213. The same expression is found in *Mhv.* (*J.J. Jones*), p. 159.
214. *Mhv. II.* (*J.J. Jones*), p. 156 mentions sixty Yojnas around Kapilvastu full of heaps of flowers, when Gautama rode on the Kanthaka for the great renunciation.
215. *B. VI.1*— भारगवस्य आश्रमपदं ददर्शं ।
216. *Mhv. II* (*J J. Jones*), p. 160. This agrees with Tibetan Sources. (Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 126).
217. T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, p. 245.
218. *DPPN.* I, p. 43. (The town of Maneya is in the distt. of Anuvaineya. (Foucaux, tr. from Tibetan, p. 214, quoted vide *CAG*. (Majumdar ed.), p. 487 ft. n.).

Fa-hein,[219], the earliest Chinese pilgrim to record the distance of a place from where Chandaka and Kanthaka returned, says that the place was nine yojnas away from Kapilvastu.

State 6883

Anomā

The Ceylonese Aṭṭakatha of Buddhawanso,[220] also records the name of Siddhārtha and Chandaka and Kanthaka's parting by Anomā.

Cunningham[221] identifies Anomā with the modern river Aumi on the bases of three significant names on the bank of the river :

1. Chandaka-Nivarttana (Chandaka's return) Stupa—which stands on the opposite bank of the river. Cunningham identifies it with the village of Chandaoli on the eastern bank of the river Aumi, near the head of Aumiyar lake, which is 10 miles S. of Gorakhpur.
2. The Stupa is on the spot called 'Chanda-pati-gṛha', where the prince cut-off his hair locus with a swored. Cunningham identifies it with the village of Chureya, three miles north of Chandaoli.
3. The Stupa of 'Kāṣaya-grahan' is where the prince exchanged his clothes. Cunningham identifies it with the village of Keseyar, 3½ miles to the S-E of Chandaoli.

Yuan-Chwang's description, more or less, agrees with Cunningham's identification of 'Anomā'. Thus Siddhārtha's first place of settlement was 'Anomā' or the modern bank of river 'Auma'.

From this first settlement (Anomā or Anumaineya) Siddhārtha sent Chandaka and his white horse Kanthaka, back (B. VI.12 ff) with a message for his father (B. VI.15 ff) and folk in Kapilvastu; (B. VI.51 52) (but nothing is recorded about the message to his wife Yaṣodhara). Here he cut his decorated head-dress and hair with his sword (B. VI.56,57), and exchanged his gold-embroidered clothes with the ochre-coloured robe (B. VI.60-63) worn by the hunter (Chandaka).

He visited the hermitage of Bhārgava (B. VII.1). Here he met and observed the Brāhmana ascetics. He studied their way of living, eating and practising austerities (B. VI.1-39). Being unsatisfied, because their Dharma confined to primeval ages (B. VII.49) and advised by the ascetic (Bhasmṣāyin) to move towards Vindhyakoṣṭha, he set to see sage Arāḍa (B. VII.51 and 54) and left the place. After leaving the hermitage of Bhārgava, the prince crossed the tossing Ganga and reached Rājagṛha,[222] the ancient capital of Magadha. He begged his food here and travelling through a lonely rivulet of the mountain, climbed Mount Pāṇḍava (B. X.14). From here he took the route to Vaisavaṁtara's hermitage (B. XI.73).[223]

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[219] *Fa-hein* (*Legge*), pp. 68-70.

[220] *JASB*. VII.808.
CAG, p. 849.

[221] *CAG*, pp. 490-1. The places are named after the Stupas erected by public to honour the memory from incidents of Buddha's life.

He met the Sāṁkhya philosopher, Sage Arāḍa, and then went to the hermitage of Udraka (B. XII.84). Being unsatisfied, as their philosophy involved the tenant of soul's existence, he went to the hermitage of the royal seer of Gaya, called Nagari (B. XII.89). Here, finding the place lonely and pure, took up his dwelling on the sacred bank of river Nairanjna (B. XII.90). Here he took his seat under a pippal tree (B. XII.115) and attained enlightenment.

As regards Siddhārtha's visit to different sages the traditions differ. In the Pāli[224] tradition the prince did visit Bhārgava but he was not the first one. In Mahāvastu[225] he (Siddhārtha) honoured Vaśiṣtha with his first visit, Arāda Kalama in second visit at Vaiśāli and then visited Rājagṛha where he met king *Ś*reṇiya. His third visit was to Udraka Rampuria. In L.V.[226] he visits the hermitages of Śākya, Padma and then Raveta.

Ocean

Aśvaghoṣa, has referred to rivers[227], rivulets[228], springs[229], ponds[230], and water falls[231] in general and ocean in particular. His various references to ocean are Sāgara[232], Samudra[233], Mahāvāridhi[234], Ārṇava[235] and Mahārṇva[236] to distinguish ocean and sea.

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222. B. X.1.

223. B. XI.73— वैश्वंतरमात्रमं ।
The authorities differ about the situation of this hermitage. LV and Mhv. place Arāḍa in Vaiśāli, substituting perhaps a better known name for an obscure one. (Johnston, ft. n. of the verse).

224. T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, p. 247.

225. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, pp. 186, 191, 197-8.

226. LV, p. 174.

227. R. I.26. - सरितो, I.71—नदी, IX.15.

228. B. X.14.

229. S. XII.22 ; B. X.2.

230. B. IV.49.— दीर्घिकां ।

231. B. II.12.— प्रपा. ।

232. S. XVI.98.

233. S. XIII.40.
B. I.37, 44 ; XII.99 ; XI.12.

234. S. XVII.68.

235. S. XI.45.
B. I.70— दु:खार्णवा ; IX.24— आर्णवे ।

236. B. XI.12— महार्णवस्य ।

Sea-water is mentioned as salty[237] and its depth never diminishing.[238] Though innumerable rivers fall in the ocean,[239] yet it remains unperturbed.[240] Otherwise the water of the ocean is the best of all the waters.[241]

Dvīpas

Aśvaghoṣa has referred to four dvīpas, conquered by Māndhātṛ (B. XI. 13) He has not named any dvīpa except Ratna Dvīpa (S. XV.27).

Māndhātṛ lenged is described in length in Divyādana (210 ff).[242]

The concept that earth constitutes, of four (Jambu, Uttarkuru, Keṭumāla and Bhadrās) dvīpas is a very old one.[243] These four dvīpas are grouped around Meru (south, north, west and east respectively) "like the petals of a lotus".

Abhidharmakoṣa[244] also refers to four dvīpas, surrounding Meru.

Purāṇas enumerate seven dvīpas. The order in which they are mentioned is not uniform, but each is surrounded by an ocean. Jambudvīpa (the central one) is surrounded by salt-water.[245]

Aśvaghoṣa's mention of Rattan dvīpa, seems to be a mere poetical expression and not the name of any particular dvīpa of the time.

Seasons

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions six seasons and twelve months.

Our poet has also mentioned the traditional six seasons (S. X.19).

Vasanta

Vasanta (B- IV.52) is the season of flowers and flower bannered god Kāmdev.

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237. S. XI.32.
238. B. XII.99.
239. B. XI.12.
240. B. XII.113.
241. B. I.37—सरसां समुद्रः ।
242. But Brāhmaṇical legend differs (from Buddhist legend) saying that he was born from the side. (Johnston, ft. n. B. I.10).
243. *M.Bh.*, 6.6.13 (Bombay, Calcutta and Kumba Konan ed.) Ali, G.P., p. 198, ft. n. 13.
In ancient Sanskrit literature, word dvīpa only denotes a division of land and not compulsorily the land surrounded by water. (Ali, GP, p. 26)
JAOS. 1910, p. 371, earth surrounded by four dvīpas.
244. Abh. (N. Dev. 1958), III, 54, 55 (p. 369).
245. Ali, G.P., p. 26.
246. *SBE* (XLIV) XII. 8.2.29 and 8.2.30.

It is called Puspamāsa.[246a] It excites passion, and even birds are not spared from its effects.[246]

Describing its characteristics the poet says that mango blossoms (B. IV.35, 41, 44), trees put forth flowers, shaking creepers drop honey from their flowers (B. VIII.6), ponds grow lotuses, wind becomes fragrant, etc. In short, every object gains added beauty in this season.[248]

Chaitra-Vaiśākh (April and May) are its months.

Nidagha-Kāla

It is the summer season of June and July (Jyaiṣtha and Āṣāḍha of Hindu calendar). It is mentioned as a very hot season with blazing and scorching sun.[249]

Varṣā-Kāla

It is the rainy season of the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada (roughly corresponding to the months of August and September).

Describing it, the poet says, in this season, the sun enters the circle of clouds (B. IX.8), and the mighty clouds, after summer, give relief (B. I.73).

In this season the clouds are black (B. XIII.49) and huge (B. XIII.45). They originate from smoke, are full of waters (S. III.23) and produce rains (B. XI.71, 68). They thunder or ramble[250] and are adorned with rings of lightening.[251] Wind exercises its hold on clouds and it rains.[252]

Heavy rains and thunder make the water turbid[253] and rivers get flooded.[254] The swollen current of the river cuts away its banks.[255]

[246a] S. VII.2—पुष्पमासस्य च पुष्पलक्ष्म्या सर्वभिसारेण च पुष्पकेतोः ।
X canto of S. has given beautiful description of flowers in paradise.

[247] B. IV.52.—अपि नाम विहङ्गानां वसन्तनाहृतो मदः ।

[248] S. X.19-26.

[249] S. IV.28—दीप्तमर्कं ।

[250] S. III.23, XVII.7.
B. II.7, IV.83, XIII.45 ; S. VII.39.

[251] B. II.7, XIII.45—साशनिचण्डघोषाः ।

[252] B. II.7, IX.16.

[253] S. XVII.7—पर्याकुलं तस्य मनश्चकार प्रावृट्सुविद्युज्जलभागेव ।

[254] S.V.3—जलागमे स्रोत इवापगायाः ।
B. XIII.64—महौघे मग्नं ।
S. XIV.16—महौदास्योत्तितीर्षया ; S. XIV.17—दुःखौघस्य ।

[255] B. IX.15—प्रवृद्धो नवीरयः कूलमिवभिहन्ति ।

Poet's references to clouds, thunderbolts (S. VII.39), light, darkness, sun and moon, in various philosophical similies, is worth-noting.

Śarat

It is the autumn season. The clouds are white (as they disappear) in this season,[256] and are encircled by lightening flashes. The moon, in this season, is described as of slender beauty.[257]

Autumn season months are Āṣvin and Kārtik (corresponding roughly speaking October and November).

Hemanta

It is the cold season, roughly corresponding to December and January. The poet, describing it, says,[258] that at the approach of winter, the moon turns pale and sky looks haggard.

Śiśir

It is the cool or dewy season, in the months of Māgh and Phālgun, roughly corresponding to February and March.

Our poet has not particularly referred to this season but has in general recorded,[259] the natural change at every moment in some of the trees' appearance, according to their own season, and the glory of others, according to six seasons.

Ṛgveda (I. 164.2) mentions three 'Chakras' of the sun, which represent three (summar, rainy and Hemanta seasons). They are the main seasons and others (seasons) are their sub-divisions.[260]

Constellations and Planets

Earth

It is called 'mahi'.[261] It is girdled by sea or ocean[262] and itself is solid.[263] The

[256] B. I.29—शरत्तोयदपाण्डुरेणु ।
सितमसितगतिद्युतिर्वपुष्मान् रविरिव शारदमभ्रमाररूरोह । B. V.79.

[257] S. VI.37—शतहूदाभिःपरिवेष्टितेव शशाङ्कलेखा शरदभ्रमध्ये ।
S. X.39—तडित्पताका इव तोयदेम्यः ।

[258] S. VI.9.

[259] S. X.19.

[260] त्रिनाभि चक्रम् । त्र्ऋतु संवत्सरः । ग्रीष्मो वर्षा हेमन्त इति ।
Nirukta—4.27.
Bhagavat Dutt, *Ved-Vidhya-Nirdarshan*, p. 216.

[261] B. IX.78 ; VIII.58 महीतले ।

[262] B. XI.12—समुद्रवस्त्रामपि, महार्णवस्य.... ।

[263] B. XIII.58.

earth is borne by nagas, who are devoted to Dharma.[264] The reference to stationary earth and earth-quake is worth noticing : "At the birth (of Siddhārtha) the earth, nailed down, as it was, with the king of mountain, trembled like a ship struck by the wind ; and from the cloudless sky there fell a shower perfumed with sandalwood and bringing blue and pink lotuses."[265]

The 'nābhi' or centre of the earth is also mentioned (B. XIII.68).

Sun

It is Ravi,[266] Bhāskar[267] and Surya.[268] It rises in the east, from behind the mount Meru[269] and sets in the evening.[270] The rising sun shines very brightly.[271] Its orb is named 'harimandala'[272] which glitters. Aśvaghoṣa has referred to the steed of the sun,[273] the path of the sun,[274] and the famous legend[275] of the sun, who "conceiving a passion for Śarenyu, had his orb whittled away and took the shape of a horse."

Sun is the best of the fires.[276] It has thousand rays and is the dispeller of darkness of the night.[277] Even the rising sun overshadows the moon[278] in the Krishnapakṣa (black fortnight). The light of the sun is more powerful than any other constellation[279] and hence the poet has compared Buddha with sun.[280]

The light of the sun is obstructed by the dust of sand-storm,[281] otherwise it is dim during sun-eclipse period.[282]

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[264] B. XIII.30. (Eight naga-kings support the earth. AK. II.75 n. 4. Johnston ft. n. of the verse).

[265] B. I.21.—गिरिराजकीला वाताहता नौरिव भूश्चचाल ।

[266] B. IV.78.

[267] B. I.13, VI.1.

[268] B. VII.8.

[269] B. II.20, X.15.
S. IV.4, XII.29—तमो नैशं प्रभा सौरी विनिर्गणेवमेरुणा ।

[270] B. VI.65, VII.32.

[271] B. VII.6 ; X.15 बालसूर्यः , I.12. बालो रवि ।

[272] B. XIII.35—हरिमण्डलाक्षाः ।

[273] B. V.87.

[274] B. I.57.

[275] S. VII.26.

[276] B. I.37. तपसीं च सूर्यः ।

[277] S. XII 59—metaphorically the dispeller of ajñāna.

[278] S. V.53— पूर्ण शशी बहुलापक्षगतः क्षपान्ते, बालतपेन परिषिक्त इवाबभासे ।

[279] B. I.35.

[280] B. V.79— रविरिव ।

[281] S. XII.21—रजसा चण्डवातेन विवस्वत इव प्रभा ।

[282] B. I.13—भास्करवन्मुमोष ।

Milindapanha[283] describes four derangements (rōgas) of the sun i.e. the clouds, fog, smoke and eclipse. (Smoke or Megha—rain-cloud or dhuma-rōga). Further, Nagsena illucidates:[284] "In the hot season, O king dust is blown up into clouds and pollen (reṇu) agitated by the winds rises up in the sky and clouds multiply in the heavens, and gales blow with increasingly force. All these clouds crowded and heaped together, shut off the rays of the sun and so in the hot season, the heat of the sun is diminished."

Moon

The moon is described as 'Tārādhipati',[285] Shashi (S. V.53), Chandra (B. I.16), Chandramā (B. IV.5) and Shashāṅk (B. XIII.29). It shines brightly (B. I.18). Its rays are considered clear and soothing ;[286] which appears pleasant in summer or heat and unpleasant in cold or winter (B. XI.42).

The moon dominates all other constellations in the bright fortnight.[287] In the dark fortnight, in the early morning, its light becomes mellow in the rays of the rising sun (S. V.53). It is the best of the planets[288] and the monarch of the stars.[289] Full moon with the constellations mounting the sky is a beautiful sight.[290]

The moon eclipse is also mentioned referring to the tale of Rahu and Ketu.[291]

In addition to the above mentioned ones, constellation of the seven seer,[292] (Saptaṛṣis) stars, in general, which become discoloured by the dawn,[293] falling meteors (B. II.7), and Puṣya[294] (nakṣatra) are also mentioned. Dust-storm or sand-storm,[295] gentle breeze and fierce winds[296] and earthquake[297] etc. have also been mentioned.

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[283] Milinda (*SBE.* Vol. XXXVI). IV.7.23. Kullavagga XII.1,3 (from which the whole section IV. 7.23 is derived—vide—ft. n., Ibid., p. 112).

[284] *SBE.* Vol. XXXVI. IV.7.24.

[285] B. II.20, VI.65—इवोडुराजः ।

[286] B. I.16—चन्द्रमरिचि शुभ्रे ।

[287] B. II 20. The moon grows for 15 days and becomes full moon.

[288] B. I.37. तारासु चन्द्रः ।

[289] B. VI.65.

[290] B. III.9.

[291] B. IX.28.—राहूपसर्गादिव पूर्णचन्द्रम् ।

[292] B. I.14—सप्तऋृषि तारासदृषो ।

[293] B. V.87, XIII.29, VIII.21—तारा रजनीक्षयारुणाः ।

[294] B. I.9. Puṣya becomes propitious according to Chinese version 'on the eighth day of the fourth month'.
(Johnston ft. n. of the verse).

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V.32)[298] gives the story of this creation. According to it, Prajāpati with a desire to create beings and multiply himself created earth, air and heaven. He heated them and as a result three lights were produced. Agni from earth, Vāyu from air and Āditya (sun) from heaven.

Aitereya Brāhmaṇa (XI.6.4) declares "that heaven is based on the air, the air on the earth, the earth on the water and the water on Truth...."

Aitereya Āraṇyaka (III.2),[299] praising Indra, says, "Indra ! thou art food and prosperity, rich in cows, that beyond the earth to which Varuṇa and Vāyu must resort."

Night[300]

The sky looses its brightness at night.[301] The nights are bright in the Śuklapakṣa and dark in the Kṛṣnapakṣa[302] (dark-fortnight).

Niśākarābha (night making orb)[303] is also mentioned.

Clouds

The clouds have been mentioned several times by our poet in his works. Flashing lightening,[304] rambling[305] clouds and rains,[306] are the phenomena connected with them.

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[295] S. XII. भवांस्तथा ।

[296] S. VIII.27—प्रणतिर्वायुवशात् ।
B. II.20—समीरितो ; XIII.29.

[297] B. I.21—भूश्च्चाल ।

[298] Ait. Br. (Matin Haig), p. 372.

[299] Ait. Āraṇyaka (A.B. Keith, 1979), p. 296.

[300] B. IV.33, VIII.28.

[301] B. XIII.28.
S. XII.29.

[302] S. V.53.
B. II.20.

[303] B. VII.34.

[304] B. IV.33 ; S. VIII.2.

[305] B. II.7. Rambling is compared with Dundubhi.
(B. I.26)

[306] B. II.7, VII.9.
B. XI.68
B. VIII.56, XI.71.

Cloudless sky shines and the 'dishās' become clear.[307] Such a sky is described as a white umbrella.[308] The autumn clouds are white,[309] and the rainy clouds are black.[310] The reference to glorious clouds with the hues of sunset,[311] and many hued rays of the evening cloud,[312] point to rainbow-colours.

Lightening

Aśvaghoṣa has alluded to lightening several times, specially in the rainy season. Sometimes the sky is described adorned with the rings of lightening (B. II.7), and at other times the night is full of flashing lightening (B. IV.33). Generally lightening is mentioned, accompanied with rambling clouds and wind (B. II.7).

Describing the actions of wind, sun, and thunderbolt, on cloud, water, dry grass and a mountain, the poet says, that they uproot, dry, burn and shatter.[313]

Minerals and Gems

Gold

Aśvaghoṣa has given various references, alluding to plenty of gold in the country. In addition to various kinds of gold ornaments,[314] golden chariot and horses with golden geer,[315] gold-gilded horns of cows (B. I.84), Suvarṇa-kalash,[316] splended golden couch, inlaid with streams of diamonds, having a candelva, glittering with gold,[317] framework of the couch, glittering with gold,[318] Suvarṇastambh (pillars of gold),[319] rain of gold[320] etc. are mentioned.

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307. B. I.26. Sky is governed by Indra. (*Sat. Bra.* XII.8.2.32).
308. B. I.18.
309. B. V.79. White autumnal clouds.
     S. III.20—Comparison between a palace and a white cloud.
310. B. XIII.49, 45.
311. S. III.24.
312. B. XIII.39.
313. B. IX.16.
     S. XVII.59.
314. Please see ornaments in Ch. III.
315. B. III.8.
316. B. IV.35
317. B. IV.44.
318. B. I.17.
319. S. I.19.
320. B. XI.13—हिरण्यवर्ष ।

The gold is called suvarṇa,[321] kanchan,[322] kanaka,[323] hema,[324] and rukma (S. VI.29, 31). The poets mention of gold found in the Himalayas[325] may be a reference to certain river beds, where gold was found.

Gold was produced from dirt[326] and cleaned by the gold-washers.[327] The gold, mixed with dirt, was considered impure.[328] No metal was considered equal to pure gold.[329] Wrought and unwrought gold was considered the wealth of the nation[330] (as in the modern days).

The poet's reference to golden mountain (Kanchan Parvata)[331] confirms to that gold was found in abundance, on the mountains, as well as some river-sands.

Foreign Evidence

Q Curtius Refus, Herodotos (III.106) and Strabo, quoting Magesthenese, say, that gold-dust was carried down by the rivers of India e.g. River Son was then called 'Hiraṇyavāha' (bearing gold) poetically. "Strabo (XV.1.30) says that in the country of Sopiethes, there were valuable mines both of gold and silver among the mountains."[332]

"Nearchus and Magesthenese confirm the account given by Herodotos which mentions ants as big as foxes, which dug up gold."[333]

Silver

In addition to gold, silver[334] was also found in the country. It (silver) was also

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321. S. I.19 सुवर्णस्तम्भ ; X.12, 20, 25 ;
S. XVI.65, 66, 80 ; IV.18—सुवर्णवेद्याम ।

322. S. V.5 ; XIII.4 ; X.24.
B.V.

323. S. III. 24 ; XVIII.15.
B. V.81—कनकवलय ।

324. S. III.25—हेममणिजाल ।

325. S. X.5.—काञ्चनधातुमन्तं---हिमवन्तमाशु ।

326. S. XIII.4—पांसुभ्यः काञ्चनं जातं ।

327. S. XV.66—सुवर्ण--पांसुधावको ।

328. S. XVI.80—स्थूलानिवर्हणेन सुवर्ण दोषा ।

329. B. I.27.

330. B. II.2—धनस्य रत्नस्य च तस्य कृताकृतस्येव च काञ्चनस्य ।

331. B. V.42.
Hiraṇya Parvata is in Central India (Cunningham, *A.G.*, p. 545).

332. J.W. M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 187.

333. Camb, *H.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 403-4.

334. S. X.9 —रुप्या ।

used for making ornaments, as 'silver brooch of . . . inlaid with threads of gold' is mentioned in literature.

Iron[335]

It was made hot by the blazing fire. Hot iron was moulded, and axes[336] mentioned must have been made out of it, in addition to various other implements.

Copper (Tāmra)

The use of this metal also must have been known to the Indians of our poet's time. He has used the word 'Tāmra' ; for metal in a simili.[337]

Coal[338] *and Hot-coal*

It is mentioned many a times, but nothing is said, whether it was dug from the mines or prepared from wood.

Precious Stones

Precious stones mentioned in frequent illustrations and otherwise are : Maṇi[339] and Maṇi-Śila[340] of yellow colour, Vaidurya[341] maṇi (called lapis-lazuli) of blue colour, diamonds (vajra),[342] of white colour, and sphatika (crystals)[343] etc. The poet has referred to semi-precious stones and mines of precious stones[344] or jewels.

Some of the maṇis (jewels) are mentioned so glittering that they threw light all around. Such were the jewels used in the diadem of prince Siddhārtha.[345]

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[335] B. XIV.76— तप्तायो ज्वलत्तात्तापयत्यथः ।
B. V.69.

[336] B. XIII.39.

[337] S. VI.11, पल्लवरागताम्रे ।
S. XVIII— ताम्र ।

[338] B. XIII.42.
B. XI.30—अङ्गारकर्षप्रतिभेषु ।

[339] S. III.25— हेममणिजाल बलयिनमिवोत्थितं ध्वजं ।
S. X.23, 25 ; VIII.20 ; XVIII.20.
B. V.53, VI.13, 20 ; I.85— मणिप्रदीपम् ।

[340] S. X.28— मण:शिला ।

[341] S. X.23, 29, X.29.

[342] S. X.24.

[343] S. X.28.

[344] B. XVIII.46—रत्नाकर···असतो मणीन मणीन्हरेत ।

[345] B. VI.13.

Pearls[346] *or Ratna or Mukta*[347]

Were found in sea in plenty. The mention of Ratna dvīpa indicates plenty of pearls found in the land surrounded by water.

Foreign Evidence

The foreign visitors and rovers, not only mention about the lucrative trade, which India had with outside world, but also mention precious stones and pearls, found in the mines, on the banks of rivers and ocean.

"Pliny tells of various kinds of precious stones found in Indus and the use to which they were applied. The 9th book is full of details about the pearls.[348] From Strabo (II. iii.4) we learn that an adventurer, Eudoxos of Kyzikos, who had been sent by Ptolemy Physkon, king of Egypt, to India, returned thence, bringing back with him many precious stones, some of which the Indians had collected from among the pebbles of the rivers and others of which they had dug-out of mines. In the 5th book, he states, that India produced precious stones, crystals, carbuncles of all kinds and pearls. In Ptolemy's 'Geography of India' and in the 'Periplus of Ethraeon Sea' mention is made of the diamond beryl, onyx carnelian, hyacinth and sapphire as precious stones of India. They also mention various pearlfisheries existing in and near India. Arrian states in his Indica (c. 8) that the pearl, in India, is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, and that it was called in Indian tongue Margarita, which is its classical name and may represent either the Sanskrit Manjari or the Persian marwarid."[349]

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[346] S. XVI.98. सागरजलं रत्नश्रिया ।
B. I.2. शिवरत्नसारा, रत्नावली ; B. II.2. रत्नस्य ।

[347] S. VIII.50—मुक्ता ।

[348] Pliny's verification of the stones is doubtful, still one can recognise diamonds, opals and agate. (Camb. *H.I.*, p. 403).

[349] J.W. M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India*, pp. 187-88 and ft. n. 1, p. 188.

3

Flora and Fauna

FLORA

Forests

Aśvaghoṣa calls forests as Vanas,[1] Araṇyas[2] and Kāntār.[3] According to his Kāvyas (S and B) the hilly tracks and lofty mountains (Giri)[4] were largely[5] covered with thick forests and cities were also having green-belts.

Pāṇḍu mountain is of dark blue colour due to forests,[6] Himalaya is full of fragrant forests (of Deodar)[7] and bedecked with lakes, springs and rivers. The mountain has groves of lonely shrubs, smooth, soft-lawns which are yellowish with saffron (Kesar) flowers.[8] The poet has not described vividly beauty of the Himalayas like Kalidasa in Kumārsambhava. However, he has described then

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1. B. VII.32. तप: प्रशान्तं स वनं विवेश ।
   B. III.121. वन तरुवो ।
   B. VIII.1, 6, 13 ; IX.1, 14 ; XIV.107, 56 ; V.2 ; IV.27.
   S. VII.11, V.38, VIII.8, 16, 29.
2. S. XVI.86—ऐतान्यरण्याताभित: शिवानि योगानुकूलान्यजने ।
   B. V.31, VI.36.
   S. XVI.86.
3. B. I.72. ; S. VII.9.
4. B. IX.17, X.18.
5. B. XIV.28.
6. B. X.21.
7. S. X.5—तौ देवदारुत्तमगन्धवन्तं नदी सर: प्रस्रवणोघवन्तं ।
8, S. I.6, 7.

characterstics of the mountain which promote peace and calmness for the sages and makes atmosphere fit for the ascetics who build their Āśramas there.[9] This agrees with Dhammapada,[10] which tells that, yogis or passionless, find great delight in forests, where the world finds no delight—for they look not for pleasures.

Aśvaghoṣa's love for forests and forest-life is evident, when he says, 'this is the navel of earth's surface, the only spot on earth, which can bear the force of His concentrated thoughts' (B. XIII.68). And when Buddha took his seat with determination to see the goal, the forest trees did not rusṭle, though struck by wind (B. XII. 121). Observing the effect of Yajñas, performed by the ascetics in the forest, the poet says, "the trees of the forests were discoloured by the smoke of oblations and there were holy quiet of austerities" (Havirdhūmavivarṇa vṛkṣam tapa praṣāntam sa vanam) (B. VIII.32).

Trees

Aśvaghoṣa's forest-trees are generally laden with fruits and flowers.[11] Some of these are seasonal trees, while others 'exhibit the splendid glory of all six seasons in their entirety'.[12] Poets' reference to logs as big as mountain peak[13] simply means trees with big trunks. Pārijāta (Hārasṛigāra) tree[14] is described as shining with all the qualities of majesty, and plays the king over the Mandāra and other trees, which are laden with the bloom of day water-lillies and red lotuses."

Various kinds of other trees mentioned are : Nāgbṛkṣa[15] (Nāga-trees) and Nāg-Kesar,[16] Gandhaparṇa[17] or fragrant trees, Pārijāta,[18] Deodār[19] (pine trees), Tamāl,[20] Śāl,[21] (a small tree of powerful smell); Tilaka,[22] famous for white-fragrant-flowers appearing in spring ; Kadamba,[23] Priyaṅgu,[24] Pipal tree[25] (under which Buddha attained enlightenment), Mandāra[26] or coral tree,[27] Tāl-bṛkṣa[28] (or tall toddy-palms) ; Karṇikāra[29] trees of copper-coloured flowers, Lodhra-trees,[30] Aśoka tree[31] (pink like the palms of ladies B. IV.48) and considered as the increaser of lovers sorrow, and Kurbaka tree[32] which in full bloom shines like lac. In addition to these trees the poet has mentioned Asipatravanam[33] i.e. dark-sword-leaved forests.

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[9] Infra. Āśramas and forest population (Social Life chapter).

[10] *SBE.* X.99.

[11] S. I.9, VIII.16, X.14, 20, 25.

[12] S. X.19 ; B. I.24.

[13] B. XIII.40.

[14] S. X.26.
Pārijāta is a tiny attractive flower. It has white petals supported by bright red stem. (*Hindustan Times*, April 6, 1982).

[15] S. VII.9 ; IV.18.

[16] V.S. 33.

[17] S. VII.10.

[18] S. X.26.

[19] S. X.14. Pine or Deodar trees are mostly found in the Himalayas. The height needed for them is 5008 ft.

[20] S. IV.20, V.S. 33. It is mentioned in Āpstamba *DS* (I.2.37) Mūlodaka Samijño Vṛkṣah. (S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, p. 210).

[21] S. IV.33.

[22] S. VII.7. B. IV.46.

Vajrasūcī[34] has named many a trees, such as 'Butt, Bakula, Palāsha, Aśoka, Tamāla, Nāgakesara, Shirīṣ, Champaka etc.' in one line.

In addition to these trees, the poet has referred to aloes and sandalwood,[35] wood[36] and forest-trees[37] in general. Poet's knowledge of Botany is further witnessed, when he says, that when out of season, trees (in general) part with the colour of their leaves.[38]

Fruit Trees

In addition to the forest-aisle, rich with fruits and flowers (S. I.9), the poet has mentioned a few fruit-trees. Mango[39] seems to be his favourite, banana[40] and jambu[41] trees also provided fruits. When undertaking extraordinary austerities, Bodhisattva lived on jujube fruit,[42] sesamum seed and grain of rice.

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[23] S. X.11.

[24] S. VII.6.

[25] S. VIII.6 ; B. XIII.7. सोऽश्वथ ; B. XII.115. सोऽश्वथमूलं ।
V.S. 33.

[26] S. X.26.

[27] J.J. Jones, *Mhv.* II, p. 156.

[28] B. XIII.23.

[29] S. XVIII.5.

[30] B. XI.5, X.15.

[31] B. IV.45, 48.

[32] B. IV.47—अलक्तकप्रभं ।

[33] B. XIV.15— असिपत्रवनं नीलं ।

[34] बटबकुल पलाशाशोक तमालनागकेसर शिरीष चम्पक प्रभृत्तिनां बृक्षाणां विशेषो दृष्यते ।
(V.S. 33)

[35] B. I.21, XIII.56.
S. XV.26.—अगरु काष्टवत् ।

[36] B. XIV.16— दारुवत ।

[37] S. VII.9. कान्तार वृक्षा, VIII.19. बनद्रुमात् ।
B. XIII.38, 39—तरु, वृक्ष ।

[38] B. VI.49.

[39] B. XIV. 6, 37, 48 ; IV.35, 44.

[40] B. XIV. 6—कदली ।

Though by name no tree is mentioned, in Indra's pleasure grove in heaven (Himalayas), there is mention of trees full of different kinds of fruits of different colours.[43]

In Mahāvastu's[44] Jātaka story of five hundred merchants (III.67 ff); there is enumeration of various kinds of trees flowers, plants and creepers, growing in a grove. It mentions 49 types of trees which include Aśoka, Jambira, Nagbṛkṣa, Sāla, Karṇikara, Mandāra, Pippal tree, Āmra, Tamāla, Tilaka tree, and Kurbaka mentioned by Aśvaghoṣa also.

Jungle-fire (wood-fire)

The poet's reference to jungle fire,[45] which burnt the dry grass along with tree-tops, 'Arṇi,[46] and dry wood[47] may mean the existence of Mimosa-suma (Prosopis Spicigera), which is supposed to contain hidden fire in its wood.[48] Further, the poet informs us that the fire was produced from fire-sticks by continuous friction.[49]

Bushes

A kind of special 'Sinduvāra'[50] bushes grew on the bank of ponds and enveloped them.

Thick bush is described as 'gulam' and a bush with thorns 'śargulam' (V.S. 8).

Creepers

The poet has observed creepers full of flowers,[51] and at certain places these creepers grew up the trees. Blossoming Atimukta[52] creeper is mentioned embracing a mango tree. There were gardens where these creepers bursting with flowers formed bowers[53] and were beautiful resort for the wayfarers.

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[41] B. XII. 101, V.8.
J. 127. (Cowell, 1897), Fig tree.

[42] B. XII.96. 'Jujube' is a kind of berries grown in jungle.

[43] S. X.22.

[44] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones).

[45] S. X.53—दावा ।

[46] S. II.57, B. XIV.65—अरणे: पावको यथा ।

[47] S. XVI.51—काष्टाश्च शुष्कादपिपातेन नैवाग्निमाप्नोत्यनुपायपूर्वं ।

[48] B.S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kalidasa.*

[49] S. XVI.97.
B. XIII.60.

[50] B. IV.49—दीर्घकां प्रावृतां पश्य तीरजैः सिन्दुवारकैः ।

[51] S. X.13.—वल्लरीणां ।

Certain creepers were poisonous,[54] while others[55] dropped honey from their flowers.

The delicate beauty of the creepers is described as very unsteady e.g. "struck by rain from a cloud, they wave unsteadily in all directions."[56]

Grass

The soft grass is mentioned as 'Shādvla'[57], which was the beauty of the forest. Songs were sung in its praise (B.III.1). It was bright like beryl.[58]

Kuśa[59] and Durbha[60] these are the two varieties of scared grass[61] referred by the poet. They are used in sacrifices and are supposed to have sharp blades (B. III.28). Ṛgveda (X. 134.5, 142.8) mentions Durbha grass, 'Kuśa' is referred in Baudhāyana D.S.[62] and Viṣnu D.S. as sacred. Some ascetics in the Tapovan of Tarai region are described subsisting on 'Tṛṇa'[63] grass. Buddha also ate it[64] before he was enlightened.

Flowers

Various kinds of flowers with different shapes, colours and fragrance of different seasons and out of season (B. I.24) are described.

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[52] S. VII.8—लतां प्रफुल्लामतिमुक्तकस्य ।

[53] S. VIII.8—शुचौ लतागृहे कुसुमोद्गारिणी ।

[54] S. VIII.31.

[55] B. VIII.59.

[56] B. XI.68.

[57] B. III.1, XII.115—शाद्वलास्तीर्णं भूतलम् ।

[58] B. V.9—वैडूर्यनिकाशशाद्वलायाम् ।

[59] V.S. 8.

[60] B. V.5—शष्पदभां ।
S. XVII.2—मृदुनीलशष्पं ।

[61] Apte's Dic.

[62] B. I.6.3, 14.11 ; II.6.31 ; IV.513 ; V, XXVII.12.
V. (LXXIII, 17, 18, 19).

[63] B. VII.15—तृण, B. III.57, IX.43, XII.119.

[64] B. XII.119.
In Gita VI.11. and Mahābhārata 7164 grass is used as a seat in Yoga (ft. n. of the verse—Johnston).

Sitapuṣpa[65] the white and beautiful flower was used for decorating purposes. Mādhvi-flower[66] was used in worship-offerings. Description of Mandāra flowers[67] being bestrewed on Siddhārtha, also indicates its sacred importance.

There were also found Agastya flowers,[68] white kund flowers,[69] Saras and Champak flowers.[70] Karṇakāra[71] flowers, white in colour are mentioned, as emblem on a flag pole.

Generally fragrant flowers were used for making garlands.[72]

Mango-blossom[73] is narrated a special fragrant flower, which attracts, cuckoos. It is supposed to excite passion. It is the flower of the god of love, and is called 'Puśpaketu'.

Saffron or Keser

Saffron is mentioned to be found in abundance on the slope of Himalayas. The ground of the hermitage of Kapil Gautama had yellowish appearance with the carpet of Keser or saffron,[74] consisting of unadulterated earthly particles.

Lotus

Out of flowers and plants growing in water, lotus is the most favourite. Again out of its several varieties, known to the poet, 'Padma',[75] the water-originating lotus is very popular. Though it grows in the water, but it is not effected by

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65. B. I.86.
66 B. VII.4 ; S. I.12.
67. B. I.19 ; XIV.89.
68. V.S. 8.
69. V.S. 18. (One of Jasminum species, white and delicate. *India in Kalidasa*, p. 40).
70. V.S. 33.
71. B. V.3, 51.
72. B. IV.40 ; S. IV.27—सुरभि स्रजश्च ।
73. B. III.1, 24, IV.35—चूतशाखां कुसमितां··· । ; IV.41.
    IV.41—चूतवल्लरी··· ।
    IV.44—पश्य भर्तश्चितं चूतं कुसुमैर्मधुगन्धिभिः ।
    हेमपजररुद्धो वा कोकिलो यत्र कूजति ।।
    VII. 11— मधु द्विरेफ ।
74. S. I.7. केसरास्तरपाण्डुभि—(E.H. Johnston's reading)
    केसरारुणपाण्डुभि—(H.P. Shastri's reading)
    At present Kashmir and Kishatwar are the Keser growing places in the J & K State.
75. S. I.8, IV.32, VI.26, VII.11, 23 ; X.20, 37, 38, XIII.5.
    B. I.21.

it.[76] His love for this variety of lotus is seen in the following expression.[77] "Wearing lotus coloured clothes, with lotus face and eyes long like the petal of a lotus, lotus coloured like a fallen (statue of) Laxmi without her lotus, whithered like a lotus, garland in the sun." (S. XI.26)

"Other blue eyed damsel came from a lotusbed with a lotus and stood by the side of the lotus faced prince as if she were Padamshri." (B. IV.36)

"Lotuses grow in the ponds. 'Unruffled surfaces of water produce golden lotuses with stems of beryl and shoots and stamens of diamonds, delightful to the touch and fragrant to the smell." (S. X.24)

Forests were adorned with lotus ponds[77a] (Padmākarmaṅditāni) and heaven showered Mānikya (lotuses and water lillies of gold and beryl colours,[78] when the sage was enlightened.

Our poet is not tired of narrating the beauty of lotus and its varieties found in the lotus ponds.[79] Utpala[80] ordinary Kamala[81] and Kamala of red colour were common varieties.

'Puṣkar',[82] the blue-lotus famous for its tenderness, 'Tāmara,[83] the white lotus and Nalin[84] which grows in the pond are specially mentioned varieties. Water lillies (S. X.26) perhaps refer to surface growing lotus, as the poet refers to Pārijāta tree which dominates other trees, laden with day water lillies and red lotuses.[85]

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[76] S. XIII.5. For this quality, it is attached with sacred religious legend. For this reason also Buddha and Goddess-Laxmi are depicted, standing or sitting on the lotus flower.

[77] सा पद्मरागं वसनं वसाना पद्मनाना, पद्मादलायताक्षी ।
पद्मा विपद्मा पतिदेव लक्ष्मी, शुशेष पद्मस्रगिवेतपेन ।।
(S. VI.26)

काचित्पद्मवनादेत्य सपद्मा पद्मलोचना ।
पद्मवक्त्रस्य पार्श्वेस्य पद्मश्रीरिषी तस्तुषी ।।
(B. IV.36)

----का चनानि पद्मनि-------
स्पर्शक्षमाण्युत्तमगन्धवन्ति रौहन्ति निष्कम्पतलानलिन्यः ।
(S. X.24)

[77a] B. III.1.

[78] B. XIV.92— दिवः पेतुः सुवर्णानि माणिक्यादीनि वै तथा ।

[79] S. I.8 ; V.25— नलिनंतड़ागे , X.24, 38.
B. V.62, III.1.
Mhv. II (J.J. Jones) lotus ponds, p. 170.

[80] S. IV.16 ; X.21—प्रफुल्लनीलोत्पल··· ।
B. I.21 ; B. III.10— नीलोत्पल··· ।

[81] S. VI.11 ; X.21— रक्तानि फुल्ला कमलानि ।
B. V.81— कमलनिभैः कमलानिव प्रबिध्य ।

[82] B. V.50— नवपुष्करगर्भ कौमलाभ्यां ।

[83] S. XI.2.

As per another description, in our poet's works lotus buds open with the rays of the rising sun and close at the setting of the sun.[86]

Sculpture No. 15, 586 fig. 16 in Mathura Museum displays a pillar depicting a Jātaka story. "It has beautiful lotuses of different varieties on both sides."[87-88]

FAUNA

The study of Aśvaghoṣa also aquaints its readers with the sky, land and water dwellers[89] in creation.

Sthala-stha (Land) Dwellers

Ferocious Animals

Our poet has noted the following ferocious animals :

The lion, (Siṁha),[90] mṛgrāja[91] or the king of beasts, the tiger : Vyāghra,[92]

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84. S. V.52.
B. V.57.

85. S. X.26.— कुशैशयाँश्च पुष्पानतान कौकनदांश्र्च वृक्षान् ।
Historically, lillies are mentioned in the earliest known writings, dating back to 2350 B.C. Of the 84 known species 73 are grown in gardens or green houses. White trumpets and bell-shaped, are mentioned along with finest colours of pink, lavendar and yellow (though they were not common).—Hindustan Times, April 6, 1982, p. 17.

86. B. V.57.

87-88. R.C. Sharma, Mathura Museum, pp. 30-31.
(I have seen the scene).

89. B.I.— स्वस्था जलस्था स्थलस्था.

90. S. X.9, I.19.
B. V.1, 26 ; IX.17, XIII.33, 19 ; I.15.
V.S, 30.
Mhv. II (J.J. Jones), p. 68, 'Lions'.
J. (Cowell—1897) 349.

91. S. VIII.44.
B. VII.2.

92. S. I.37— व्याघ्र-शिशुनिव, VIII.61, X.10, XV.53.
B. XIII.19, V.S.30.
Mhv. (J.J. Jones) II, pp. 59 (Tiger), 69 (Tigress).

shārdula,[93] Rakṣa[94] (bear); Mesha[95] (the savaga ram) and the Yāk[96] (Camaro lalambe).

These were the ferocious animals of the times and were found in the forests of the mountains.

Tamed Animals

The Elephant

The elephant has been described by our poet as ‘dvīpa and dvīpendra,[97] dvirad,[98] gaja[99] and gajendra,[100] hasti,[101] kariv (S. XVII.79, XVIII.61), kariṇ,[102] and she-elephant kareṇu,[103] kuṇjar,[104] kalabh,[105] nāg,[106] ṛṣhabh,[107] vāraṇ[108] and the traditional airāvat.[109]

As narrated, the elephant was found in the forests of Himalayas[110] and was used as royal conveyance and in war like the modern tanks. Elephant catchers[111] were employed for catching these majestic animals from the jungles. Sometimes they became wild and ‘Ankuś’ had to be used to control them.[112]

93. S. X.12.
94. B. XIII.19—व्याघ्रर्क्ष ।
95. S. XI.25.
96. S. X.11.
97. S. V.53 ; B. II.3.
98. B. V.82 ; XIII.19.
99. S. I.34 ; III.1.
    B. II.1, 3 ; V.58 ; XIII.24 ; IX.27 ; XIV.21, 24, 53.
100. S. XII.11.
101. S. I.52 ; B. II.22 ; VS. 30 ; Mhv. II (J.J. Jones, p. 59).
102. B. V.29— करिण ।
103. S. IV.40, VI.24 ;
    B. IX.27 ; V.S. 58.
104. V.S. 31.
105. S. VIII.16.
106. S. I.36, VII.4.
107. S. I.61.
108. B. X.21, XIII.21— वारण ।
109. S. II.50.
110. B. II.3— हेमवता गजास्ते ।
    IV.27— यूथसहितः करीवहिमवद्वनम् ।
111. B. II.3— मण्डल शाक्यमिहाभिनेतुम्—यत्नदुपस्थुरेनम् ।।
112. S. I.34— गजा इव निरङ्कुशा, XII.11.

Greeks were attracted more by the Indian elephant than any other animal. Magesthenes' account of catching the elephants closely agrees with the present practice.[113]

Appolonius of Tyana in the close of first half century of our era, has given detailed description of Indian elephants. He found wild elephants from marsh as stupid and idle, while those from plains were useful animals, tractable and imitative. The later were taught to dance, to jump to the sound of the pipe. He speaks very high about their docile nature, love for their keeper and how they would eat from the master's hand like a dog and coax him with their trunks. He tells that at night these animals would moan piteously (quite different from their usual roar) to bewail their slavery.[114]

According to Q. Curtius Rufus[115] (A.D. 41-54) the elephants of India are more tamed than those tamed in Africa and their size corresponds to their strength. Pliny agrees with Curtius and notes that India produced the largest elephants . . .. "Arrian in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of his Indica, describes the mode in which they were hunted, and other particulars regarding them. Polybios (V. 84) says that the African elephants could neither endure the smell nor the trumpating of their Indian congeners...."[116]

The figure of an elephant is found on the seals (figs. 370, 372, 371, 373 pl. CXIII) of Indus Valley Civilization which proves beyond doubt that it and is hence is a very old animal of India.[117]

Horses

Horses of various kinds were found in Śuddhodana's Kapilvastu.[118] Kanthaka was a special type of horse which was used in war as well as for riding,[119] and was considered the finest of the specie.[120]

Horses with flowing mame,[121] long chine, rump and fetlock, short hair, tail and ears, depressed and raised back and flanks, broad point of nose, forehead, hunches and chest were considered beautiful.[122] Our poet has mentioned Turga[123] and Turaṅga,[124] Vājivara,[125] Aśva[126] and Haya[127] perhaps as different types or kinds of horses.

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[113] Magesthenes, Frag. 38—Arr. Ind. 13 (quoted in Camb. H. Vol. I, p. 405, ft. n. 3).

[114] Ibid.

[115] J.W. M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India*, pp. 186-7.

[116] Ibid., ft. n. 1, p. 187.

[117] Marshall, *Indus Valley Civilization*, III.

[118] B. II.4.

[119] B, V.3. (R.C. Dass Tr.)

[120] B. VI.53.

[121] B. II.4.

[122] B. V.73.

[123] S. III.20.

Horses were used in war and riding.[128] Chariots and carts were also drawn by them.[129] Horses of white colour were considered better.[130] Steeds endowed with strength, mettle, speed and good breed were the best.[131] They neigh only when upset.[132]

Camels

Camels[133] were also found in those days. They were presented to Appolonious by the king of Taxila.[134]

Cows

Of the domesticated animals we read of cow[135] and cow's-calf more often. Calf and cow with leather-band in their neck,[136] cows full of milk with gold-gilded horns and with sturdy calves were given in charity by king Śuddhodana for the prosperity of his son.[137] Cow's milk was considered pure and used for oblations also (B. VII.6). White cows, giving abundant quantity of milk were considered the best. To feed the cows properly and keep them contented was considered sacred-duty (B. II.5).

[124] B. II.4, IX.1, VIII.1.

[125] B. VIII.45, VI.4— वाजिनम् ।

[126] B. II.1, 22, VI.3, XIV.23, XIII.19.
S. I.52, X.41, XII.5.
V.S. 11, 30, 31.

[127] S. III.1.

[128] B. V.75, 3 (R.C. Dass Tr.).

[129] S. X.41, XII.5.
B. III.8. Chariot drawn by four horses.

[130] B. V.79— सितभसित गति द्युतिर्वपुष्मान् ।

[131] B. V.72.

[132] B. VIII.4—17, 41, हनुस्वनं (45) ।

[133] B. XIII.19. उष्ट्र ।

[134] A. Travels, p. 29.

[135] B. I.84 गा: , II.5 गाव: , VII.6 गाव: , XIII.33, XIV.23,
IX.26 cow and calf.
S. I.3 ; V.S. 30, 31.
J. (Cowell, 1897), 349.

[136] S. XVIII.11— व्यञ्जन चारु सास्नां ।

[137] B. I.84, II.5— बहुक्षीरदुहश्च गाव: ।

In addition to cows, buffaloes,[138] sheep,[139] bull, full of prowess,[140] who roared loudly when excited[141] and oxen [142] for ploughing the field, are also mentioned by our poet.

Wild Beasts

In addition to previously mentioned ferocious animals, Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned other beasts such as pigs,[143] donkey,[144] deer (mṛga),[145] buck and doe[146] (mṛgī) and the spotted deer (Harṇi),[147] the dog,[148] the cat,[149] monkey (vānara[150] and kapi[151]) and she-monkey.[152]

Deer is the favourite of the poet. Its restless eyes,[153] seem to have fascinated him. It is compared with ascetics who graze grass like them.[154]

The most beautiful part of the description of all these wild animals is that they all have great understanding, as none made any noise when Buddha took the determined seat.[155]

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138. B. VIII.24 महिषी, V.S. 31.
139. B. XIII.23— उरभ्रं ।
140. B. VII.13 ; J. (Cowell, 1897), 349.
141. B. XIII.26, V.26.
142. B. V.6.
143. S. VIII.60 ; V.S, 7.11. सूकर: ।
     Wild beasts are described as सश्वपद (S. XVI.73).
144. B. XIII.19 ; V.S. 5, 6.
145. B. I.26 ; VI.60 ; VII.2, 5, 15.
     XI.35.
     S. I.13, IV.39, XIII.36, V.S. 6, 7, 8.
     Mhv. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 241.
146. S. IV.39, X.16.
147. S. I.12.
148. B. XIV.14, XI.25 ; XII.14.
     S. VIII.21, XIII.39.
     V.S. 5, 7.
149. B. XIII.23— मार्जार ।
150. B. XIII.21, V.S. 31.
     Appolonius also has mentioned monkey. (A. Travels, p. 28).
151. S. X.14— कपि ।
152. S. X.15—शाखामृगी, 16, 17.
153. B. VII.5— मृगाश्चलाक्षा ।
154. Johnston and R.C. Shastri differ in the translation of मृगचारिण. R.C. Dass translates it as shepherds 'चरवाहे' ; Johnston translates it 'deer graze grass'.
155. B. XII.121.

Crawlers

Snakes

Many kinds of snakes, such as Bhujaṅga,[156] Vyāla[157], Urga,[158] Krishna-sarpa[159] (black serpent), Sarpa,[160] and Ahi[161] are recorded. Bhujaṅga, Krishna.sarpa and sarpa are referred to be very poisonous snakes in *Buddhacarita.* The nature of Bhujaṅga, is to bite (B. XI.2) while Krishna-sarpa is loathsom (B. IX.43) and Sarpa is raging (B. XI.24). 'Kālobhujaga' (black serpent), a mythological snake, is mentioned as the best of serpents. Equal to the king of elephants, in night it speaks and forecasts ; that as the omens were good, mahāmuni would achieve his goal.[162]

All the snakes live on air[163] and are venomous.[164] They hiss and unwound their coils when ready to bite.[165]

A medicine, as an antidote for snakes venom was also known to the snake catchers.[166] Nearchus[167] records that there were, otherwise very few diseases to be cured by doctors except snake bites.

Pliny (VII. 11,13) and Appolonius tell as much about snakes of those times. According to them in India, marshes, plains and mountains are full of them.[168] Nearchus[169] describing the nature of them says that the smaller poisonous snakes were more dangerous. They could be found in 'tents, in vessels, in wells' and infesting a house could make it uninhabitable.

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[156] B. VII.15, 37 ; XI.52.
S. III.3, V.31, VIII.18, 61.

[157] S. I.38— तप्ता व्याला इव ; XIV.29.

[158] S. II.22, VIII.31.

[159] B. IX.43.

[160] B. XI.24.

[161] S. XIII.31– शत्रोर्नाग्नेनाहेर्न चाशनैः ।
XV.56.

[162] B. XII.116—118— जगाद कालोभुजगोत्तामः स्तुतिम् • • • (116).
Here Aśvaghoṣa has made the serpent address Buddha as Mahamuni though he had not yet achieved enlightenment.

[163] B. VII.5.

[164] B. XI.8—नाशीविषेभ्यौ ।
B. XIII.50—नाशीविषवद्दिधक्षुः ।
(like venomous snake with firing glance).

[165] B. XIII.30.

[166] S.V. 31—यथौषधैर्हस्तगतैः सविद्योन दशते काश्चन पन्नगेन ।

[167] Nearchus, Frag. 15=Strabo, XV. C. 706.
(quoted in Camb. H. Vol. I, p. 406, ft. n. 6).

[168] A. Travels, ft. n. 73, p. 29.

[169] Nearchus, Frag. 15 quoted in Camb. H. Vol. I, Ibid.)

Ants

Amongst the crawlers 'ants' are mentioned in *Buddhacarita* (VII.15).

Equatics (*Jalastha*)

The water (Jalastha) or equatics include Grāh (crocodile),[170] described to be found in lotus-ponds or rivers. The poet has not mentioned the name of any river but has recorded in a general term big rivers full of them.[171] (This reference is in a simile which indicates the swallowing nature of this animal).

Fish[172] (matsya and mīna), and swan,[173] haṁsa or goose, was found in ocean and Mānsarovar.[174] Kurma[175] (turtle or tortoise) was found in the ocean.

Khāstha (*Sky-dwellers*) *or Birds*

The study of Aśvaghoṣa brings to the notice of its readers a large number of birds. The general terms used for them are Vihaṅga,[176] Khaga,[177] Andaja (egg born) and Pakṣi.[178]

Peacock

The national bird of modern India is mentioned with different names, such as

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170. S. VIII.17,37— सरितं ग्राह्वतीं (17); सरितो ग्राहकुला, कुला (37).

171. B. IX.41— ग्राहाकुल चामिब्वव सारबिन्दं ।

172. B. XI.35. मत्स्य ; XIII.11, 19—मीन ।

173. B. VI.57. हंस ।
S. IV.4 हंस ।
VS. 3, 32.

174. V.S. 3 refers to Haṁsa found in Mansarovar सरसि मानसे । Swans are attributed with many supernatural powers.
(*India in Kalidasa*, p. 48).

175. S. XVIII.27. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) II, tortoise.

176. S. XI.59, XV.33— विहगानां ।
B. XIII.23— विहंगमाक्षा ।

177. B. XIII.53.

178. B. I.26 (R.C. Dass ed.).

Mayūra (S. X.12), Śikhandi,[179] and Vinīlkaṇṭha.[180] It cries with delight at the approach of black rain cloud.[181] "The mountains fledged with groves of lodhra trees and its glades resounding with peacocks' calls" is mentioned as the beauty of the forest.[182]

Cuckoo

It is renowned melodious-voiced Indian bird and is known as Kokila.[183] Its sweet voice is considered to incite passion.[184] This is a bird of spring season and flowering mango groves are frequented by them.[185] This was one of the enrapturing note which made Siddhārtha visit city grove (B. III.1,2 ff).

Mango-blossoms intoxicate this bird. The poetical expression " . . . the mango trees loaded with honey scented flowers, in which the koil (cuckoo) calls looking as if imprisoned in a golden age", is worth noting.[186]

Pigeons

They are connected with sacred legends of Buddhism. According to popular legend of Khotan, they were the off-springs of a pair of doves, which miraculously appeared from the Imam Shakir Badishah, who died there in a battle with the Buddhists.[187]

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[179] S. I.11.
V.S. 32.

[180] S. VII.11—"Nīlakaṇṭha is the name for peacocks and blue rollers and vinīl kaṇṭha probably ha the former meaning." Johnston ft. n.

[181] B. VII.5—दृष्टश्च केका मुमुचुर्मयुरा दृष्ट्वाम्बुंद नीलमिवोन्नमन्तः ।

[182] B. X.15—मयूरनादप्रतिपूर्णकुञ्जे ।

[183] S. VII.11—संरवतकण्ठैश्च··· ।
V.S. 32—कौकिल ।
B. III.1—पुंस्कोकिलो··· ।

[184] B. IV.51.

[185] S. VII 23, IV.51.
B. IV.44.

[186] B. IV.44, मत्तस्य परपुष्टस्य रुवतः श्रूयतां ध्वनिः ।
अपरः कोकिलो न्वक्षं प्रतिश्रुत्केव कूजति ।।
(B. IV.51)

[187] Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194-96.

Aśvaghoṣa has praised their sweet songs. The pet pigeons were kept in the upper storey of the building.[188]

Garuḍa

Garuḍa is a fabulous bird and is known as the king of birds.[189] It is the enemy of the snakes. Aśvaghoṣa speaking high of the bird says[190] "... the sage, like Garuḍa at the noise of crows, neither trembled nor quailed."

Nīlkanṭha or Jay-bird (B. XII.118) is another auspicious bird. Jay-birds are mentioned circling the air when Siddhārtha sat under the pipal tree to become Buddha. It was considered an auspicious omen.

Birds

Aśvaghoṣa's description of the birds in paradise (S. X) is remarkable and mentions of some peculiar birds.

There were birds having red beaks, crystal eyes, dark brown wings tinned with scarlet and feet half white and hay of red-madder colour (S. X.28). It resembles the modern quail.[191]

There were other types of birds also having multi-coloured features i.e. red at the tips, yellow in the middle and of 'beryl' colour at the ends. It resembles 'Peelak'. It is a bird of wooded country and groves of large trees.[192]

Rocinus

It is the bird of the paradise of Indra (Himalaya). It has glowing beak which gives the colour of blazing fire. Its looks are charming and sings melodious.[193]

Perhaps it is crossoptilon Tibetanam. It is a striking bird in Nepal.[194]

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188. S. VI.8, 30—पारावतैः कूजन लोलकण्ठैः ।
V.S. 32.
Generally the pet birds are described to be kept in the upper storey of the building.
गृह्पक्षि संधानन्योन्यवेगांश्र्च समाक्षिपन्त्यः ।
B. III.15.

189. *India in Kalidasa*, p. 48.

190. B. XIII.54—मुनिर्न तत्रास न संकुकोच खैर्गुरुत्मानिव वायसानाम् ।

191. Jamal Ara, *Watching Birds*, p. 25, photograph.

192. S. X.30.
Saleem Ali and Laeeq, *Common Indian Birds*, photo no. 67.

193. S. X.31.

194. Hume and Marshall, *The game birds of India, Burm aand Ceylon*, Vol. II, photo p. 114.

Sinjirikas

A Sinjirika[195] has golden wings and clear blue as beryl eyes. It sings sweet. Perhaps it is the Indian Robin. It is short, pleasant and has cheery notes.[196]

Partridge

Partridge[197] is afraid of a hawk (śyen) and is considered to be greatly attached to its mate.

Śuka[198]

It is the common parrot. Tamed parrots of India have world acclaim. The Greek writer Q. Curtius Rufus records, in India the birds are trained to immitate the sound of human speech. "Nearchus as we learn from Arrian's Indica (C. 15) was taken with surprise, when he heard in India parrots talking like human beings."[199]

Parrots are mentioned in Gautama's DS (XVII.32) and Vaśiṣtha DS (XIV.48).

Kurari (Female osprey)

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned the only female bird Kurari,[200] famous for mournful cries. It is a solitary bird which lives in the neighbourhood of watery places. Its wailings are compared with Gautami's wailing (i.e. human female wailing). It is a timid bird.

Crow[201]

It is another bird, which is recorded as famous for crowing.

Flies

Among flies the common fly is known as Makṣika,[202] and Bees[203] as madhudviref. Bees generally are mentioned hovering around honey-giving flowers such as Tilak-tree embraced by a mango-branch[204] and Aśoka tree (B. IV.45).

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[195] S. X.29—शिञ्जिरिका ।

[196] Saleem Ali and Laeeq, *Common Indian Birds*, photo No. 87, p. 44.

[197] S. VIII.20—जीव जीवक ।
V.S. 8.

[198] V.S. 32.

[199] J.W. M'Crindle, *Invasion of India*, p. 186 and ft. n. 3, p. 186.

[200] B. VIII.51. कुररी ।
India in Kalidasa, p. 49.

[201] B. XIV.14, XIII.54—वायसानाम ।

[202] S. VIII.54.

[203] B. IV.45—भ्रमरा ।

Moths[205] (Shalabha) are described to fly into the fire being attracted by brightness.

Water Birds

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned Kāraṇdavas and Cakravāka two water birds.

Kāraṇdavas[206] is a sort of duck[207] or a swan like birds[208] and Cakravāka[209] is a ruddy goose commonly called Brāhmaṇya duck. He and she both are mentioned with their romantic nature (S. X.4).

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204. **B. IV.46.**

205. **B. XI.35.**

206. **B. V.53 ; S. IV.23, X.38.**

207. **M. Williams, *Dic.*, p. 2221.**

208. **Ritu Saṅhār, ft. n. 1, p. 60.**

209. **S. VI.30, VII.17, VIII.20, X.4.**
B. IV.50, VI.30, I.71, XVI.13.
V.S. 6.7. चक्रवाकाः शरद्वीपे ।

4

Kingship and Administration

The aim of our poet to write the Kāvyas has been to propagate the teachings of Buddha and show the path of freedom from Duhkha or attainment of salvation.[1] So his references to kingship and statecraft are sporadic and in the words of the poet, based upon tradition only.[2] Moreover these are connected with those kings and princes who were connected with Kapilavastu.

History

Origin of Śākyas

Mahāvastu[2] traces the origin of Śākyas from Rājā Mahā Sammata to Ikṣvāku (Okkaha in Pāli) styled Sujāta king of the city of Sāketa. King Ikṣvāku Sujāta had five sons and five daughters. He had another son from a harlot, Jenti, and named Jenta. Because of a boon given to Jenti, Jenta was to become the king and hence the princes were banished.

The princes, along with sisters left the city of Sāketa. A large number of

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1. S. XVIII.63-64.
2. S. II.6.
   य: पूर्वं राजभिर्याता यियासुर्धर्मपद्धतिं ।
   राज्यं दीक्षामिव वहन्वृत्तेतान्वगमत्पितृन ।।
3. *Mhv.* (*J.J. Jones*) I.348-355 (pp. 293-301).
   "It is unlikely that Ikṣvāku is identical with that of Purāṇas, the immediate son of Manu"—*DPPN.*
   "The story in Mahāvastu with few differences in nomenclature is found in Pāli Texts." (*J.J. Jones*, ft. n. p. 393.)
   Sammata (Selected or Elected).

countrymen followed them with immense wealth. They went towards north and befriended the people of Kāśi and Kośala. But there they became so popular that the king of Kāśi and Kośala drove them out of the land.

They went to sage Kapila and sought sage's permission to build a city after his name. The sage with water brought in a pitcher (to fix the boundary). gave the land to the princes.

King Sujata's Minister told him about the establishment of Kapilavastu, by the princes and their marriages with their sisters. He, in astonishment cried, 'Śākya' (doubtful) or Śak (can it be) ! and from this utterance of 'Śākya' arose the name appellation or designation of Śākyas.

Sumaṅgalavilāsini[4] also traces the origin of Śākyas from King Okkaka (Ikṣvāku). The king had four sons and five daughters from the chief queen. After the death of the queen, the king married again. Because of promise to this new queen to place her son on the throne, the children were banished. They settled in the forests of Himalayas. Here they met Sage Kapila. At the request of the sage they built the city of Kapilavastu (at the name of the sage). In the course of time they married their sisters (except the eldest) and the family came to be known as Śākyas.

Śākyas

According to Tibetan source Ka-gyur,[5] Ikṣvākus were originally the rulers of Potala.[6] The last king Ikṣvākuvir Udaka banished his four sons, who took their one sister with them. This was done due to king's promise to the new queen to place her son on the throne.

The sons left for the Himalayas and settled on the banks of river Bhagirathi near sage Kapila's hermitage. With sage's permission they co-habited with their sister and had many children. The sage, being disturbed, marked the land for them, where they built Kapilavastu.

They were called Śākyas as the king of Potala hearing the news, cried, "Śākya Śākya, or, O, Daring."

Mahāvastu, Sumaṅgalavilāsini and Ka-gyur all agree that the ancestors of Buddha were the decendents of king Okkaka (Ikṣvāku). They settled in the Himalayas and built Kapilavastu in the land a name of Sage Kapila.

Their appellation of 'Śākya' was due to the acclamation of wonder 'Śākya'.

Aśvaghoṣa has upkept the tradition. Without elaborating on the parentage, our poet narrates Ikṣvāku princes—"to inviolate their fathers promise" came to settle in the Himalayas and to Sage Kapila. The sage accepted them as his pupils and converted them to his Gotra (Gautama). It was also in keeping with the tradition of Rāmāyaṇa.[7]

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[4] Sumaṅgalavilāsini (*PTS*), pp. 258-60.

[5] *JASB*, Vol. II, 1833, pp. 386-392.

[6] Potala is represented by Modern Hyderabad (Sindh). (M'Crindle, *Invasion of India*, ft. n. 2, p. 84.)

These Kṣatriyas made their dwelling in a place shaded by Śaka trees, thus these scions of Ikṣvāku race came to be known on earth as Śākyas.[8]

Thus, Aśvaghoṣa's logic of 'Śākyas' origin is more convincing.

Sage Kapila fixed the boundary of land by sprinkling water from a jar. Here Kapilavastu was built after the name of Sage Kapila.[9]

Thus the tradition, of giving some property for good, with a mark of water, mentioned in Mahāvastu, is also found in *Saundarananda*. The custom still prevails in India.

Caste

Śākyas were Kṣatriyas. Aśvaghoṣa's reference (S.I. 27) thus agrees with tradition.

Dīgha Nikāya[10] records the claim of Śākyas on the portion of Buddha's relics on this ground, "Bhāgavā pi khattiyo mayampi khattiya" and "Bhāgava amhākam nāti seṭṭho" (Bhāgava was our kinsman).

Religion of the Śākyas

Mahāvastu records[11] : the infant Buddha, according to Sākyan custom, was taken to worship the feet of goddess Abhayā.

Lalitavistara (Ch. VIII) narrates the young prince being taken to the temple to pay homage to the deities.

Neither in Lalitavistara nor in Mahāvastu, the name of the 'gods' in the temple, is given.

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[7] S. I.18-26.

[8] Ibid., 24 शाकवृक्षप्रतिच्छन्नं । According to V.A. Smith they like the modern inhabitants of the Tarais of Nepal belonged to Mangolian race and were not of Aryan sect.
(*Oxford History of India*, p. 49.)

[9] S. I.28, 41.
Supra Kapilavastu for details.

[10] DN (*PTS*) II, p. 165.
DN (Dialogue of B. *PTS*. 1951), p. 188.
"The Śākyas of Kapilavastu were also Gautama Rajputs and Śakyamuni himself is still known among the people of Burma as Gautama Buddha or simply Gautama."
(Majumdar, *CAG*, p. 278.)

[11] *Mhv*. II, p. 22. ff. (Śākya children who seek divine protection always obtain what they ask. Ģ. Bühler, EI. V, 1898-99, p. 3.)

Aśvaghoṣa[12] maintains the tradition and records : queen Māyā devi, with prince, did obeissance to the gods (Devatābhya) before she entered the city of Kapilavastu after Siddhārtha's birth.

Here, though again the gods are not named, but the mention of Śitapuśpa (white flowers, which are uptill today special offerings to Śiva) and the word Śivāya (for Śiva as well as for good fortune) are indications towards god Śiva.

In verse (B. I.88), the simile of Śuddhodana's joy with 'Śiva' at the birth of Kartikeya, also indicates, 'Śiva' the dominating deity of the time and of Śuddhodana.

Yuan-Chwang (6th century A.D.)[13] visited the temple of Isvara Deva, just outside Kapilavastu. Beal[14] recognises that the scene is represented in Amaravati stupa. G. Būhler[15] says this is the oldest Śaivite monument. Thus in view of Aśvaghoṣa's references, A. Fūhrer's[16] conclusion that Śakyas were Śāivites is not far fetched.

Sakya Janapada

The oldest Pāli records refer[17] to only the following ten (10) Janapadas (republics) in the 6th century B.C. (1) the Śākyas, capital Kapilavastu, (2) the Bulis, capital Allakappa, (3) the Kālāmas capital Kesaputta, (4) the Bheggas with capital on Suṃsumāra Hill; (5) the Koliyas, capital Rāmagāma; (6) the Malles, capiṭal Kuṣinara, (7) the Mallas, capital Pāvā; (8) the Moriyas, capital Pipphalivana; (9) the Vedehas, capital Mithila; (10) the Licchavis, capital Veśāli.

But the details are given only about the Śākya Janapada.

Cities

In the Śākya Janapada the Pāli works refer to eight cities. Catuma (MN. II, p. 141, Catuma Sūtta) ; Khomadussa (SN. I, p. 183, Khomadussasūtta) ; Samāgama (MN. III, p. 37, Samāgama Sūtta) ; Devadāha (MN. III. p.3 —Devadāha Sūtta) ; Sakkara or Nagaraka (MN. II, p. 365, Dhammacetiya and SN. IV, p. 4— Upaddha Sūtta) ; Medalumpa (MN. II, p. 366, Dhammacetiya Sūtta) ; Śīlāvati (SN. I, p. 166, Samba hula Sūtta) and Ulumpa (Dhmp. Attakatha, Viduddabhatthu).[18]

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[12] B. I.86.

[13] Y-Ch. (Watters) II, p. 13.

[14] Beal (Si-yu-ki), II, p. 23 and note 59.

[15] G. Būhler, E.I., V (1898-99), p. 3.

[16] A. Fūhrer, *Monograph of Buddha's Birth place*, p. 38.

[17] Rhys Davids, *Camb. H.I.*, p. 175.

[18] For these references from Nālandā Publications, the present writer is indebted to Bhikṣu Amṛtananda ji of Kathmandu (Nepal).
Medalumpa (MN. 1975), II, p. 302.

Population

Kapilavastu was densely populated[19] and had four storeyed houses.[20] According to Dīgha Nikāya's commentary (which has preserved the tradition), Śākya clan had 80,000 families. Rhys Davids comments, this number can neither be taken to be correct nor an official enumeration. But is interesting to find "that even as late as Buddhaghoṣa, the traditional estimate of the number of the Śākyas was still small in spite of temptation to magnify the extant of the kingdom. Buddha renounced so limited and so reasonable as this."[21]

Kingship and Śuddhodana's coming to power

As in Rāmāyaṇa, so in Aśvaghoṣa works, kingship was hereditary and the eldest son was the right heir-apparent.[22] In old age the king coronated his eldest son and himself adopted the forest life.[23] The king governed for righteousness and not for indulgence. This was done by the eldest Ikṣvāku prince who became the first ruler of Kapilavastu.[24]

In course of succession, Śuddhodana became the king of Kapilavastu.[25]

Was Śuddhodana an independent king ?

According to one tradition recorded in Digha Nikaya (Ambatta Sutta),[26] Śuddhodana was an independent king and had his own parliament (Santhāgara). Ambatta visited this Mote or Congress Hall and found Śākyas sitting there in session.

Was this the privilege of an independent king to have his own Santhāgara (Mote Hall) or to have a session to discuss certain problems ?

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[19] Pathamamahānāma Sūtta (SN. IV, p. 314), Nalanda Publication.
कपिलवत्थु इद्धं चेव फीत च बाहुजञ्ञं अकिण्ण मनुस्सं सबाध व्यूहं ।

[20] Samantapāsādika (the writer is indebted to Bhikṣu Amṛtānanda Ji of Kathmandu (Nepal) for this reference).

[21] R. Davids, *DN.* (Dialogue) I. 147.
R. Davids, *Camb. H.*, Vol. I, p. 176.
"allowing six or seven to a family including the dependents...would make a total of about a million persons in the Śākya territory."
R. Davids, *B. India*, p. 18.

[22] S. I.61.

[23] B. IX.22.—कृताभिषेकं-----हर्षेण वनं प्रवेष्टुम् ।
X.26.

[24] S. I.61, 62.

[25] S. II.1.

[26] Ambatta Śutta (Dialogue) I, p. 113.
Santhāgara was never used for the council-chamber of Ministers (*JPTS*. 1909, p. 65.)
"It was a common mote-hall which was meant for the assemblies of the householders in free Republic of northern Kośala." R. Davids, *DN* (Dialogue, ft. n. 2, p. 113).

If the pages of pre-Buddha history are shuffled, "Bṛgu (quoted in Vyavahāra Kānda of Parāsaramādhava, p. 19) mentions minor assemblies of particular castes.

Even during the Vedic period, probably there existed in addition to the grand assembly of the state, minor assemblies formed by each class for settling down their own social and religious problems."[27]

The tradition of having separate assemblies by different clans seems to have lingered on. In Buddhist literature there is mention of Mote-halls (Santhāgaras) of Licchavis, Mallas etc. Similarly Śākyas must have had their own Mote-Hall, where matters of their common concern were discussed. The Pāli and Tibetan records mention that the King Pasendi's proposal demanding the hand of one of the Śākya chief's daughter for himself (as wife)[28], and Kośala king's ultimatum to besiege their (Śākya) kingdom was discussed in the Śākya Mote Hall at Kapilavastu.[29] Similarly the Malla session was on, when and where, Ānanda announced the time and day of Buddha's[30] death, so that they may visit Tathāgata in his last hours.

Mahāvastu[38] tells thirty-two princes the sons of a Śākya girl and Rājā Kola of Benaras presented themselves before the Śākya Parishad, where 500 Śākyas transacted business.

The number 500 seems to be traditional in Mahāvastu[32] as it narrates how at the birth of Siddhārtha, 500 steads, 500 elephants, 500 bondsmen, 500 bondswomen, 500 Śākyan girls were born for Śuddhodana, five hundred stores of treasure were revealed and 500 neighbouring kins came to bow down to the king (Śuddhodana) or greeted the birth of Siddhārtha. Not only this but when Siddhārtha renounced the world 500 princes adopted religious life following his foot steps. (Tena kulpuruṣakena panca kumāraśata abhiniṣkramant.)[33]

As this 500 number is traditional in Mahāvastu (in the assembly of Śākyas), so seems to be number seven thousand seven hundred and seven members in Licchavis' assembly.[34]

Though the 'Pariśad' of the Licchavis was larger, concludes B.C. Law, the administration system seems to be the same. The difference was that every member

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27. Dr. R. Shamsastry, *Ev. of Indian Polity*, pp. 73-74.
28. Dhmp. A. (*HOS*) 216 ff., Jat. 4.145.
    LV (P.L. Vaidya) Ch. III mentions a Santhāgar in Kapilavastu which was the 'Sansad bhavan' of the Śākyas where all intricate problems were discussed.
29. Rockhill, *Buddha*, pp. 118-19.
30. M.P.N. Sūtta (*SBE* XI), 46 (p. 102).
31. *Mhv*. (*J.J. Jones*) I.354 (p. 300).
32. Ibid., II.39, 40 (pp. 36-37).
33. *Mhv*. (Ibid.) III.176 (p. 171 and ft. n. 7).
34. T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, p. 318.
    This is Pāli Tradition (T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, ft. n. 398, p. 416).

at Vaiśāli called himself a Rājā and in Kapilavastu there was one district head-man called the Rājā who was elected by the people.[35]

The period for which such a chief was elected or chosen is not sure, but R. Davids is sure that this Rājā presided over the sessions and when there was no session, he conducted the business of the state. His title of 'Rājā', must have meant something like the Roman consul or the Greek archon.[36]

Rājā

Kautalya speaks of two groups of republics. One group retained the traditional title of Rājā while the other had nothing like this. The Mallas and Licchavis belonged to the former group whilst the Śākyas, who were more inclined towards monarchical form of government, retained the same. In Mahavastu king Śuddhodana is called Rājā, Sakyādipati[37] (Mhv. II.37 III.101), and Kulvanṣa Mukhya (Mhv. II.28).

In Paramātthadipani (Thera gatha Comy.)[38] Śuddhodana is called Raja and Mahārājā (Śākyarājkula Śuddhodana mahārājassa gahe sato, p. 1) Rañño Śuddhodanassāham dhita Asimandita..., p. 83).

We read of Gautama's young cuzin Bhaddiya being called Rājā.[39]

"Jātaka (I, p. 504) tells that each member of the aristocratic order was known as a Rājā and his son as uprājā."[39a]

Aśoka the Mauryan King is called Rājā in the Girnar Edict (III) of Shahbaz giri[40] and Brahmi inscriptions.[41]

Licchavis, Śuddhodana or Bhaddiya can never be equated with Aśoka. There is no record which tells of their deeds equal to the Mauryan king.

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[35] *Tribes in Anc. India*, p. 254.
T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, p. 316. (quotes LV, p. 21.)
each one of the Licchavis claimed himself to be a Rājā.

[36] R. Davids, *B. India*, p. 19 ff.

[37] T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, pp. 317-18.
Rājā (*Mhv*. I.37, p. 34).

[38] Paramātthadipani, p. 1, 83.

[39] R. Davids, *B. India*, p. 19.

[39a] Altekar, State and Govt. in A.I., p. 123, ft. n. 1.
तत्थ निच्चकालं रज्जं कारेत्वा वसंतानं येव राजूनं सत्तसहस्सानि सत्तसतानि सत्त च राजानौ होति तत्तका देव उपराजानो तत्तका सेनापतिनो तत्तका भंडागारिका ।
(*J.I.*, p. 504)
In India still every Rajput is called 'Rājā'.

[40] *E.I.* Vol. II, *NES*. Vol. XIV, p. 450.

[41] *E.I.* Vol. X. Prof. Luders list No. 1912.
Mathura Inscription No. 965.

Conclusion

Thus, on the basis of above evidences, it can be construed that, being the member of the aristocratic order, 'Rājā' was traditional title of Śuddhodana; and as he presided over the Śākyan Assembly, he was the Chief (called Rājā), who, according to R. Davids,[42] when the session was not on, carried on the administration of the Janapada. This may have been the reason in Mahāvastu to call him 'Rājā', 'Kulvanśa Mukhya' and Śākyadipati.

The title of 'Mahārājā' is not deprived of later adoration of Buddha's father. It may be accepted with its meaning (Mahārājā=Chief of the Rājā's= members of the Parishad). However, he was not a full-fledged king but only a chief of the Śākyas.

Rhys Davids[43] commenting on Buddha's father being called Rājā says "it is a courtesy title used by any member of the recognised clans . . . as used by the clansmen generally the title Rājā, though really of not much more weight, than our modern 'esquire' was more polite, as the word connoted a position of hereditary importance in the clan, and perhaps even a temporary official post, of an honorary character, such as consul or archon. In any case this was the simple basis on which legends of royalty were built up".[44]

Śākyas under Kośala King

According to Aggañña Sūttānta,[45] Śākyas who were very arrogant and haughty,[46] were the vassals of King Pasendi of Kośala and paid homage to him and treated him with ceremony. But in Dhammacetiyasūtta,[47] Pasendi touches the feet of Buddha for his "being fully self-awakened and well taught in Dhamma". Otherwise he is the Kośalan king and calls Buddha also a Kośalan.

In Sūttanipāta's Pabbajjasūtta[48] also, Śākyas are referred as under the Kośala king. Siddhārtha talking to the king of Rājagṛha (Bimbasārā) says :

> Flanking Himalaya *in Kośala*
> Younder extends a land both rich and brave
> By lineage, the kinsmen of the Sun—
> We are, and Śākyans by family,

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[42] R. David, *B. India*, p. 19.

[43] D.N. I. 7. Compare *Buddhavaṁṣa*, XXVI. 13.

[44] R. Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 27.

[45] *DN* (Dialogue) III, p. 77.

[46] Ambattha Sūtta (*DN*. 1956), I, p. 112.

[47] *MN*. (*PTS*. 1975), II, 89th Sūtta, p. 301, ff. 7.

[48] *SN*. (Harward Ed.), pp. 98-101.

Such was the stock I left behind me Sire
Having no appetite for pleasure's joys.

In *AN* I.267 the Śākya capital is said to have existed in Kośala. Similarly the Mallian territories[49] seem to have recognised the over-all authority of Kośala.

Most of the scholars[50] agree that Śākya family acknowledged the suzerainty of Kośala King Prasenjit. The Pāli accounts referred to above and Watters[51] conclusion that Buddha's father "was no more than a member of Śākya clan, perhaps invested with some rank or importance as a chief magistrate, although this does not appear. He may also have lived in or near a place called Kapilavastu, but he had not a palace—did not reign there", is worth noting.

Moreover the image of Buddha's father as a great king led the scholars to search the ruins of Kapilavastu. A. Führer[52] who visited the areas of Tilaurakot, Lumbini, Piprahwa etc. concludes "that Buddha's father was rather a feudal baron or chieftain of a small clan". K.M. Srivastva, who has excavated the site, agrees with above scholars "that it is the newer tradition that extols the power and wealth, which Buddha gave up on renouncing the worldly ties" and he was just a Śākya Chief.[53]

Aśvaghoṣa and Śuddhodana Rājā

Aśvaghoṣa, who has assigned all traditional Hindu King's powers, pomp and show to Śuddhodana, mentions the title 'Rājā Śuddhodana', who succeeded to the hereditary Śākya state.[54] May be, this is a later legend, which has transformed him into a 'Great King Śuddhodana'.[55]

In Mahāvastu, as well as, in *Buddhacarita* the greatest desire of the king was that his son should succeed him and become a Cakravartin king.[56]

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[49] *AN.* (*PTS*) I, p. 257—एकं समयं भगवा कौसलेसु चारिकं चरमानो येन कपिलवत्थु तथवसरि ।
AN. (Gradual Saying—*PTS.* 1932) I, p. 254 and p. 40.

[50] A. Coomaraswamy, *Gospel of B.* (1928), p. 9.
Oldenberg, *Buddha* (1971), pp. 98-99.
V.A. Smith, *Encyclo. of Rel. and Ethic* (1914), p. 660.
K.M. Srivastva, *Kapilavastu.*

[51] T. Watters, *Y-CH.*, II, p. 3.

[52] A. Führer, *Monograph of Buddha's Birth Place*, p. 37.
Shri K.M. Srivastva, Director ASI Delhi, has excavated the area. He has found no signs of palaces or anything to conclude that Buddha's father enjoyed the rank and privileges of a king. The writer is indebted to the archaeologist for discussion and illuminations.

[53] Ibid. K.M. Srivastva, *Kapilavastu* (East and West, Is Meo. N.S. Vol. 29, Dec. 1979), p. 61.
Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 99.

[54] S. II. 1.

[55] Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 99.

[56] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), III. 102 (p. 1).

This may appear to be paradoxical for a chief's (Śuddhodana's) son, but not improbable as 'Chandra Gupta', in the later period, is an example.

Kingship

Aśvaghoṣa, who follows tradition in his conception of Kingship, considers a king as an extraordinary being. Siddhārtha (Buddha) himself is made to say to king Śreṇya. "Be happy like Indra, shine even like the sun, flourish with your virtues, understand the highest good in the world, rule the earth; obtain long life, protect the sons of the good with Ārayas and enter the glory of sovergneity."[57]

In accordance with Manusmṛti, a country without a king is described as "devoid of lustre, as the sky is without moon, though it may be full of thousands of stars."[58]

Śuddhodana and Divine or Celestial Powers

Our poet has glorified Śuddhodana, the father of Buddha, and as such, has assigned all divine and supernatural powers to him.

Śuddhodana has been described as the counterpart of Indra[59] and enjoyed the glory of Vaiśravaṇa.[60] He, with the beauty of moon, attracted the gaze of his subjects.[61] He made his subjects happy by his conduct, like a cloud gladdening them with rain.[62] "He illumined the earth with the blazing light of his fame."[63] He was endowed with rare qualities and virtues like Śakra.[64] He had extraordinary power and glory of gods.[65]

These expressions correspond with Manu (VII. 4) who says that the king was created with the strength and qualities of "Indra, Pavan, Yama, Surya, Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra and Kubera".

Not only the king but his queen Māyā Devi, and son Sidhārtha, are also described by Aśvaghoṣa as endowed with divine powers. Queen Māyā Devi was the very Sūcī like goddess Māyā in heaven[66] and in beauty like Padma. She was called

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[57] B. XI.70.

[58] S. I.60.

[59] B. I.2. (Rāma told Bali that a king was divinity on earth). (*Rām.* IV.14.21. Gorakhpur ed.).

[60] Ibid. 3.

[61] S. II.22.

[62] S. II.30.

[63] S. II.39.

[64] S. II.45.

[65] S. II.49.

[66] S. II.49.

Mahā Māyā, for her resemblance to the incomparable Māyā.[67] To this divine couple was born Siddhārtha, who had glorious form that surpassed of mankind and had bull for his sign[68] i.e. he was godlike son of the human form. He shone like sun.[69]

Assigning of divine powers to the king agrees with Manu Smṛti. But our poet has gone a step further and has as mentioned above assigned super-powers to their son as well—who was future Buddha.

King's Training

According to Manu[70] after getting proper training and education and after Yajñopavīta rite a king was considered fit to share administration.

According to Kautalya[71] the education of a king consisted of Vidhya.

In Milinda (178),[72] a prince is expected to learn the art of managing horses, elephants, chariots, bows' rapiers and documents and the law of property; as the traditional duty of a Kṣatriya king is to fight himself and lead others in war. He is expected to be very learned and capable of discussions.

Aśvaghoṣa and Training of a King

The career of a (would be) king started according to sacred rites. He was initiated to study or learning with Upnayana rite. It consisted of Vidhya.[73]

King Śuddhodana is described to have studied many sciences,[74] the supreme religious lore[75] (Veda) impregnated his mind with the scriptures[76] and Dandanīti.[77] This was for the benefit of his subjects[78] (Sarvaprajāh).

[67] B. I.2.

[68] B. X.3.

[69] S. III.16—सूर्य इव गौतमस्तवमः ।
B. VII.6.—ज्वलन्तमुथन्तभिवांशुमन्तम् ।

[70] *Manu* VII.2.

[71] *Artha*. I. Ch. II.
For details '*Vidhya*' supra Education Ch.

[72] Milinda (*SBE* XXV) 178 and 4 (pp. 247, 7).

[73] B. II.24. ···स्प्राप्य कावे प्रतिपत्तिकर्म ।
···जग्राह् विद्या स्वकुज्ञानुरुपाः ।।
Supra—Education Ch. for details.

[74] S. II.25—बव्हीध्यगमविद्या विषयेष्वकुतूहलः ।

[75] S. II.12—अध्यैष्टयः परं ब्रह्म ।

[76] S. II.20—आगमैर्बुद्धिमधिक्षद्धर्मांय न तु कीर्तये ।

[77] S. II.28.

[78] B. II.35.
"Sarvaprajāh" may be equated with 'prakrita—ah' mentioned in *Artha*. (VII. Ch. IV) denoting the 'subjects ruled by the king or the collective body of citizens of the state.' (Bhāskar, *Kuṣāna State*, p. 1).

Qualities

Dharma Sūtras, Manu (VII) and Kautalya all attach great importance to the mental and physical qualities of a king. The same tradition has been followed by Aśvaghoṣa in his works.

Gautama D.S.[79] expects him to be well versed in three sacred sciences and logic. For upholding the rule of Law, it wants him to be pure of subdued senses, surrounded by companions and possessing other excellent qualities.

Jātaka 521 has, more or less, the same expression, where a king, with the aim of pleasure of sense, does things in haste and thus ruins himself.

Aśvaghoṣa[80] describes King Śuddhodana as "a strong, resolute, learned in the sacred lore, wise, brave, skilled in counsel, steadfast self-controlled and gracious". These qualities agree with Manu's[81] description.

He (the king) was policy-expert,[82] a great warrior,[83] justice loving[84] and a lover of sacred laws.[85] He was "handsome yet not presumptuous, courteous yet straightforward, courageous yet forbearing, masterly yet without arrogance."[86] He was expected to follow Dharma, Artha, Kāma at the prescribed time.[87] The poet referring to the tradition, says that he was dedicated to his kingdom, like his ancestors.[88]

He rewarded the good,[89] cherished no improper passion for women[90] and conquered his subjects and kinsmen by his virtues, was self-respecting and spoke profitable and pleasant,[91] and never stooped to any baseness either in adversary or in the affairs of friends, and valued friendship.[92]

[79] *G.D.S.*, XI.3, 4.

[80] S. II.3, 14 ; B. II.33, 34.

[81] *Manu.* VII.90, 44.

[82] S. III.16.

[83] S. II.33.

[84] S. I.56 ; *Manu.* VII.32.

[85] S. II.32.

[86] S. II.4.

[87] B. X.28.

[88] S. II.6.

[89] B. I.33.

[90] B. I.34; cf. S. II.42.

[91] B. I.38.

[92] S. II.43, 18.

He wrote injuries, in dust and goodness (in advice and actions), in marble.[93] He adhered to his promises with constancy.[94] He received the unfortunate with kindness[95] and removed their cause of misery.[96] He honoured the wise,[97] was noble and virtuous[98] and gave gifts continuously to the Brāhmaṇas.[99] He ate, after assigning the first portion to the holy persons.[100] He considered Dharma above self reputation,[101] "did not covet the goods of others, neither exposed the wickedness of his enemies in adversaries nor did he bear wrath in his heart."[102] As a result his subjects were very happy and they tried to imitate their ruler[103] (out of love).

All these qualities in a king are advocated in Manu Smṛti (VII).

Duties

Arthaśāstra[104] assigns it as the duty of a king to see the happiness, comfort and protection of his subjects.

Dharma Sūtras particularly mention among the duties of a king "patronage of learning, honouring Brāhmaṇas, granting land to them, faith in astrology and giving just punishment on wrong doers."[105]

As has been mentioned earlier the Śākya king kept his subjects happy and governed his kingdom, with efficiency, which made the subjects happy as there was plenty of every thing.[106]

He made good warriors, learned and virtuous people settle in his capital (S. I.46,54), got the 'Pokhar' constructed all around the city for its protection

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[93] S. II.9.

[94] S. II.13.

[95] S. II.10.

[96] S. II.16.

[97] S. II.14.

[98] S. II.21.

[99] S. II.31.

[100] S. II.19. (This is still prevailing custom among the old people in the name and shape of 'Gau-grass' (mouthful for the cow).

[101] S. II.20.

[102] B. II.44—परवस्त्वभिध्याम् ।

[103] B. II.45.

[104] *Artha.* (*TSS*), Ch. I.19.
प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हितेहितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां त प्रियं हितम् ।
Vis. D.S. III.2, 3.

[105] S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, p. 121.
G. XI.6; cf. *Manu*, VIII.80.

[106] S. II.7-46; III.41. सुभिक्ष ।
Infra. Administration for details,

(S. I.50). None was harmed without cause (S. III.35) and perfect peace prevailed in his domain.

Duties and Spiritual Share of the King

According to Manu and D.S., as declared in Vedas, the king obtains a share of spiritual merit gained by his subjects.[107] So it was the duty of the king to see those who leave the path of duty, to lead them back to it.[108]

Kautalya[109] neither permits the king nor his people to swerve from their duty of righteousness. This agrees with Jataka 521. Triśakuniya Jātaka of Mahāvastu (I.271-82) repeats and records that the happiness of the subjects lies in their protection through Righteousness. Maintaining the tradition Aṣvaghoṣa says : the king "was not subject to questioning and he did not hold discourses against the law of Righteousness and (justifying the title of Cakravartin) he caused others to be drawn to the Law, as though he was turning the wheel of Law."[110]

This attribution of the power of a Cakravartin king and the simile of turning the wheel of Law (which later on was done by his son) are merely the poetical expressions of the poet.

Aśvaghoṣa however, is not the first, to use the word 'Cakravartin' for Śuddhodana. Lalita Vistara [110a] refers to Cakravartin, the king the victorious chief of fourfold army, devoted to the Law, and surrounded with seven treasures.

Works of Piety

G.D.S.[111] requires a king "to dig tanks build embankment and bridges etc. for his subjects".

RE. II of Aśoka,[112] recording the works of piety, says the wells were dug, the trees of fruits and roots were planted for the use of men and cattle. The Queen

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107. G. XI.11, *Manu* VIII.304.

108. G. XI.10.

109. *Artha.* (*TSS.*) I. 3 ch. p. 31. तस्मात् स्वधर्मं भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत स्वधर्मं संदधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह् न नन्दति ।

110. S. II.32. चक्रवर्तीव ।

110a. *LV* (Leffmaṅ), p. 14.
राजा भवति चक्रवर्ती चतुरङ्गो विजितवान् धार्मिको घर्मराजः
सप्तरत्नं समन्वागतः । तस्येमानिन सप्तरत्नानि भवन्ति तद्यथा ।
चक्ररत्न हरित्तरत्नं अश्वरत्नस्त्रीरत्नं मणिरत्नं गृहपतिरत्नं
परिणायकरत्नेमेव समृमं ।

111. G. XI.6. ft. n. quotes Hardatta.

112, CII., Vol. 1, p. 4.

Pillar Kosan[113] records the construction of mango-groves gardens, alms-houses etc. for the use of public.

Aṣvaghoṣa tells us that the king got Dharmaśālās (free guest houses) built with attached wells for the welfare of wayfarers.[114] He got the gardens laid to please his subjects.[115]

The King and Pious Works

Dharma Sūtras, Manu and Arthaśāstra prescribe Vratas, Yajñas and charity to be done by the king.[116]

King Suddhodana, ten days after the birth of Siddhārtha, "for the supreme welfare of his son, offered sacrifices to gods, together with incantations oblations and other auspicious rites."[117]

For the long life of the prince, he "worshipped the shining constalletion, whose regent is Bṛhaspati. He offered oblations in huge fire and presented the twice-born with gold and cattle."[118]

Charity and Cows

Viṣnu D.S.[119] attaches great importance to cows being given in charity. The donation of a cow bedecked with ornaments, was considered the harbinger of great reward. The donor enters a heaven for many Yugas (ages of the world) for giving a pregnant cow in charity. The donor of a brown cow[120] (a milch cow) with gilt horns, hoofs covered with silver, tail wound with a string of pearls, with a milk-pail of white-copper and with a cover of cloth brought heaven for as many years as the hairs on the body of the cow.

The king Śuddhodana gave one hundred-thousand cows, full of milk along with calves with gilded-horns to Brāhmaṇas in charity.[121] Not only himself, but he directed many to many directions to perform ceremonies.[122]

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113. Ibid., p. 159.
114. S. I.57.
115. S. I.49.
116. *Ap. D.S.* II.1; *Vis. D.S.* ch. LXXXVIII.
Manu. III.28.
Artha. I. Ch. 19, p. 97. राज्ञो हि ब्रतमुत्थानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम् ।
दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाम्यं च दीक्षितस्यभिषेचनम् ।।
117. B. I.83.
118. B. II.36. The importance of Puṣya in the Buddha legend is great. It is associated with Mahasaṅghika. Text. Tr. 88. (Johnston ft. n. of the verse).
119. *Vis. D.S.* Ch. LXXXVIII.
120. Ibid., XCII.8.
121. B. I.84. (Only those Brāhmaṇas deserve charity who are well versed in Vedas and are pure. A*p. D.S.* II.11, *Manu*, III.128).
122. B. I.85.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[123] refers to various seasonal sacrifices. Our poet's reference, that the king performed manifold rites which are "observed by religious persons and are established through revelation,"[124] may be a reference to such sacrifices.

Again, referring to the tradition, it is said, King Śuddhodana, in imitation to kings of old age (Satya Yuga), practiced austerities, without changing his royal dress. He worshipped and offered sacrifices without bringing injury to living creatures.[125]

By this reference, the poet points out the variation from the normal tradition, which requires animal-sacrifice, according to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[126] However Buddha did not approve of them.[127]

The King's Life

Stray references here and there by Aśvaghoṣa in his works give a glimpse of the luxurious life led by the royalty and the rich.

Lofty palaces, innumerable sources and articles of luxury; ornaments of gold, studded with jewels; clothes of various kinds and colours, with gold and goose embroidery; Ivory litters; horses decorated with gold and jewels; corpse of elephants, horses and cows;[128] Imperial umbrella;[129] un-limited wealth in gold (wrought and unwrought);[130] jewel-bedecked throne;[131] gold handled mirrors; scents and flowers, wine and Soma-rasa;[132] various kinds of amusements : like women, music, dance etc. were the means of luxury in those days.

Royal Attendants

The king and queen appears to have a very big staff consisting of thousands of attendants at their command, whether in the palace or out of palace. Both male and females were appointed and increased according to the need.

Queen Mayadevi, at the time of delivery had thousands of women in waiting in the Lumbini vana.[133] She was attended by a large number of aged women when she entered Kapilavastu.[134]

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[123] S. Br. (*SBE.* XLIV) XI.5.2.3 to 5.2.10.

[124] B. II.54.

[125] B. II.49. तपांस्यतप्त हिसारहितैरयष्ट ।
This tells that the king was intensely religious and did not care for outward decoration.

[126] S. Br. (*SBE.* XLIV), XI.7 onwards give details of animal sacrifice.

[127] B. XI.64, 65—
परं हि हन्तुं विवर्श···न युक्तरूपं करुणात्मनः सतः ।

[128] Supra—Social Life, Ch.

[129] B. IX.22. धृतातपत्रं ।

[130] B. I.2.

[131] B. V.44.

[132] Infra—Food and Drink Ch.

Dīgha Nikāya[135] tells that hunchbacked dwarfs maiden and girls served as attendants.

A host of various other types of attendants were attached with the king and princes. The prince was provided with a large number of guards who were learned in Śāstras so as to desist him from leaving the home.[136] Similarly Udayana an expert was appointed as his companion in the grove.[137]

Some of the attendants or employees were very loyal, like Chandaka. Their devotion and loyalty to the master is appreciable as loyal and capable men are difficult to find in the world.[138]

When the king went out, he was followed by a host of attendants, friends, horses, etc.[139]

There is mention of an officer incharge of clearing the roads[140] of all afflicted common folk when Siddhārtha was to visit the pleasure grove.[141]

Furniture

Mahāvastu[142] tells of machine-made furniture in the use, including the finest and lovelist types of chairs, sofas, benches, foot-rests, foot stools, fine seats, 'Ayakvas', 'Antakotas', desks and tables (Phela & Phelika). The upper room for Siddhārtha was decorated with couches of gold, silver and precious stones, covered with sixteen fleecy covers.

Aśvaghoṣa also mentions of very costly furniture used by the royalty. When Siddhārtha was born he was made to lie on a couch, which had gorgeous canopy and frame-work of glistening gold.[143]

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133. B. I.8.
134. B. I.87.
135. *DN.* (Dialogue), III. II.334.
136. B. V.39, 40.
137. B. IV.63.
    He was Purohit's son (B. IV.8), *Manu* (VIII.78) and *Gr. DS.* XI.12. direct the king to appoint learned virtuous and austere Purohit (priest).
138. B. VI.5, 6, 7.
139. B. III.20.
140. B. III.49. मार्गस्यशौचधिकृताय च ।
141. B. III.4.
142. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) II. pp. 415, 422, 423, 111-112.
143. B. I.17, Supra Bed Covers (Social Life).

The king and queen used golden couch, inlaid with streaks of diamonds,[144] to rest or relax.

Nanda's couch was very costly, which was covered with soft and multicoloured bed cover and decorated with beryl and diamonds and had golden feet.[145]

Litter

The Queen used costly Ivory litter bedecked with Sita-pushpa flowers and laid with precious stones while travelling from Lumbini to Kapilāvastu.[146]

The chariot used by the king and the prince was very well decorated.[147] It was driven by four horses, was golden and had golden gears.[148]

The luxury of the king can be visualised still further in the use of gold-gilted mirrors and jewelled-hilt swords decorated with gold inlay.[149]

Appolonius (1 AD) records that the king used gold and silver bowls for drinking. He and his party visited the palace (of the king of Taxila) and found the marble-walls of the 'Sun-Temple' in it glittering with gold and the images made of pearls.[150]

The Prince and Luxury

The royal children were provided with three luxuries (1) nurses (2) toys and (3) various kinds of sensory pleasures suitable for the age[151] (the poet has not named these pleasures).

Aśvaghoṣa tells, the babe (Siddhārtha) had female nurses to look after him.[152] He has not mentioned the number of such care-takers. Laliṭavistara[153] gives a mythical figure as to the number of nurses.

King and Luxury

In Mahāvastu,[154] (in Kuṣa Jātaka) the king Kuṣa is taken to the bath room, his hair are cut and beard is trimmed by a barber. He is anointed with fragrant oil worth hundred pieces (Śatapaka...Taila), bathed with royal bathing powders, rubbed with royal ointments, dressed in fine royal clothes and is made to wear strings of pearls. There are played five musical instruments.

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[144] B. I.44.

[145] B. VI.31.

[146] B. I.86, 87.

[147] S. I.30.

[148] B. III.8.

[149] B. VI.56.

[150] *A. Travels*, pp. 15, 18.

[151] B. II.23.
Toys—Supra Social Life Ch.
Nurses—Supra Customs & Manners Ch.

[152] B. I.61, cf. S. XIV.37.

[153] LV. (P.L. Vaidya), p. 71.

[154] *Mhv.* II (J.J. Jones), p. 425.

As in Mahāvastu so in Aśvaghoṣa's works : the body of the king and the prince was adorned with ornaments,[155] priceless clothes, aloes and sandalwood.[156]

The king diverted his mind with Vīṇa and other indoor diversions (not named).[157]

Appolonius records that the king (of Taxila) hunted for exercise and gave away what he killed. He himself subsisted on vegetables. He did swimming exercise and enjoyed discus and javelin throwing. He drank but little wine.[158]

King's Residence

The king's residence is mentioned as Prāsāda[159] and Narendra Sadma. (B. III.47). It was a huge multistoreyed, white coloured establishment, with different apartments to suit each season.[160]

The word 'Prāsāda' is used for both the temples and king's palaces. The classical historical example, of such buildings is 'Sugaṅga prāsāda' of the Mauryan king, Chandra Gupta. Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya (II. 22.34) mentions the word 'Prāsāda' for the temple of Rāma and Keṣva deities.[161]

Because of its many storeys and lofty buildings it is called Vimānagarbha[162] and Vimānakalpa.[163]

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155. B. VI.32. (Supra—Ornaments, Social Life Ch.).
156. B. VIII.56. अगरुचन्दनार्चितम्.
Siddhārtha in the jungle was deprived of such artifices of the toilet (B. IX.8).
157. B. VI.32.
158. U. Strabo of Mysicani. 1b. 34 and Appolonius Travels, pp. 15, 17.
159. S. VI.6. प्रासाद सौपान (It is called 'Prasad' because the mind enjoys calm here).
Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures, Madras Museum, IV, p. 130.
160. B. II.29. शरत्तौयद पाण्डुरेषु ; II. 28, VIII.56.
S. VI.30.
161. Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures in Madras Museum, IV., p. 130.
162. S. VI.3, 4.28.
B. V.43, B. VIII.37—विमानपङ्क्तय: ।
163. Matsya P. V.25, 32, 33, 47, 55 refer to Vimāna and Vimānagarbha.
Vimānas are heavenly places, where Devas live and are always ākāśastha (e.g. Mahāvaṁśa) XXVII. 13) and not on earth (Johnston ft. n. B. II.29).

These palaces, as mentioned (B. VIII.37) were built in rows, which indicate that the building was composed of a number of mansions or different Śālās.[164]

There is mention of a separate apartment in the palace for women,[165] called 'harem' or 'harmya'. The queen's apartment is called 'Antapura'.[166] It was guarded by women guards.

Aśvaghoṣa has also mentioned separate apartments, suited to each season.[167] Like that Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu[168] also tell us of three palaces for the cold, warm and rainy season.

Courtyards

A palace of those days seems to have many courtyards, as one courtyard is mentioned, where the swift-footed Chandaka—the groom was awakened by Siddhārtha and asked to bring 'Kanthaka' the horse.[169]

Aṭṭa, Harmyatala and Toraṇa

The palace had lofty aṭṭa (parapet),[170] attic room on the top of the building,[171] with stairs to reach the roof. The upper and the lower storey of a palace[172] were connected by steps.[173] Certain adjuncts are always mentioned together. Most important are the tower (aṭṭa, aṭṭāla or aṭṭālakā), the wall (prākāra) and the arched gateway (Toraṇa). In Amrāvati sculpture plate XI. fig. 7 is an example. Towers were provided with stairs to reach the roof.[174]

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[164] *Vimāna* is a Sanskrit and not a Pāli word. It means both 'measure' and 'building of sort'. "The vi—it is claimed, means in both diction, distinctive, outstanding, thus "remarkable places for sporting abodes of devas." They appear to have been conceived as more than houses, including gardens, woods, lakes, elephants, charlots, and horses. Hence 'Estates' might have been more correct." (Mrs. R. Davids, Intro.—*Minor Anthologies*, Part IV, p. vi).
Vimāna—the palaces (kingdoms in miniature) are of gold crystal or exquisite jewels. Their pillars are studded with gems, their glittering roofs are peaked with 700 pinnacled turrets (Vimāna Vatthu A. 244, 289 vide Pāli Dic., R. Davids, p. 89).

[165] B. V.67— हर्म्यं
S. IV.28, 43 ; VI. 1, 2, 37.

[166] B. VI.37— अन्तःपुर ।

[167] B. II.29.

[168] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II.116 (p. 111).

[169] B. V.67, 68.
हर्म्यं पृष्ठाद्युवतीस्ताः शीयताविगर्हमाणः ।
· · · गृहकक्ष्यां प्रथमां विनिर्जगाम (67)
तुरगावचरं स बोधयित्वा. . . . छन्दकमित्थमित्युवाच ।
हयमानय कन्थकं . . . । (68)

[170] S. VII.7.— शिखरे-अट्टालमपश्रितायाः ।

[171] B. III.13— हर्म्यतलानि ।

[172] S. VI.6, 7, 8— सौपान ।

The palace was well-ventilated with windows[175] and had arched gateways (Toraṇa) and doors (Bhavan dvāra).[176]

Aśvaghoṣa describes women crowding the windows in mutual press, "their ear-rings agitated by collisions and their ornaments jingling.[177] In excitement they threw the lattices open.[178] Because of narrowness of the windows their faces and ear-rings rested on each other's cheeks and seemed like bunches of lotus flowers tied to the windows.[179]

Palace in Art

Mathura Museum 13,367 records the construction of Toraṇa. This door-jamb has lovely lotus creepers carved on it.[180]

Mathura Museum M.I.oo (2nd c. B.C.) displays one Toraṇa piece, depicting balconies and ogree arches containing male and female figures, peeping out of windows and balconies.[181]

Mathura Museum M. 3 Toraṇa beam depicts the Buddha in the Indraśālā cave. The reverse displays symbols conveying the presence of the Master.[182]

The Madras Government Museum displays : the scene described by Aśvaghoṣa in *Buddhacarita* (III. 20) in Plate VIV, and B. III.18 in plate XXV.[183]

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173. B. V.67.

174. Sivaramamurti, Amarāvati Sculpture in Madras Museum, p. 130. Acharya explains Atta as a terrace. (Acharya, *A Dic. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 15).

175. S. IV.28— गवाक्ष ; VI. 2.
B. VIII. 14—गवाक्षमाला: ; V.52—तौरणशालमञ्जिकेव ।
Toraṇa, is defined as an arch, a mechanical arrangement and supporting one another by their mutual pressure.
(Acharya, *A Dic. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 247).

176. B. V.66—भवनद्वार ।

177. B. III.18.

178. B. III.20.

179. B. III.21.

180. R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 31 gives the details of the inscription.

181. Ref. Plate IV.

182. R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 39.

183. Amarāvati Sculpture in Madras Govt. Museum.

Vātāyana

The palaces and high buildings had Vātāyanas.[184]

According to Johnston,[185] Vātāyana is a kind of window projecting from the wall. It serves the purpose of airing the apartment or "it appear to be a kind of shutter, possibly lattice work, which protected against strong winds."

Mathura Museum[186] No. 36, 2584 displays a monolithic stone lattice work 'Prāsād Vātāyana'. It is a screen. But Aśvaghoṣa's reference seems to be to narrow windows. The type of screen mentioned above (Mathura Museum) cannot be opened and even if it had wooden shutters, the faces of women could not be seen like bunches of lotus flowers, as the screen would have hidden them.

Kapotapālikas

Pigeons were kept in the upper storey of the palace.[187]

In Barhut Sculpture a large shoe-shaped window displays birds chirping under the caves. They are, called 'Kapotapālikas' and were intended for the purpose.[187a]

Pavillions

The upper storey of the apartment for every season had pavillions which were painted white (and are compared with clouds of autumn).[188] The king of Magadha saw a crowd of people from the outer pavillion and came to known of Siddhārtha's passing through the city as a mendicant.

Palace and Luxury

The apartment in the uppermost storey of the palace, was the abode of luxury. Śuddhodana, fearing Siddhārtha to see anything that might agitate his mind, assigned him a dwelling in the upper storey of the house and did not permit him access to go down to the ground.[189]

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[184] B. III.21.— वातायना नाम विशाल भावादन्योन्य गण्डापित कुण्डलानाम् ।
B. III.20.— कौतूहलोद्घाटित वातयानै ।

[185] Johnston ft. n. verse B. III.20.

[186] (Ref. Plate V).

[187] S. VI.30.— विमानसंस्थै पारावतैः कूजनलौलकण्ठैः ।
and VI.8.
B. VIII.37— प्रसक्त पारावत दीर्घ निस्वनाः ।

[187a] C. Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum, p. 132.

[188] B. II.28, 29, 30 (For details cf. Johnston's ft. notes).

[189] B. II.28.

Similar expression is mentioned is Mahavastu. (II. p. 111)

National Museum Delhi displays a panel No. 50.19 from a Stupa carved in Amaravati style (2nd and 3rd c. A.D.). Its first part depicts prince Siddhārtha in a harem, almost immersed in a stream of pleasures.[190]

The Palace Parlour

The uppermost apartment (chamber or parlour) was scented with the finest black aloe and decorated with lighted candelabra, glittering with gold. A precious golden couch, inlaid with streaks of diamonds, was placed for use by the royalty (king or prince).[191]

This clearly points to the use of incense burners, which have been found even from Harappa (Terracotta sealings 309, reverse of 320-322 and 66 and miniature seals 440, 441, 443 depict incense burners).[192]

In the palace-chamber, a host of women waited upon the king or the prince. They were expert in the art of playing soft instrumental music. The 'tambourne' they used, had golden frames. These women had sweet voice and laughter.[193] They were skilled in the art of love and were indefatigable in sexual pleasure.[194] They took spiritous liquor.[195] Their only aim was to entertain and relax the royalty.[196]

Aśvaghoṣa's description of women and the musical instruments played by them agrees with Mahavastu.[197] Mahāvastu has given a long list of musical instruments, while Aśvaghoṣa[198] has mentioned the names only a few instruments in particular and other instruments in general.

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190. Sivaramamurti, Ind. Sculpture Through Ages (a set of 20 scales), plate 6, p. 12. (Ref. Plate VI).
191. B. V.44—कनकोज्जवलदीप्तपवृक्षं वरकालागरुधूपपूगिर्भम् ।
192. Vats. E. Harappa, Vol. I., p. 320.
The photos are given in vol. II.
193. B. II.29-31 ; V.45-46.
194. B. II.32.
195. B. IV.31— मुखेनसवगन्धिना ।
For details supra Women (Social Life ch.).
196. B. IV.23.
Courtezens are mentioned in Mahavastu. Shyama was the famous one. (II, p. 167).
197. *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II, pp. 154-55. cf. LV. 252.
198. B. V.46— दिव्यतूर्यंकल्पै : ।
Mhv. II mentions Tuṇka (may be Tuṇva of Vedic times, a kind of wind instrument), Vipācika (lute), candisaka (?), Sambharika(?), Mahati (?), dhakkapataha, Vallaks, mṛdanga, Veṇu (flute or reed pipe), nakūla Sūghoṣa, Mukunda (a kind of drum), Panṇva (a kind of cymbol, or a small drum or a tabour); Jharjharaka (a sort of drum), Ālinga (a sort of drum), Parivādini (Vina or lute of seven strings).

In fact generally the palace resounded with soft music, played by beautiful Apsarā like women and their dances.[199]

Manu (VII.50) records drinking, dice, woman and hunting as four vices of the king.

Mahāvastu[200] also tells of Pañcakāmaguṇā : dance drama, music, orchestra and women provided to the prince to divert his mind.

Aśvaghoṣa description agrees with Mahāvastu i.e. women, music, dance, drama and instrumental music or orchestra was provided to the prince to divert his mind.

Though Śuddhodana was only a 'Chief' or 'Rājā', as discussed previously, the luxury of his place was not less than Arthaśāstra' king. Not only the palace but his estate Kapilavastu has also received great importance, at the hands of our poet—and is described not less than any flourishing emperor's kingdom. He is depicted as a typical powerful Hindu king.

Kapilavastu

As it was the Pitṛnagar[201] of Goutama, it was as a sort of wonder of the world for Aśvaghoṣa.[202] He has given a vivid description of Kapilavastu, which was famous for grandeur of its extremely beautiful buildings.[203]

The whole city was well planned by the architects (Vastujña).[204] The city was surrounded by a deep and broad river like moat and a lofty rampart[205] with big gates (B. V.82).

According to Mahāvastu,[206] the city was surrounded by seven broad walls, while Lalitavistara[207] mentions that there was only one rampart. One of the Jātakas (I.63)[208] tell that the wall was eighteen-hands in height.

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[199] B. II.29, 30—स्त्रीणामुदारैर्विजहार तूयैः ।
In Rajgṛha the buildings of the rich were beautiful and well decorated.
(B. X.1).

[200] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) II, p. 113.
Forbids the king to indulge in the vices of hunting, playing at dice, enjoyment of women, drinking and extravagance.

[201] B. V.83.

[202] S. I.55— जगद्धाम तत्पुरं ।
According to B.C. Law it is not so much the wonder of the world as 'the epitome of the world'. B.C. Law, Aśvaghoṣa, ft. n. 7, p. 62).

[203] S. III.17.

[204] S. I.41— वास्तुज्ञा.

[205] S. I.42— विस्तीर्ण पारिखं ।

[206] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), Vol. II, p. 72.

[207] LV. Ch. III (P.L. Vaidya Ed.).

[208] J. I.63— अट्ठावसहट्ठुब्बेधम् पाकरम् ।

The city has been described to have a net-work of roads. The main road was called Mahāpatha[209] and was straight. The royal highway was called Narendra-mārga, [210] Rajamārga[211] and Rājapatha[212] while ordinary roads were called Patha.[213]

Kapilavastu[214] had well planned bazars as well.

Buildings

The city was rich in high symmetrical buildings with windows in the same line of level.[215] It had rows of multistoreyed high prāsādas. The front portion of all these buildings was painted white and it gave the impression of Himalayas womb (Kukṣi Himgiririv).[216]

Lalitavistara (Ch. I) describes the beauty of the buildings as rows of lotuses in a pond.

Guest or Rest-Houses

In those days all around the groves and roads, the city was provided with rest-houses. These rest-houses were charming, fine splended and provided with wells.[217]

Dīgha Nikāya also mentions a village rest-house.[218]

To add to the beauty of the city, it was provided with temples, hermitages, wells, waterfalls, lotus-ponds groves and gardens.[219] Lalitavistara also mentions a city beautified with gardens, orchards, viharas and rest-houses.[220]

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209. S. I.42— स्पष्टञ्चितमहापथं ।
210. B. III.53— नरेन्द्र मार्ग ।
211. B. III.4, 6, X. 7—राजमार्गं ।
212. B. III.5, 25—राजपथ ।
213. B. VIII.9.
214. S. I.43.
215. B. VIII. 14—गवाक्षमाला: ।
     S. VI.2— गवाक्ष ।
216. S. I.43— पांण्डुराट्टालसुमुखं ।
     Mukha is the entrance of the house. Aṭṭāla means the upper storey with open varandah, such as seen over the walls of towns in Sanchi sculpture.
     (Johnston—ft. n. S. I.43).
217. S. I.51.
218. DN (Dialogue) III. II.84.
219. B. II.12.
     S. I.49, 50, III.17.
220. LV. (P.L. Vaidya, 1958), Ch. III. उद्यान आराम विहार मण्डिता ।
     Mahāvastu tells of four gardens provided by the king to the prince (Siddhārtha) in the four corners of the palace.
     Mhv. II, p. 113.

Here, from the man-made jungles and gardens (in addition to the natural beauty of Kapilavastu) our poet's description of padamsanda grove, in the outskirts, is worth noting. It is a vivid description of entrancing character of the city groves which led Siddhārtha, the beloved of women-folk, to visit it.[221]

The grove provided special attractions[222] of nature's beauty and intoxicating women.[223] It is compared with the "palace of the monarch of Alaka". It was full of beautiful Apsaras,[224] and is called 'Kriḍāsthala' (pleasance) of Vibhraja.[225]

It is described as full of mango boughs in full bloom,[226] Asoka trees covered with shoots,[227] Tilaka trees,[228] Kurbaka in full blossom,[229] and ponds enveloped in Sinduvara bushes.[230] The sheldrake in water wooing his mate[231] impassioned cuckoo's cry[232] etc. all exciting passions etc. all this is in contrast to the description of the groves of the Ṛṣiṣ surrounded by natural beauty and trees discoloured by the smoke of oblations.[233] The Ṛṣi's groves surrounded by natural forests' beauty, calmness and desolate are peace-giving,[234] whole pleasure-groves are man-made and are passion-exciting.

Such was the luxury enjoyed by the royalty and naturally by the princes or sons of the ministers [235] who accompanied them.

Conclusion

Aśvaghoṣa's description of Kapilavastu, royal highway, King's pleasure grove in the outskirts of the city, well-planned multi-storyed palaces and buildings, gardens, temples, hermitages, wells water-falls, lotus ponds and groves (man-made) give a glimpse of the art of planning and architecture of the age and the luxuries enjoyed by the 'king and co'.

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221. B. III.2. The verse indicates Siddhārtha's love for women and enjoyments before his meeting with the old, diseased and dead.
B. III.63 ff. IV.1.
222. B. III.63. ff. IV.1.
223. Supra Women (Social Life Ch).
224. B. III.65., IV.28.
225. B. IV. 28, 10—काननेे रम्यै क्रीड़ं . . . . ।
226. B. IV.35, 44.
227. B. IV.45, 48.
228. B. IV.46.
229. B. IV.47.
230. B. IV.49.
231. B. IV.50, III.64.
232. B. IV.51.
233. B. IV.32.
234. B. VIII.13, VII.32—तप: प्रशान्तं स वनं ।
235. B. V.2.

Our poet while on one hand has depicted Śuddhodana and his Kapilavastu's royal splendour, beauty and luxury, on the other hand has not forgotten the blessings of renunciation. According to him "The king can live on minimum requirements e.g. a pair of clothes, measured food, one bed one seat, one palace and one city. All other luxuries lead only to intoxication and pride."[236]

The ideal king, as Śuddhodana has been described, his conduct, while in administration, is based on tradition and is above doubt. Similar is the case with his deeds of piety and religious-rites.

Administration

The King (as per tradition)

According to Kautalya the success and failure of a state depends upon the ability and character of the king. He categorically states that the king and his rule constitute the state[237] (Rāja rājyamiti praṛktisamkṣhepah).

For the efficient administration by a king, both Manu and the author of Arthaśāstra, believe in the seven constituent elements i.e. the seven limbs of the state : the king or the lord, ministers, political allies, treasury, the nation, the fort and the forces.[238]

For all purposes, he heads the seven elements (prakṛtis) of the state. For this very reason, Manu and Kautalya[239] lay great stress on the ability, efficiency and character of the king. They expect him to be master of his senses.

To gain this control, Arthaśāstra wants him to abandon seven vices : lust, anger, greed, vanity (māna), haughtiness (mada), overjoy ; and develop the seven faculties of obedience, hearing, grasping, retentive memory, discrimination inference and deliberation. It advocates the company of wise men, who can train his mind properly.[240]

Analysing, the causes of calamities, Kautalya says, that either they occur due to natural causes (divine wrath) or human agencies (like foreign invasion or internal rebellion), or from defects in character, such as addiction to bad habits or indisciplined mind or from ill-luck or wrong policy.[241] Though the remedies of all these calamities have been suggested, Arthaśāstra firmly states that only a king of character can ward them off, as he causes his own as well as that of his kingdom, if is swayed by any of the vices.[242] Thus tradition of King's powers and duties, assigned by Manu, is maintained in the Arthaśāstra.

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[236] B. XI.47, 48.

[237] *Artha* (*TSS*) III. ch. VIII. 2, p. 12 ff.

[238] स्वाम्यमात्यौपुरं राष्ट्र कौशं दण्डौ सुहृत्तया ।
सप्त प्रकृतयौ ह्येताः सप्ताङ्न राज्यमुच्यते ।
(*Manu*. IX. 294.)
स्वाम्यमात्य जनपद दुर्ग कोष दण्ड मित्राणि प्रकतयः ।
(*Artha*. Ibid., VII.1)

[239] *Manu*. VII.53 ff. ; *Artha*. I.6.

[240] *Artha*. I.5.

Mahāvastu elucidates Rājadharma, according to the same (?) traditions and treatises.[243] Mahāvastu (I.280) mentions of five-fold-powers of the king i.e. the king himself, putra-balam (his sons), jati-balam (his kinsmen and relations), chaturunga-balam (his four-fold army) and prajñā-balam (his wisdom).

In Jataka 521, Kundalini explains Rajadharma to the king of Benaras, in more or less the same expressions, as is found in Arthaśāstra and Mahavastu. Kundalini emphasises on the qualities and the responsibilities of a king saying "... As a charioteer guides his car, he (a king) with his skill, steers the realms common weal.... ."

Keep even the folk well in hand
and duly take stock of thyself,
Never trust to another a loan or
deposit, but act thyself.[244]

. . . . . .

Even blame the blame worthy and favour
on them who deserve its bestow.

. . . . . .

Then thyself, O king shouldest
instruct thy people in every good way
Lest thy realm and thy substance
should fall to unrighteous officials a prey.
See nothing is done by thyself or others
in ever much speed.
That fool so acts . . . will live to repent
of the deed.
To wrath one should never give way,
For should it over bounds overflow,
It should lead to the ruin of the kings.

. . . .

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[241] *Artha.* VIII.1.
B.P. Sinha, Readings in Artha. pp. 20 ff. gives elaborate account of the King, his powers and limitations, according to Kautalya.

[242] Ibid., VIII.2.

[243] T. Rāhula, *Mhv. Study*, p. 306 ff, elaborates on the subject.

[244] Here these lines agree with Shakespear's
Never a borrower nor a lender be. . . . . .

When a king from all fears is set free
And pleasure of sense are his aim,
Should his riches and all disappear
To that king it is counted shame.

Jātaka (V.112.24-5) narrate the avoidance of Krodha (anger) and Harṣa (happiness) for a successful administrator.

Aśvaghoṣa and the King

Aśvaghoṣa has assigned the duties and qualities to King Śuddhodana according to tradition, who administered his kingdom following his ancestors in conduct.[245] He disciplined the one (mind), protected the seven, gave up the seven and observed the five, he won the set of three, he understood the set of three, knew the set of two and gave up the set of two.[246]

Here, without enumerating the poet has referred to the same seven limbs of the state and same seven vices. Our poet also expects a king to be self-controlled and free from passions.[247] He says, loss of self-control, though brings delights in passions, but breaks friendship. In *Buddhacarita* (XI. 32 ff) Aśvaghoṣa has very well elaborated on the self-controlled man and the worldly pleasures, which can never make him happy. The five (niyamas) to be observed by a king are concilliation, gifts, sowing dissensions and force of arms and abstinence.[248] This very well agrees with Manu,[249] who, for obtaining success at different times, prescribes for the king, Sāma (negotiations), Dāna (gift), Bheda (dissensions) and Danda (force of arms). He is to adopt six measures, when the occasion arises, sandhi (alliance), vigraha (war), yanā (march), āsana (sitting encamped), dvaidhibhāva (distribution of forces), Saṁṣraya (seeking the protection of a powerful king).

The set of three won by a king include Dharma, Artha and Kāma;[250] three Śaktis (according to Indian political science), strength derived from treasury and kingship,[251] or with his wise policy, by which the enemies become neutral, neutrality turns into allies, and allies unite with him with firmness.[252] The two known to the king, seem to be good and bad policy (nyāya and anyāya), and the two to be given up are Kāma and Krodha.[253]

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245. S. II.61.
246. B. II.41.
247. The seven vices of the king are Kāmja, dicing, wine, hunting and women, etc. (B. XI.31 ; for details ft. n. of the verse by Johnston).
248. S. XV.61.
249. *Manu.* VII.108, 109.
250. B. X.29 ; *Manu.* VII.26.
251. S. I.45 (& Johnston's ft. n. of the verse).
Artha—VI.2.
252. B. II. 6.
253. B. II. 41.

Thus out of the seven limbs, the king was the first and the very fountain of policy and administration. He is assigned multifarious duties by Manu Smṛti, Śukranīti and Arthaśāstra. Manu[254] who advocates 'Divine Rights' theory' tells that the king was created by the God, to protect the governed with justice, against lawlessness. The tradition[255] in law books wants him to be an efficient protector of subjects, able, and a disciplined administrator.

Thus in view of multifarious functions of a king, roughly speaking, we may divide them, here, under three main heads : Executive (including Military), Judicial and Legislative.

Executive

As explained earlier, the king was the pivot of administration. He was like a carrying pole, which endures toil for the sake of world.[256]

The Council of Ministers

In the system of a Central Government, right from Dharma Śāstras to our poet's time, the king is provided with a council to advise to help him in intricate and doubtful legal issues.[257]

Attaching considerable importance and showing them as indispensable for a king, Manu (VII.53) says, "even a small work appears difficult, it is done single handed," and Artha Śāstra (I.3) illustrates the same point by a simile—the carriage does not move with one wheel.

Appointments

Manu (VII.54) advocates the king to make appointments of his ministers from the hereditary servers of the state, learned in Sāstras, brave, well-versed in the art of war and tested loyal personages. Dharma Sūtras[258] advise the king

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254. *Manu*. VII. 3—अराजके-रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभु ।

255. *Manu*. VII, Śukra and Kautalya. (*Artha*. I.19 ff).

256. B. XI.45. (The same sentiments are found in Theragatha 464, *Mbh*. XII. 11992 and Śakuntala V. 6. Johnston ft. n. of the verse).
"He was the motor-power to the whole system."
(H.N. Sinha, *Sovereignty in Anc. Indi.*, p. 151).

257. *Manu*. VII.54, 141.
S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, p. 167.
Mbh. V.37, 38.
Mhv. (Triśakuniya-Jāt) I.271-82.
B. V. 27 ; मन्त्रिगणैरूपास्यमानम् ।
समितो . . . ।
IX.4 ; VII.82 ; V.40.

258. B.D.S. I. 1. 7.
G. XXVIII. 49 ; Vis. III. 16-21.

to make appointments of trustworthy and 'well-suited to the job' persons as ministers or incharge of various departments.

In Triśakuniya-Jātaka,[259] the bird imparting lessons on Rājadhrama wants a king to appoint loyal politicians (Arthacintaka), uncovetous and leader of the people (parināyaka) as his ministers.

Arthaśāstra[260] wants a king to appoint ministers, who are efficient, experienced and capable of dealing with odds and evens. The same expression is found in Aśvaghoṣa's works.[261] The ministers are to be appointed by the king after properly scrutinising their qualities of head and heart rather than kinship. Ikṣvāku princes appointed the ministers according to their virtues and qualities i.e. "wisdom of Counsel, elequence and courage to corresponding offices".[262]

Śukranīti[263] asserts, at the time of appointment or for an officer "The word character and merit alone are to be respected, neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted."

King Śuddhodana did not make any unworthy appointment or promoted any unworthy man, may be even he was his own friend.[264]

Council's Strength

According to Dharma Sūtras[265] the number of Councillors should be at least ten i.e. four persons well-versed in Vedas, one Brāhmchārin, one Sanyāsin and three well-versed in Dharma Sūtras and Śāstras. Manu[266] advocates the appointment (by the king) of seven or eight ministers. Mahāvagga (IX.4) tells of a Ministry or Executive consisting of four, five, ten, twenty and more. Mahāvastu (III.207) refers to king-makers (Rāja-kartā) who according to Dr. Jayaswal were "ministers or high functionaries" (Hindu Polity, p. 188) (the number is not given).

Aśvaghoṣa, without elaborating on the number and powers of the ministers, has used the words 'Sachiva', Mantri and Purohita[267] and has described them no doubt as obedient to the king, but independent in their thinking and action. He calls them 'Mati Sachiva'[268] (the expression found in Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman, 150 A.D.).

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[259] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) I.271-82.

[260] *Artha*. (*TSS*). I.8.4. (pp. 43-44).

कार्यं सामर्थ्याद्धि पुरुष सामर्थ्यं कल्पयते सामर्थ्यं तश्च ।
विभज्यामात्यावैभवं देशकालौ च कर्म च ।
अमात्यः सर्वं एवैते कार्यां स्युर्नतु मन्त्रिणः ।।

[261] S. II.38.

[262] S. I.47.

[263] Ch. II. 112-13. (quoted by Baldev Kumar vide *India in Kalidasa*, p. 122).

[264] S. II.38.

[265] G. XXVIII. 49, B.I.17.

[266] *Manu*. VII.54.

Aśvaghoṣa and Ministers

As advised by Dharma Sūtras, Maṇu, Śukra and Kautalya the administration of Śuddhodana was a 'ministerial functionary'. As mentioned earlier, the same system of administration described in Mahāvastu. Divyāvadana[269] refers to a Council advising the king : "atha rāja kanakavarṇo gaṇakamahāmatrā natyadanuarikapārishadyān amantrayate".

It alludes to Ministers, who helped the king in administration.[270]

Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman (150 A.D.) refers to Mati-Sachivas (policy makers) and Karma-Sachivas (Executive officers) endowed with Amātya Guṇa Samudyuktai (ministerial qualification).[271]

Defining the qualities of the minister and chief-minister, Kautalya[272] expects him to be country-born (Indian and not foreigner) ; of high family, having the knowledge of fine arts and Arthaśāstra, having forbearance, courageous, sweet to talk, impressionable personality, healthy to tolerate difficulties and odds, of pure heart, friend to all, loyal to the master, healthy and free from all diseases, having the quality of fortitude, free from ego or pride, of stable nature, deep in mind, beautiful and who does not quarrel for land or woman. If of these qualities, he deserves to be chief minister. If he has half of these qualities he deserves to be less important minister (according to qualities).

These ministers, called 'Mantris' and 'Sachivas',[273] Counselled the king in various matters of the state administration, as well as, in his personal matters or problems. King Śuddhodana lost his balance or steadfastness and lamented at Siddhārtha's departure for forest life.[274] But his Sacchiva (councillor) and Purohit remained well balanced, above distress and untouched by sorrow.[275] They advised the king not to grieving and make efforts for the search and return of the prince.[276] The king accepted their advise and set both of them to make all possible efforts to return the prince.[277] Reaching the abode of the decendent of Bhṛgu, they introduced themselves as "two charged with the preservation of the sacred tradition and with the practice of counsel respectively for the royal scion of Ikṣvāku line".[278]

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[267] B. VIII.82—मतिसचिवः प्रवयाः पुरोहितश्च ।
B. IX. 41. मन्त्रि ; 9.

[268] B. VIII.82 Supra, ft. n.

[269] Divya (Cowel & Neil, 1886), p. 291.

[270] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones), II.167.

[271] Sircar, *Select Insc.*, p. 174.

[272] *Artha* (*TSS*.) I. Ch. 9 (p. 45) जनपदोऽभिजातः स्ववग्रहः कृतशिल्प श्र्चक्षुष्मान् प्राज्ञो धारयिष्णुर्दक्षो वाग्गमी प्रगलभः प्रतिपत्तिभानुत्साहप्रभावयुक्तः क्लेशसहः शुचिर्मैत्रो दृढ़भक्ति शीलवलारोग्यसत्वसंयुक्तः एतम्भचापल्यवर्जितः संप्रियो वैराणामकर्तोवयमात्मात्यसम्पत् । अतः पदार्थ गुणहीणौ मध्यमावरो ।

[273] B. V.27—मन्त्रिगणैरुपास्यमानम् ; IX.52, मन्त्रिधरो ।
B. V.40—सचिव ।

The ministers were regarded as the eyes of the king.[279] The philosophical learning, human psychology and knowledge of scriptures of the sachivas (councillors) is well apparent in the conversation with prince Siddhārtha, at home and in the forest.[280]

Kingship : dangers and protection

Kingship involved hardships and dangers. Arthaśāstra has devoted two chapters to instructions to the king as to how to protect himself and his kingdom from dangers. In Kautalya's opinion internal enemics are more dangerous than the external ones. He advocates the protection of kingship from Rajkumars (king's sons) and the queens.[281]

Not only in the days of Kautalya but in the days of our poet also, the same tradition is recorded in his sporadic references here and there : "The sovereignty is abode of delusion, in which are found fearfulness, the intoxications of pride, weariness and loss of dharma by mishandling of others".[282] "At the same time, it is full of delights as well as the vehicle of calamity, like a golden palace on fire, like dainty food, mixed with poison or like a lotus pond infested with crocodile."[283] So much

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274. B. VIII.81—तनय वियोग जात दुःखः क्षितिसदृशं सहजं विहाय धैर्यम् ।
275. B. VIII.82— मतिसचिवः प्रवयाः पुरोहितश्च ।
276. B. VIII 85, 83—त्यज नरवर शोकमोहि धैर्यकुधृतिरिवार्हासि धीर नात्र् भोक्तुम् ।
277. B. IX.1, VIII.87.
278. B. IV.4, 9.
279. BI. X.72— मन्त्रिण; नृपस्य चक्षुषः ।
280. B. IX.12-30 ; V.40— सचिवैस्तु निदर्शितो यथावत् बहुमानात्प्रणयाच्च शास्त्रपूर्वम् ।
281. *Artha.* (*TSS.*) I. Ch. 17, p. 84.
रक्षितौ राजा राज्यं रक्षत्यासन्नेभ्यः परेभ्यश्च ।
पंर्वम् दारेम्यः पुत्रैभ्य्र्श्च ।
Artha. tells that even the sons of the Councillors if not permitted to succeed father's posts created trouble by joining the enemy.
282. B. IX.40.
283. B. IX.41,

so that the poet compares kingship with slavery and depicts a king like a slave, who is always in distress ; the king is not ever happy.[284] "If a ruler relies on his sovereignty, which is transitory and has many enemies he is ruined, or if he does not trust in it, where there is the happiness of a king who is always trembling with fright".[285] The kingship is exposed to many dangers ; to live with it is, as if to live with loathsome snakes (Kṛshna Sarpa).[286]

Arthaśāstra alludes to the death of a father king at the hands of his own son (Raj Kumar).[287] But king Śuddhodana's case is described very different. He did not covet for kingship, he wanted his son to remain at home and not adopt forest life, as forecast by sage Asita. It was for this reason that the king provided his son with all the objects of the pleasures of senses and tried to keep him away from Dharma.[288] In fact he "maintained the kingdom for the sake of his son and his son for the family, family for his reknown, fame for heaven and heaven for the sake of hisself".[289]

Espionage System

For the efficient administrative system the 'niti' books, including Dharma Sūtras, require a king to appoint spies in his own and in the kingdom of his enemy.[290]

Arthaśāstra[291] elaborates on the spy-system and mentions two groups of spies viz. stationery (Saṁsthāh) spies consisting of secret agents, Kapatka (fraudulent), Udāsthita (recluses), Grihapatika (householder), Vaidehaka (merchants) and Tapasas (ascetics).

Wandering (Sañchārah) spies, including Satri (women), bhikṣunis (mendicants), parivrājikās (wandering nuns) ; Mundas (shavelinga and Vrishali) ; Tikṣana and Rasāda.[292]

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284. B. IX.41.
285. B. IX.46.
286. B. XI. 43.
287. *Artha.* (*TSS.*), I, Ch. 20.
288. B. II.55. (The Sage Asita told that Siddhārtha would give up the kingdom in his indifference to wordly pleasures. (B. I.69).
289. B. II.53. Vas D.S. (SBE.) XIV, XV.4, 9 ; VII. 5. 11. 16, advocate the necessity of a son to maintain the line of ancestors.
290. S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, p. 122.
    Artha. I, chs. 11 & 12.
291. *Artha* (*TSS.*) I, Ch. 11, pp. 52-53—परमर्मज्ञ: प्रगल्भप्रछात्र: कापाटिक: । . . . प्रव्रज्याप्रव्यवसित: प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्त उदास्थित: । वणिको (कर्षको) वृत्तिक्षीण: प्रज्ञाशौच युक्तो गृहपतिञ्ज: । . . . मुण्डो जाटिलो वा वृत्ति कामस्तापस व्यञ्जन: ।
292. *Artha* (*TSS*) I, Ch. 12 (p. 56 ff) Tikṣna are defined as
    ये जनपदे शूरास्त्यक्तात्मनो हस्तिनं व्यालं व द्रव्यहेतो: प्रतियौधये युस्ते तीक्ष्णा: ।
    Rasada = ये बन्धुषु नि:स्नेहा: कूराश्चालसाश्च ते रासदा: ।
    Artha. Chs. 11 & 12, give details of these spies and the modes applied by them to get secret news.

The Foreign Evidence

Arrian[293] mentions a class 'Episkopo' (overseers) who overlooked what is being done throughout the country in general and also in the cities in particular. They made a report of the same, to the king or magistrate, whosoever ruled in the democratic set-up of those days. Strabo[294] calls this class of men the Ephori or the inspectors. He says, "They are entrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on and it is their duty to report privately to the king...the best and the most faithful persons are selected for the office of inspectors".

Aśvaghoṣa though has not elaborated on the services of the spies, has mentioned their existence and help. They were trustworthy and in disguise would know everything secretly.[295]

The King and Executive Powers

Treasury

According to Arthaśāstra[296] the army and treasury are under the special charges of a king. It expects a king to always make serious efforts to amass wealth. If he does not do it and is not mobile, the present and future wealth of the country is sure to be exhausted.

Source of Income

The main sources of income[297] of a king were land (with all types its products); mines (gold, silver precious stones) ocean and rivers (pearls, gold etc.) ; forests (wood, ivory, animals, skins etc.) and trade (internal and external).

Taxation

Dharma Sūtras, Manu, Nārada, Gautama and Kautalya, all assign the power of taxing people, to the king.[298] Nārada and Gautama particularly say that the taxes are to be paid to the king, in return for the protection he gives.[299]

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[293] Arrian, *Chinnock*, p. 413. (quoted by H.C. Ray, *PHAI.*, ft. n. I, p. 291).

[294] Strabo II, *H. & F.*, p. 103 (Ibid).

[295] B. IX.82—तौ ज्ञातुं परमगतेर्गतिं तुतस्य प्रच्छन्नांश्चरपुरुषाञ्छुचीन्विधाय ।

[296] तस्मान्नित्योत्थितो राजा कुयदिर्थानुशासनम् ।
अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानमनर्थस्य विषर्यय: ।।
Artha. (*TSS*) I, ch. 19, p. 97.

अनुत्थाने ध्रुवौ नाश: प्राप्तस्यानागतस्य च ।
प्राप्यते फलमुत्थानतुभते चार्थसम्पद्म ।।
(*Artha.* Ibid., I. 19, p. 97.)

[297] *Artha* (*TSS*). V. 2 ; Artha (H.), pp. 416-20.

King's Share

Viṣnu D.S.[300] directs a king to levy a tax of 1/6 of the annual products of grains and seeds; two per cent on cattle, gold and cloth; "one-sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves (of palmyra trees and others), skins, earthen pots, stone vessels and anything made of split bamboo".

Gautama D.S.[301] differs from Viṣnu D.S. and directs the cultivators to pay 1/10, 1/8, 1/6 of the land produce; one-fifteenth of cattle and gold in stock; one-twentieth of merchandise (to be paid by the seller); and one-sixteenth of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey meat, gross and fire-wood.

Viṣnu D.S. directs a king to take a duty of 1/10 of marketable commodities sold in his own country,[302] and a twentieth part (of the price) of goods sold in another country.[303]

Gautama (X.33) fixes the duty payable by the ship-owners to the king.

Manu & Taxation

Manu[304] the law-giver records that a king should levy kara (annual tax) at a very low rate. He should charge the traders one-fifth share of cattle and gold profit, one-sixth, one-eighth and one-twelfth of anna (crops) from a cultivator.

Referring to general taxes Manu[305] lays down that king should charge, one-sixth (as a share) of tax (kara) on trees, meat, honey, ghee, scents, medicines, rasas (juices), flowers, fruits, roots, leaves, vegetables grass (triṇa), skins, bamboo-made articles, earth and stone articles.

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[298] Vishnu *D.S.* III. 22-32.
G. X.94—28, 31, 35; *Manu* VII.
Narada XVIII.
Artha V.2, I. 5.

[299] Narada XVIII.98.
G. *DS*. X.28.

[300] Vi. *D.S.* III.22-25.

[301] G. X.24-28.

[302] Vi. III.29, 30.

[303] Ibid., 30.

[304] *Manu* (H) VII.129, 130.
Manu has used 'Kara' as a general term for taxes.
(*Manu* VII.128, 129, 133).

[305] *Manu*. Ibid., 131, 132.

Nārada[306] records that one-sixth of the product of the soil was king's share.

In Arthaśāstra[307] the rates of taxation of different things vary according to their quality. The Śāstra advocates that a king should not levy double duty on any article. If more money is needed due to any reason, he is authorised to demand from the Janapadas on any pretext or by using other methods.

Land

Ownership of the Land

Manu[308] calls a king as the owner of the land. It is for being the adhipati of the land that he is empowered one and a half share of minerals.

In Aśoka's (272-232 B.C.) inscription at New Delhi (Amarpuri Colony to the S. of Lajpat Nagar) the name Jambudvipa and Prithvi—are used to indicate Mauryan kingdom.[309]

Aśvaghoṣa calls the king as Bhūmipāla' and Bhūmipati',[310] and assigns Śuddhodana the Lordship of 'entire-earth',[311] which he conquered and brought under cultivation (obviously a poetical expression).

Thus in the days of our poet (first c. A.D.) the ownership of the land rested with the king. The ownership of the land to large-scale land owners (priests, temples, cultivators etc.) is a later conception. Dr. R. Thapar is of the opinion that "it did not become current until a few centuries after the Mauryan period."[312] Otherwise grants of land, without the rights of sale or alienation, are mentioned by Kautalya.[313]

Types of Land

The country of the Śākyas was separated by river Rohini in the east, to the west and south their rule extended as far as Acirāvati (modern Rapti having

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306. Nārada (*SBE* XXXIII) XVIII.48.
307. *Artha.* (*TSS*), I.5.
308. *Manu* VII.39— भूमिधिपतिर्हि सः ।
309. Inscriptions of Aśoka by D.C. Sircar ; E.I. Vol. XXXVIII, Part I, Jan. 1969, p. 12.
310. B. II.47—भूमिपालः ; V.39—भूमिपति ।
S I 32—भूमिपालसुतानिदं ।
311. S. II.28.
312 Jaimini Nyāyamalavistra, p. 358 ; quoted by R. Thaper, vide Aśoka and decline of Mauryans, ft. n. 3, p. 63.
313. *Artha.* II.1.7.
There is solitary example of land granted on a royal life by Seṇiya Bimbasāra the king of Magadha, with power over it as he were a king.
(DN II (SBB II), p. 147)

Kośalas of Srāvasti as their neighbours) and in the north they occupied the fertile land fit for rice and thickly wooded slopes of the present Nepalese sub-Himalayas.[314]

Cultivation of the land was the main occupation of the Śākyas and land-tax their main source of income.

As has been described in Buddhist texts, even nowadays the chief crop of the country is very good variety of rice.[315] Being located in the lapse of the Himalayas the forest yields have also been a source of income.

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned two types of lands :

(a) Where it rained in due time and the crops and herbs grew without much toil,[316]

(b) Where ploughman laboured hard in heat and cold, so much so that their bodies were discoloured by wind, dust and sun's rays. The oxen too felt distressed with labour of drawing the plough.[317]

Irrigation

In the areas which depended on rainfall, bumper crops grew in time.[318]

It seems artificial irrigation was also being done in the areas where and when there was scarcity of rains. The reference that king the got wells dug for the comfort of his subjects, corroborates it.[319]

Similarly ponds, vapi, sara and rivers[320] must have helped in increasing the fertility of the land as in our modern days.

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314. A. Führer, ASI (NS) Vol. VI (1897), p. 37.
This petty state was 80 miles in length and about 40 miles in breadth. It covered a very fertile area of 2,400 miles (Ibid.), 30 miles in breadth (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 95). Koliyanas were a sort of sub-division of Śakyan clan.
(R. Davids, *B. India*, p. 18).

315. Oldenberg interprets Śuddhodana as (Shudd = pure, odana = rice). The name of Buddha's father is attached with rice cultivation because of the bumper crops in his country.
(*Buddha*, p. 7)

316. B. II.7, 8—तदाऽकृतेनापि कृषिश्रमेण ।

317. B. V.6—पवनार्कांशुरजोविभिन्नवर्णान् ।
वहनक्लमविक्लवांश्च धुर्यान् ।

318. B. II.7, 8.

319. B. XIII.60 ;
S.XII.33, 34 ; XVI.97 and 1.51 (the king provided wells).

320. S. I.8, B. II.12.

Water Tax

Though there is not even a hint by our poet, Kautalya has mentioned 'Udakbhāga'[321] which means the king did charge water-tax.

Safety of the crops

Kautalya elaborates on the measures adopted by the state to protect the land e.g. from molestation of work men, and guards, tax-collectors, thieves, tigers, poisonous snakes, cattle-diseases etc. and provided facilities for the purchase and disposal of surplus.[322]

Our poet also refers to the safety of crops as one of the duties of a king. The whole land was cultivated under his orders. The grains were grown according to season, and the land was defended with strict administrative measures.[323]

Revenue

Kautalya[324] advocates that the primary duty of a king was to look into the revenue and expenditure of the state.

Aśvaghoṣa has made only general statements : Śākya kings, including Śuddhodana never levied any unjust tax (Kara).[325] King Śuddhodana did not oppress his subjects with taxes (Kara).[326] He did not charge more than legal land revenue[327] (Bali) and "imperil his fame through covetousness in the unjust acquisition of riches."[328]

The Terms 'Bali' and 'Kara'

'*Kara*'

The word 'Kara' is mentioned in Arthaśāstra.[329] Prof. S.K. Maity who has discussed all the controversies about this tax is of the opinion "That 'Kara' was not

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321. *Artha.* II. 24.
Artha. (H), pp. 258-61—सीताध्यक्ष ।

322. *Artha.* II.10-14, 17, 18, 36-38.
B.P. Sinha, *Artha.*, pp. 75, 76 ff.

323. S. II.28—स्पष्टया दण्डनीत्या च रात्रिसत्त्रानवीवपत् ।
B. II.8.

324. *Artha.* I.19, 30.

325. S. II.17, I.56—कंचिन्नाचीकरन्करं ।

326. S. II.27.

327. S. II.33 (Bali) ; B. II.44 (Bali).

328. S. II.17.

329. *Artha.* II.15.

a part of the regular land tax but a special tax which might be limited by conscientious kings."[330]

'Bali'

Ṛgveda refers to 'Bali' as a tax charged by the king from his own subjects and from the conquered kings.[331]

Milindapanha[332] mentions 'Bali' as an emergency tax from which the four chief ministers were exempted.

Aśvaghoṣa[333] has referred to 'Bali' as the legal tax charged by the king. It was[334] one-sixth share of the land-product without adding illegal cesses.

Thus it seems, 'Bali' was a tax levied, in our poet's time. It became a religious tax in the later days i.e. in Gupta period.[335]

Thus the land was the property of the king. He maintained, protected and legally taxed it.

Mines and Precious Stones

Being the owner of the land, Manu[336] entitles a king to take one-and-a-half share in the ancient treasure and minerals or metals hidden underground.

India of Aśvaghoṣa's time was having plenty of minerals precious stones, pearls, jewels, gold, silver, copper, iron etc.[337] Nothing is recorded as for the taxes charged or income accrued but tradition must have lingered and proper tax must have been charged.

Salt-Tax

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned the use of salt (lavaṇa). Arthaśāstra[338] uses the word 'Lavaṇabhāga' to indicate salt tax as king's share. It was one-sixth.

Salt-tax according to tradition, also might have been a source of income.

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[330] S.K. Maity, *Economic Life of North India*, p. 82.

[331] Ibid., p. 83.

[332] Milinda (SBE. XXXV) IV.2.8 (p. 146).

[333] *Supra*, ft. n. 327.

[334] Johnston ft. n. verse B. II.44. He has translated appravṛtta in the sense of illegal and not customary.

[335] S.K. Maity, (Supra), p. 84.

[336] *Manu* (H) VIII.39—निधिनां तु पुराणानां धातुनामेव च अर्धंभ्राग्रक्षणाद्राजा भूमेरधिपतिहिसः।

[337] *Supra* Geog. Ch., infra Social Life Ch. (Trade and Commerce).

[338] *Artha*. II (TSS) 12, p. 207.आगन्तु लवणं षट्भागदद्यात्।
(1/6 of the imported salt was king's share (As salt mines are not found in every Janapatha, it must have been the levy at the ferry or custom post).

Forest Wealth

Forest are the green gold of a country. Aśvaghoṣa has described the forest wealth in a poetical manner "There the trees, gorgeous with gold and gem; assist the gods in their pastimes, by bearing as fruits, all kinds of musical instruments out of their skin and string hollow and solid."[339]

The extensively growing forests produced besides Deodar other types of woods for various purposes[340] e.g. ordinary wood for fuel and sacrifice,[341] Arṇi for producing fire, Munjastalk[342] for making ropes, chandana and Agurū[343] wood for incense and make-up purposes. Black Agurū was considered the finest.[344] Chandana was considered to be very auspicious and pleasant in summer.[345] A.N.[346] mentions the present of sandal wood planks to Buddha which were worth more than several hundred thousand.

Uptill today sandal wood is having the same importance. Its use in the sacrifice (havana), is considered auspicious. Its use on the forehead is very pleasant, soothing and cool. And its incense in the burner (Agarbatti) makes the atmosphere fragrant.

In addition to various kinds of wood, the forests produced '*lac*'[347]—It was used for making dyes with red-base and make up.

Tamāl leaves[348]—They were used for making famous make-ups.

Tree-barks[349]—It was used for making covering or clothing for certain ascetics.

Bamboo[350]—It was used for various purposes including musical instrument flute.

In addition to this various kinds of herbs[351] which were used for making juices and medicines were the yields of the forests.

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[339] S. X.25.

[340] S. X.32 ; B. III.57—काष्ट ।

[341] B. VII.4. रिध्म sacrificial wood.
B. IX.29 wood for fuel.

[342] B. XII.64.

[343] B. VIII.56 ; I.21 ; II.21—चन्दनानि.

[344] B. V.44.

[345] B. XI.42.

[346] A.N. (1934) III.Ch. V, p.41.
In India the sandal-wood is also used for litting the funeral pyre.

[347] S. X.15—अलक्तरकरक्तवक्त्रां ।

[348] S. IV.20—तमालपत्रार्द्रं कपोले समापयामास विशेषक तत् ।

[349] B. IX.51.

[350] B. V.49.

[351] B. II.8, 21.

Animals

The forests were full of various kinds of animals, which were slaughtered to provide flesh, skin, fur or tusks.[352] Elephants from the Himalayas[353] were (and are) the wealth of the country.[354] They were used in war and peace and were considered the royal wealth. These majestic[355] animals were caught with difficulty as sometimes they went out of control.[356]

The Yak's tail[357] was commonly used as a fly whisk (Chanvar) and was a sign of royalty.

Mahāvastu (III. p. 45) tells that the wealth of the king of Mithila included elephants, tigers, lions and milch cows with sucking calves.

Trade and Commerce

There are ample archaeological literary and epigraphic records to tell about India's lucrative trade with foreign countries beyond its frontiers, much earlier than the commencement of Christian era.[358]

The internal trade was also carried on via land routes. Kapilavastu was connected with Sarasvati and Rajgṛha in the north to south-east route. This route included important trade centres of Vaiśāli, Pātliputra and Nālandā besides Kapilavastu. These big cities were further connected with other important parts[359] and trading centres.

The trade routes via sea as well as by land were full of difficulties. Buddhis literature is full of such evidences.

Mahāpari Nibbāṇa-Sūtta[360] mentions of a five-hundred carts-carvan passing through Pava.

Dīgha Nikāya[361] narrates the story of a one-thousand carts-carvan leader. These carts were drawn by asses. On the way a Yakka—a fiend devoured all the cattle and only bones were left.

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352. B. XIV.22, XIII.20, II.3.
353. B. II.3.
354. B. II.1.
355. S. I.36 ; II.50 ; IV.40 ; XIII.11.
356. S. VII.4 ; I.34—गजा इव निङ्कुशाः ।
357. S. X.II—हिमवन्नितम्बे तरौ प्रलम्बे चमरो ललम्बो.
358. For details please see my *Gupta Civilization*, pp. 44-60.
359. Ibid.
360. *SBE*. XI.26,28 (pp. 73-74).
361. *DN*. Vol. III, II.345 (p. 365).

In Mahāvastu[362] the story of five-hundred-merchants tell about the ship-wreck due to big fish in the ocean and the perils of the voyagers.

The story of the two traders, Trapuṣa and Bhallika,[363] tells that the journey in the jungles was threatened with elephants, lions, tigers, leopards and rhinoceroses. At certain places in the dense forests they were supposed to be haunted by evil spirits or by brigands.

In spite of difficulties, the traders continued their business. Shyāmā-Jātaka of Mahāvastu (II. p. 162 ff.) tells of a horse-dealer named Vajrasena coming down from north-western city of Takṣaśila upto Benaras for selling his horses.

Aśvaghoṣa[364] has also referred to the difficult trade routes and the perils. In thick jungles, sometimes even the big merchants who went in caravans, faced the odds of difficult routes and lost the company of their trader-friends and right road. The help of guides to routes is also alluded.

Trade Management

Kautalya[365] has given elaborate account of rules and regulation for inland and foreign trade and traders. There was a director of trade (Paṇyādhyakṣa) who used to control the market including weights and measures.

Our poet has not mentioned any land or sea route but has referred to guild system and merchants who traded in caravans.[366] These merchants (Vanija) did exchange business.[367] They seem to have lucrative trade in various commodities

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[362] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), III, p. 70 ff.

[363] Ibid., III.303 (p. 290 ff).

[364] B. I.72—संसारकान्तार पथस्थितेम्यः । ; मार्गप्रनष्टेम्यः ।
S. V.40—भ्रष्टस्य सार्थादिव सार्थिकस्य ।
B. XIII.62—सुदेशिकः सार्थ इव प्रनष्टे ।
S. XVIII.4—सर्थात्परिभ्रष्ट इव ।

[365] *Artha.* II.16.1, 11-13, 20-21 ; II.22.15 ; II.35.12 ; IV.13. 7-10.

[366] B. XIV.105—सार्थस्य - द्वौ श्रेष्ठनो वरो ।
Supra ft. n. 364 also.
Śreṣthin was the chief of merchants and very rich, he might have acted as a banker (Skt.—Śabdartha-Kaustubh), p. 1133 Sarthavaha—(सृ + थन् + अण् + सार्थ) who would heard the caravan from one place to another over long distance.
(Ibid., p. 1202)

[367] S. V.I—महापणेभ्यौ व्यवहारिणश्च ।

(paṇyabhūta). There were (it seems) good number of smaller businessmen and sellers of merchandise (paṇya).[368] All the merchants (vaṇika) gained wealth quickly.[369]

Mahāvastu[370] refers to merchants trading with cart-loads of pearls mingled with beryl. It refers to guild headman (Śreṇipramukha) and merchant headman (Śreṣthi-pramukha).

Mānsara Vastu Śāstra[371] tells that the business centre towns in ancient days were called Rājdhāni, Nagara, Pura, Kheta, Kharvata, Kubjaka and Pattana. Our poet has referred to Pura.[372]

All these evidences of Aśvaghoṣa are sufficient to indicate about the flourishing inland trade in India of those days.

Foreign Trade by Sea

Poet's reference to 'Nau'[373] in the ocean alludes to ships, which must have carried cargoes to far off lands.

Mahāvastu (III. p. 107) tells of merchants sailing in the sea in quest of wealth.

Foreign Evidence

Nearches refers to brisk trade and trading vessels used by Indians to navigate Red-Sea. Indian Navigators would scale the ocean and sing philosophical songs. Unable to contain himself, Danis, admired them and said that he could never believe "that any Indian was so-thoroughly conversant with the Greek language and could speak it with fluency".[374]

Pliny and Ibn Batuta, all speak of Indian boats and trading Indians. Hindus used earth type boat (AS. Res. VIII. 274).[375]

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368. S. XI.26.

369 S. XVIII. 1.
Vaṇika term is recorded in Pusikavagpriya inscription. (J.U.P. Hist. Soc. July, 1939, p. 4, line 1).
एतस्या पूर्वया धर्मकाससो वणिकस्य कुटुविनिये ।

370. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, p. 175.
Ibid., III.112-114 (p. 110) head of a guild, and head of merchants.

371. *Mānasara* X.37-42.

372. S. I.33.

373. S. XVII. 68.

374. Appolonius, *Travels*, p. 50.

375. Ibid., ft. n. 8 & 9, p. 50.
This type of boat is found in the Andhara ship coins II c. A.D. (Photo attached in my *Gupta Civilization*).

The picture of India's prosperous foreign trade can be had from Pliny's (Ist c. A.D.) description who calculated and got alarmed that "Fully a hundred million sesterces, equivalent according to Delmer to £ 70,000, a modern English money, were withdrawn from Roman Empire, to purchase useless oriental products, such as perfumes, unguents and personal ornaments."[376] This shows India supplied luxuries to the world, but in exchange demanded metallic wealth of the world.[377] No doubt Aśvaghoṣa has depicted even king's horses with gold ornaments and queen's litter made of gold. His remark that 'prosperity reigned there' also seems to be a fact.[378]

Conclusion

In brief, the prosperity as described by our poet, of Buddha's family depended mainly upon land and its products, forests and their products, mines (gold and silver etc.); ocean and rivers (pearls, gold etc.), and internal and external trade. This agrees with Arthaśāstra[379] and Mahāvastu's[380] conception of wealth i.e. the prosperity consisted of money, treasury, granary (cultivation), gold, silver, elephants, bulls, cows, goats, female and male slaves, and servants etc.

Army

Manu[381] advocates the protection of the subjects from thieves and enemies and constant alertness of the army.

As mentioned earlier, one of the special charges of the king was 'Army', according to Kautalya.

Mānava-Dharma Śāstra[382] assigns leadership in battle, justice and the welfare or protection of the people to the king. It adds : in fact the king was appointed mainly for this purpose.[383]

The same expression is found in Mahāvastu.[384] (Triśakuniya-Jātaka), where the owl-bird exhorts the king never to forget that the wheel of Dharma only moves, when he depends upon his military force.

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[376] Indian Shipping, p. 84.

[377] Ibid., p. 83.

[378] B. II.10.
For the brisk internal and external trade from Vedic times to our poet's time, please see my *Gupta Civilization.*

[379] *Artha.* V.2.

[380] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), III.56 (p. 57).

[381] *Manu.* VII.103, 111, 113, 143.

[382] Manava-Dharma-Śāstra (Comy. Govind Raja), p. 1526.
सैनापत्यं च राज्यं च दण्डनेतृत्वमेव च सर्वलोकाधिपत्यं च वेदशास्त्रविदर्हति ।

[383] Ibid., p. 1526.
सर्वज्ञनारायण. . . दण्डनेतृत्वं राजनियुक्तया ।

[384] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), I, pp. 225-35.

Aśvaghoṣa has recorded Śākyas, including Śuddhodana, as great warriors, according to Kṣatriyadharma.[385] Śākyas, when princes did practicing and testing their skill with wild elephants and wild beasts in rivalry,[386] and protected the hermitages of the sages with their valour.[387] When they became kings they protected their land (Kapilavastu) and kept the country clean of external enemies and thieves.[388]

King Śuddhodana waged war only against those who were the enemies of his race[389] and conquered his foes with valour and courage.[390] He cut down the insolence of his enemies with the help of his soldiers.[391] He never trembled before his foes.[392] The bow in his hands provided security to the oppressed.[393]

Army and Weapons

Warriors, as per our poet's description, were well equipped with armours and war weapons. They were skilled in the art of warfare, fearless and courageous. They plunged in the battlefield with great courage and resolution to conquer.[394] The king prized the soldiers and their services, as they were needed to subdue and conquer his foes,[395] though like a great seer, he gave up long cherished feuds.[396]

The soldiers used breast plates,[397] armours to protect their bodies and leather gloves[398] to protect their hands. The important war weapons mentioned in

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385. B. XIII.9.
386. S. I.35, 36.
387. S. I.27, 59.
388. S. I.27, 29 ; cf. S. I.45.
389. S. I.10.
390. S. II.29.
391. S. II.33.
392. S. II.2.
393. S. II.22.
394. S. V.32—अवद्धवमो सुधनु कृतास्त्रो जिगीषया शूर इवाहवस्थः ।
395. S. II.33.
396. B. II.43.
397. S. VIII.58, XIII.37, V.32.
     B. XIII.4.—वर्म ।
398. S. I.35.

Aśvaghosa's works are swords,[399] arrows[400] and bows,[401] lances,[402] javelins,[403] club[404] and axes.[405] Steel tipped arrows[406] and Iśīka[407] (special reed arrows) were also in use. These arrows were sometimes tipped with poison[408] and had feathers at the other end.[409]

History of the Weapons

Weapons

Swords are mentioned as 'Asi' by our poet. Daggers, scimitars, broad swords and rapiers, all belong to the same family of weapons. The standard size of the sword has been given[410] as thirty inches.

Bows and Arrows

Bow[411] had been the most favourite weapon in India since immemorial times. Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata are full of various references.

Arthaśāstra[412] also enumerates wood and horn, the material used for its

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399. S. XVIII.57—असि ; VIII.31—आसयो ।
B. XIII.18 ; VI.56—असि ।

400. S. II.23, 27 ; XVI.98 ; XIII.35—शराः,
Pushpavāṇa used by the god of love to excite sexual feelings. (B. XIII.17).
B. III.4, 8, 9, 47—बाणों, 46—चापेऽयवाणो, X.27—बाणै ।

401. S. V.32 ; VII.3 ; VIII.58 ; XIII.37 ; XVII.38, 40 ;
B. XIII.4, 8, 46 ; VI.61—धनुश्च ।

402. B. XIII.18.

403. B.XVIII.18.

404. B.XIII.18.
B. XIII.18, 26 गदा ; 37, 42—(गदां)
Clubs are used in warfare to smash the enemy with a single stroke. (Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculpture*, Madras Govt. Museum, p. 126).

405. B. XIII.39.

406. S. XVII.40.

407. S. XII.38.

408. B. V.I.—इवातिदिग्ध विद्धः ।

409. S. XIII.35—पुङ्ख शराः ।

410. Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculpture Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 124.

411. R. (Jain Press, Madras, 1933), I.67. 17.
Mbh.—Archery of Arjuna
B. XIII.—चापैऽप बाणोः ।

412. *Artha.* (Dr. S. Shastri, 1924), p. 121.

manufacture. Palmyra (Tala) and Bamboo (capa) was the special wood used for the purpose. The name of the bow depended upon the material or wood used. viz., Kodaṇa, Drums and Dhanuṣa. Capa and Kodaṇa get a special motion in Majjhima Nikaya. Māra's soldiers used Capa. Bows made of horn are mentioned in Jatakas (V. No. 522) and Dhammapāda Aṭṭakatha (I. p. 280).

An early sculpture from Amaravati (Plate XIV, fig. 2) shows spirited archers at work and the rows of arrows forming a sort of wall...one of the feats in Jātakas (V. No. 522) almost answer the description in the Parinibbāna Sutta (VI. 50, p. 131) of the fortification of Kuṣinara with arrow-walls or more strictly the walls of bows and spears of Mallas.[413]

Aṣtadiśa Jātaka enumerates various feats of archery, reminding us the archery of Arjuna in Mahābhārata. Simla state Museum Terracoṭa No. 75,113 of Kuṣāna period displays two warriors' backs. One warrior has sheath of arrows (Tarkaśa) a quiver responded from his left shoulder and the hand displays the attitude of holding a stretched bow. The other figure is holding a club or staff in one hand and a shield in the other. A little dagger tied with a string hangs on the hip of both the figures.[414]

Battles

There were challenges in the battle and the king fought with great valour and courage.[415] In war, (as today) the enemy warriors use to carry off ṭhe leaders (generally king). It was a matter of victory for the enemy, while grief for ṭhe master and his soldiers.[416]

According to Kautalya chariots, elephants and horses were used in war. Arthaśāstra[417] speaks about the varieties and measurements of the various types of chariots. It gives a graphic account of the capture of the elephants and their use.[418] Though Aśvaghoṣa has not mentioned, Appolonius (1st c. A.D.) records ṭhat elephants were used in war.[419]

A sculpture from Amaravati (P1. LVI) exhibits an elephant, encircling a horse with its trunk. The scene perhaps depicts an elephant killing one of the infantry and trampling to death under its feet the soldiers.[420]

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[413] Shivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculpture in Madras Govt. Museum*, pp. 126-27.

[414] Jātaka (E.B. Cowell Ed.) (Ref. Plate VII)

[415] S. II.5.

[416] B. VIII.16—विवेशशोकाभिहतो नृपक्षयं युधापिनीते रिपुणेव भर्तरि ।

[417] *Artha*. (TSS), Vol. I, Chs. 49-51, p. 337.
देवरथ पुष्परथ साङ्घामिक पारियाणिकपर पुराभियानिक कै नयिकाश्चस्थान कारयेत ।

[418] Ibid., Vol. I, Chs. 31 and 32, pp. 329-33.
हस्तियुद्धं नागरायणं साङ्ग्रामिकं च । (p. 333)

[419] Appolonius Travels, p. 10.

Arthaśāstra[421] apprises of the best qualities of the war horses, and the commentary tells that the best war horses were chosen from Kamboja, Vahilika and Saurāstra. The best and furious ones (Tikṣana) were trained for war and the mild ones were used for riding.

Aśvaghoṣa[422] also refers to horses being used in war and Kanthaka had won many laurels. Śuddhodana had a large retinue of horses which he had either acquired by his military power from his allies or by purchase.[423]

Extra Work of the Soldiers

Sometimes, the king deputed army soldiers to protect the land from enemies.[424]

Niti

According to Manu[425] if the enemy cannot be conquered by Sām, Dān and Bheda, then Danda should be implied. Otherwise the Smṛti gives preference to Sām (conciliation) and Danda (force of arms). Manu further adds that the king should always constantly remain engrossed in his efforts (Upāya) to achieve his end.[426]

Aśvaghoṣa[427] has referred to Sām, Dān, Bheda, Danda, Upāya and Niyama.

Aśoka, after the Kalinga war, adopted the policy of Dhamma-Vijaya, i.e. conquest of the subjects with love and conciliatory polity. King Śuddhodana is mentioned to have followed the same policy,[428] in addition to his victories in the battlefield.[429]

It was due to this good policy that he gave up long cherished feuds.[430] As a result the vassal princes became submissive,[431] and no one dare oppress, injure or

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420. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculpture in Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 123.
421. *Artha.* (TSS), Vol. I, Ch. 30.
422. B. V.75.
423. B. II.4.
424. S. I.45—यद्भूमेरभियोक्तृणां प्रयुक्तान्विनिवृत्तये ।
425. *Manu Smrti* VII.108, 109.
426. Ibid., VII.5, 21.
427. S. VV.61.
428. B. II.6, 40 and ft. n. by Johnston.
429. S. II. 27, 39.
430. B. II.43.
431. S. II.45.

terrify others.[432] The very sight of the king to the warriors and learned was fortunate.[433]

Elaborating this policy of the king, Buddhist writer, as our poet is, he compares Śuddhodana with a Chakravartin king who conquers by Dharma rather than with his military might.[434]

As discussed previously, Śuddhodana was a Chief or Raja of the Śākyan assembly. This may be interpreted as a reference to his domination over assembly-members (as they also had the title of Raja). And Chakravartin king's comparison with Śuddhodana may be a poetical expression.

Banners

The traditional flags referred to by our poet are Śakradhvaja[435] or Indra's banner called the Banner of Saci's lord as well. In order to show Siddhārtha not less than any god, the salutations done by the public to him (Siddhārtha) from wherever he passed, are compared with the salutations of the public to Indra's banner, in the procession of the festival of his (Indra's) banner".[436]

Siddhārtha when a child, is called 'Śākyakuladhvaja' by the sage Asita. The Purohita and Mantri also call by the same name.[437] The sage compares 'Śākyakuladhvaja' (Sidhārtha) with 'Śakradhvaja'. The Mantri and Purohita sitting close to the 'banner of Śākya race', are described to resemble the twin stars of "Punarvasu in conjunction with the Moon".

Indradhvaja or Śakradhvaja ceremony is like Rājasūya or Aṣvamedha of the sacred texts. Forty-third chapter of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṁhitā, under the Ch. 'Indradhvaja Sampata' or the glory of Indra's banner describes in 63 ślokas, Sthāpana, Pūjana and Visarjana of Indra's banner. Its origin is traced to the mythological war of the gods with demons (Devāsura saṁgrāma). Brahma at the request of gods, headed by Indra, spoke to Viṣnu to grant such a banner to them, the very sight of which would demoralise demons in the battlefield. Thus Viṣnu granted the banner to Indra. Indra put a host of enemies to death in the battlefield, with the aid of this banner ; 'which was erected aloft bedecked with the groups of small bells which bore wreaths, umbrellas, bells and ornaments' (Bṛhat. S. 43/1-7).

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[432] T. II.28.

[433] S. II.8.

[434] S. II.40, 32.

[435] B. I.58—शाक्यकुलध्वजस्य शक्रध्वजस्येव ।
(The simile is found in *Rām.* VI.41, 22).
B. VIII.73—शचिपतेर्वृत्त इवोत्सवे ध्वजः ।
B. III.24—refers to पुष्पकेतू or Kāma's flag.
B. V.3, 51 refer to white Karanaka flowers as emblem on a flag pole.

[436] B. III.12—देवानुयानध्वजवत्प्रणेमुः ।
S. IV.46—ध्वजमनुयान इवेन्द्रमर्च्यमानं ।

[437] B. I.58 ; B. IX.11.

According to Bṛhat Saṁhitā (43/8) Uparicharavasu (Upachārivasu), the king of Chedi was the first to perform the ceremony among human kings. Once Indra gave a bamboo staff to the king of Chedi who worshipped it within due ceremonies.[438] This version of Bṛhatsaṁhitā is supported by Mahābhārata (Ādi P.).

Thus 'Dhvaja' represents a standard, surmounted by the emblem of any god and also a flag-banner.

Barhut Stupa (end of second century B.C. or first half of the first century A.D.) represents "a royal personage with insignia on a support rail, as a winged being. Below the insignia on the staff is a capital of a style found at Persepolis".[439]

Similarly Plate XXI (Barhut, Beni Madhab Barua) depicts a female standard bearer, having a male figure as insignia ; and a male standard bearer, having the insignia of a man on the flag.

Similarly Vidisa 'Garuḍa dhvaja Stambha' of first century B.C. represents a standard (Dhvaja) with Garuḍa's emblem.[440]

Justice

Manu advises a king, in addition to the protection of the subjects from internal and external dangers, to protect them with efficient judicial system. He is advised to punish the culprits, examining their cases according to the rules of the Desh (country) and Kāla (time). Before announcing decision, he should scrutinise the cases in the evidence of Śāstras, as 'Danda' (justice of punishment) is Dharma and the protector.[441] The discipline of the universe works on 'Danda' (justice and punishments fear).[442]

Nārada[443] states that along with other duties, the duty of the king is the protection of his subjects with the administration of justice. He is required to look into the disputes of the people examine judicial quarrels and act on the principle of equity discarding love and hatred.

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[438] J. Numismatic S.I. Vol. XIX (1957), pp. 14-17.
उपरिचरस्यामरपो वसोर्ददौ छेदिपस्य वेणुमयाम् ।
यष्टिं तां स नरन्द्रो विधिवत्संपूजयामास ।।
(Br. S. 43/8)

[439] Sivaramamurti, *Art of India*, p. 11, plate 6.
A. Cunningham, *Barhut Stupa*, Plate XII. (the inner view of the gate).

[440] Garuḍa is known as the vehicle of Viṣnu and is the emblem on the flag-staff, of the god. He is assigned a very high place in Mahābhārata I.2, 3, 65. The writer is indebted to Shri M.C. Joshi, Director Numismatics, A.S.I., Delhi for this reference. (Ref. Plate VIII).

[441] *Manu.* VII. 16-18.

[442] *Manu.* VII. 19-24.

[443] Madhukar M. Patkar, 'Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana', p. 38 ff. gives the details of the administration of justice.

Thus according to early Dharamaśāstras,[444] the highest court of justice was the king's court and he administered justice according to tradition with the advise of their well-versed in the knowledge.

Arthaśāstra also states that the judicial functions rest with the king. The king is to decide the cases himself, being the highest court of appeal. This is to be done without unnecessary delay. It refers to lower courts 'Kaśodhana' under the 'pradishṭāras' also.[445]

Aśvaghoṣa and Administration of Justice

Aśvaghoṣa has maintained the tradition. As already referred he has mentioned Sām, Dān, Bheda, Danda, Niyama and Upāya.[446] He believes justice (Danda) is one of the ways of conquering the subdued enemies. So a king must have sound knowledge of the administration of justice.[447]

Since in administration the severity of action predominates,[448] a king, who delight in quietitude, his kingdom collapses. Quietitude and severity are incompatible.[449]

The justice given by king Śuddhodana was impartial and without delay.[450] The culprits were inflicted with the punishment of imprisonment[451] and released on surety for a definite period.[452]

King and Justice

Justice seems to depend upon the nature of the king as well. King Śuddhodana, did not maltreat the few evil-doers even though they deserved cruel punishment.[453] So much so that although certain guilty persons deserved execution, he did not adjudge them worthy to die, "nor did he even regard them with anger". However they were neither left scotfree nor were inflicted very mild punishments.[454] For example the officer incharge who failed to keep the roads free of afflicted, on the day of Siddhārtha's visit to the grove, was not punished severely, although he deserved stern action for the non-performance of his duty.[455] In fact the king gave preference to justice, which he considered holier than sacrifice. (B. II.39)

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[444] G. *DS*. XI.9, 19-25.
Manu. XII.106-113.

[445] *Artha*. IV, pp. 32-33.
Cf. B.P. Sinha, *Readings in Artha*, pp. 27-28.

[446] S. XII.61.

[447] S. XVII.12.

[448] B. IX.48—दण्डप्रधान क्व च राजधर्मः ।

[449] B. IX.49.

[450] B. II.39.

[451] S. VIII.29 ; II.21 ; B. XI.53.

[452] S. XI.60 ; XII.13.

[453] S. II.21—क्लेशार्हानपि कांश्चित्तु नाक्लिष्ट क्लिष्टकर्मणः ।

The poet, according to his habit again goes in philosophical thinking and explains : "The mind of a Yogin, who aspires for salvation is his strong city, the way of knowledge his administration of justice, the virtues his allies, the vices his enemies, and salvation the land for whose conquests he strives". (S. XVII.12).

Death Sentence

Manu and Arthaśāstra refer to death sentence or capital punishment. The code of Manu prescribe death sentence even for theft.[456]

As referred to previously,[457] Aśvaghoṣa also describes how a culprit when dragged to the place of execution, behaved like a mad man.[458] This shows that death sentence existed in our poet's age.

Property

After the death of a property-owner, the wealth or property was inherited by his legal heirs.[459] The king did not even touch the property of others. He avoided, as one avoids touching a snake.[460]

For advise in all the matters, king according to tradition, relied upon the experienced and aged ones.[461]

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[454] B. II.42.

[455] B. III.49—मार्गस्य शौचाधिकृताय च चुक्रोश रुष्टोऽपि च नोग्रदण्ड ।

[456] *Manu*. VIII.
Artha. (TSS) II. Ch. 13. (death sentence is inflicted for entering a goldsmith's shop, simile).

[457] Ft. n. 342 or B. II.42.

[458] S. V.42—प्राणायमानश्च यथा वधाय मत्तो हृसेश्च प्रलेपश्च वध्यः ।

[459] B. VI.20.

[460] S. II.22.

[461] S. II.26.

5

Social Life

SOCIETY

The society in the times of Aśvaghoṣa was traditional consisting of four castes. Āpstamba DS[1] mentions four castes : Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras. Viṣnu DS.[2] describes the duties of these four castes and tells that the first three were called twice-born (*Dvija*) II.2. The common qualities of the four castes according to this Dharma Sūtra,[3] are "Forbearance, restraint, purity, liberality, self-control, not to kill (any living being), obedience towards one's Gurus, visiting places of pilgrimage, sympathy with the affilicated" "straightforwardness, freedom from covetousness, reverence towards gods and Brāhmaṇas and freedom from anger".[4]

Traditional Duties of Brahmaṇa

Brāhmaṇās are the highest caste according to Dharmasūtras. Manu,[5] Dharma

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[1] I.4.

[2] 1.17.

[3] Viṣnu DS, II.16.

[4] Ibid. 1I.17.

[5] *Manu* X.75—अध्यापनभन्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा दानप्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्माण्यग्रजन्मनः ।
Ibid. I.88.

Śāstras[6] and Arthāśāstra[7] assign six-fold duties of learning and teaching sacred literature, performing and making others perform sacrificises, and giving and accepting charity, to them.

This account agrees with Pāli Text's accounts : Sabhā Sūtta[8] states that Brahmaṇas were expected to observe five Dhammas viz. Saccam (truthfulness), tapam (austerities), Brahmachariyam (pure moral life), ajjhenaṃ (study), and cāgam (sacrifice). There is a reference to the Brāhmaṇas learning Savitti (Gayatri) consisting of three padas and twenty-four words (akṣaras) in Sundarika-Bhāradvāja Sūtta[9] (and Ṛgveda).

In Brāhmaṇdhammikasūtta[10], Buddha, being asked, has narrated the qualities of an ancient Brāhmaṇa. The picture is : the old sages (ṛsis) were self-restraint. They exercised self-control and avoided the five pleasures of sense (283). Their wealth was not gold or treasure but meditation (284). They lived on the food, which was given to them, and worn clothes, bed etc. offered to them, reverently (285). They did not marry but practised juvenile chastity for forty-eight years (289). The best of them observed strict Brahmacharya (292). They did not kill cows in sacrifice (294). Such were the Brāhmaṇaṣ welcomed and respected at every door (287).

But by the time of Buddha Brāhmaṇas deviated from their ancient Brāhmaṇical customs.[11] They began to covet wealth, women, and items of luxury such as chariots yoked with stately horses, cows, beds of clothes, etc. They suggested to the kings to perform various sacrifices, such as aśvamedha, puriṣamedha, sammāpasa, and Vakāpeyya and received great wealth (of cows, beds, garments adorned

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6. Brāhmaṇa studied and taught sacred literature (AD. I.12, II.5.2; G. XVIII.31; X.1; Viṣnu. II.5 (*SBE*. VIII)

   The duty of the Brāhmaṇas was to teach Vedas (Vi. *DS*. II.5, G. XI.1) G. X.4 mentions professional teachers also, *Manu* III.156 condemns them and sacrifice for others and receive alms (Vi. II.5) offering sacrifices (for themselves) and giving alms, (G. XI.1) performing sacrifices for others and receiving alms (G. X.2). Va. (VI.31.32) does not consider a Brāhmaṇa destitude of sacred learning worthy of being a recipient of charity of cows, gold, clothes, horses, land or sesamum.

7. *Artha*. (*TSS*) I.3, p. 29—स्वधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्याध्ययनमध्यापनं यजनं याजनं दान प्रतिगृहश्चेति ।

8. MN., VI.

9. Sn. (*SBE* X) 456.

   Tam Sāvittim pukkāmi
   Tipadam katuvīsatakkharam.
   (*Ṛgevda* III.62.10)

10. Sn. (*SBE* X), p. 46 ff.

    Manu (III.1). Thirty-six years should be spend in the Āśrama of Guru practicing chastity and studying Vedas.

11. Sn. (Brāhmaṇadharmaka Sūtta), p. 47.

women and well made chariots drawn by noble horses, carpets in varigated colours (303), beautiful palaces divided into compartments etc. (304 ff).[12]

Sūtta-Nipāta (300) tells how "attended with a number of cows and combined with a flock of beautiful women, Brahmaṇas became covetous." (SBE. X, p.49).

Brāhmaṇa Kutadanta lived like a king, having full powers over a royal domain presented to him as a gift by king Bimbasāra of Magadha. (Kutadanta Sūtta (DN. II), p. 173 ff)

This degradation appears to have continued unabated even upto the time of our poet. Brāhmaṇas seem to have dominated the society and caste-distinction seems to have created a wide gulf between different Kulas or between man and a man.

Aśvaghoṣa who himself was a convert Buddhist and hence had deep knowledge of Brāhmaṇism defining a true Brāhmaṇa says,[13] 'Tapsa Brāhmaṇo tato Brahmacharyena Brāhmṇa'. The whole of Vajrasūci, he has written defining a true Brāhmaṇa and depricating caste system.[14] He has quoted ancient works, defining a Brāhmaṇa and his qualities.

Appolonius'[15] narration of a Brāhmaṇa to Egyptians is perhaps about these ancient Brāhmaṇas. He says, "I have seen Brāhmaṇas who dwell on the earth in places fortified and yet without walls and who possess nothing yet all things."

Aśvaghoṣa and Brāhmaṇa

The main duty of the Brāhmaṇas is to learn Vedas, Vedāṅgas and engage in six occupations (only admissible to Brāhmaṇas) and repeat formulas for the tranquillity and prosperity of others.[16] They perform austerities and sacrifices.[17] Their fame rests in learning, good conduct and eloquence.[18] They [received rich gifts from king Śuddhodana, which included gold and cattle including cows and gold gilded horse).[19]

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[12] Ibid., p. 49.
For the position of Brāhmaṇas according to D. Sutras Supra—Vajrasūci, Ch. I.

[13] *VS.* 25, 27.

[14] Supra—Vajrasūcī.

[15] *A. Travels*, p. 35.

[16] S. I.44—वेदवेदाङ्गविदुषस्तस्थुषः षटसु कर्मसु ।...विप्रानजीजपन् ।
S. XVIII.1—द्विजो बाल इवाप्तलाभः ।

[17] B. VII.4,13.
S. III.2, S. I.11,16.

[18] B. I.31—विप्राश्चख्याता श्रुतशीलवाग्मि ।
S. I.27.

[19] B. I.48,84; II.36.
S. II.31,40.

Conclusion

Thus the Brāhmaṇas of Aśvaghoṣa's time enjoyed the traditional rights and privileges in the society which are based on the 'Varṇāśrama Dharma'. This account agrees with Mahāvastu (I, p. 245, LV. VII, p. 20) and Saddharma Pundarika (XVII.59). The difference between Aśvaghoṣa's works and contemporary works is only that Aśvaghoṣa has bravely and boldly taken the pen to depricate caste system in *Vajrasūcī*, while others have simply followed the tradition.

Kṣatriyas

The second important caste in the Brāhamaṇical[20] and Buddhist literature is Kṣatriyas. Mhv. II (Ch. I)[21], LV (Ch. III)[22] and Tibetan sources,[23] all record the legend of Buddha's decision to take birth in a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya family and not in a low caste's house.

Kṣatriyas are renowned for their bravery and their main task was to protect (Vi. DS. II.12) the world. Arthaṣāstra[24] assings the duty of protecting, fighting and conquering the hostile armies, to Kṣatriyas, though it requires them : to be well versed in study, performing sacrifices and giving charity.

Aśvaghoṣa and Kśatriyas

Ikṣvāku princes, who later on accepted the Śakya Gotra (S.I.24), went to dwell in the hermitage of sage Kapila, who became their preceptor (S.I.22). They protected the hermitages of divine seers. Our poet describes that the forest assumed the glory of sacred peace through the acts of the Brāhmaṇas and protection through the Kṣatriya heroes.[25]

Thus according to Aśvaghoṣa Śākyas were Kṣātriyas. It was due to the protection given by Kṣatriyas that the Munis[26] (S. X.7), Rājṛsis (royal seers) (S. V.38), Dev ṛsis (divine seers), who lived in the forests hermitages on the hills or in the caves surrounded by trees, creepers, bowers, rivers, ponds of lotus or springs etc. among the forest dwellers, meditated undisturbed with unstirred senses.[27]

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[20] Manu and Dharma Sutras.

[21] When Kṣatriyas dominate the earth, the Bodhisattvas are born in their family, when the Brāhmaṇas dominate, they are born in a Brāhmaṇa family (*Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II. p. 1).

[22] न बोधिसत्वा हीनकुलेषूद्यन्ते ।

....

अघ तर्हि कुलद्वये एवोपपद्यन्ते
ब्राह्मण कुले क्षत्रिय कुले च ।।

(LV., p. 14)

[23] "Dul-va. III.i.446 records that the future Buddha in Tuşita heaven examined the proper family, the country and the time to take birth."

(Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 18)

[24] *Artha* (*TSS*) I.3, p. 29—क्षत्रियस्याध्ययनं यजनं दानं शस्त्रजीवो भूतरक्षणं च ।

[25] S. I.27.

Kṣatriyas

Śuddhodana, the Kṣatriya king, reduced the foes to ashes with his courage. (S. II.39). He honoured the learned and warriors.[28]

According to Arthaśāstra the army consisting of Kṣatriyas was the best.[29]

Vaiśyas

They are third in importance in the social order. Dharma Sutras[30] define their occupation, as agriculture, trade tending cattle and lending money at interest.

Arthaśāstra[31] tells that they were engaged in studying, performing sacrifices, making gifts, growing seeds or agriculture, keeping or rearing animals and trading.

Milindapanha (178) advocates for them the duties of trade and agriculture.

Aśvaghoṣa narrating the birth, of four castes (according to Mānava-dharma) says, "Brāhmaṇa is born from the mouth, Kṣatriya from the arms, Vaiśya from the thighs, while the Śudra is born from the feet (of the Brāhma).[32]

Our poet has neither elaborated on the duties nor on the status of this class.

Śudras

They are the lowest in the social order and according to Manu[33] and Arthaśāstra their main duty was to serve the three upper Varṇas. Perhaps it is for this reason that Mānava-Dharma records that they are born from the feet of Brāhma.[34]

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[26] S. X.7.
शान्तोन्द्रिये तत्र मुन्नौस्थिते तु सविस्मयं दिक्षु ददर्श ननदः ।
दरीश्च कुञ्जांश्च वनौकसश्च विभूष्णं रक्षणमेव चाद्रेः ।।

[27] S. VII.20, X.7.
These forests were infested with Kirātas who lived on hunting. (B. III.12, S. X.12).

[28] S. II.8.

[29] *Artha*. (*TSS*), VI.1.11.

[30] G. (*SBE*. II) X.49.
Vi (*SBE*. VII), II.13.

[31] *Artha*. (*TSS*.) I.3, p. 29—वैश्यस्याध्ययनं यजनं दानं कृषिपशुपाल्ये वाणिज्यां च ।

[32] V.S. 31.

[33] *Manu*, I.91, *Manu* X. 123-25—एकमेव शूद्रस्य प्रभु कर्मसमादिशत् ।
...वर्णानां शुश्रूषामनसूयया ।।91।।

Artha. (*TSS*.) I,3. p. 29—शूद्रस्य द्विजातिशुश्रूषावार्ता कारुकुशील कर्मं च ।

Āpstamba DS (I.25.13)[35] gives the status of certain beasts and birds to a Śudra. The killer of a crow, a chamelion, a peacock, a Brāhmaṇi-duck, a swan, the vulture called Bhasa, a frog and ichneumona. a musk raṭ or a dog are prescribed the same prāyaścita as the murderer of a Śudra. According to Gautama DS (X.50) Śudras belong to a class which has one birth only. At a much later stage, Arthaśāstra records that they could not be initiated to renunciation and were denied the opportunity of education and performing Vedic sacrifices.[36]

The most pitious part of the story is that on one hand Dharma Sūtras relegate a Śudra to abject humiliation and on the other hand permit a Brāhmaṇa to take things from him required for the marriage of his daughter, in case he is unable to supply them.[37] Gautama DS. (X.62) records that it was the duty of a Vaisya to serve a man of higher caste in distress.

Dr. Raj Bali on the basis of Amarkoṣa, has divided Śudras into four categories : Avarṇas (low caste) and those who suffer at the hands of society ; Vṛaṣalas or those who have discarded dharma, Jaghanja or those who have been Śudras from the day of creation (being born from the feet of the creator).

Aśvaghoṣa and Śudras

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned a class of society known as Chandalas[38] or outcastes and Śudras.[39] According to Arthaśāstra[40] they lived outside the walls of city and had separate wells for using water.

Buddhism did not believe in caste system.[41] Our poet has depricated caste system and has given preference to the life of renunciation (V.S. 37,45) based upon the qualities of Śila and Tapa (V.S. 25,27). To quote his stand Vaiśampāyana says to

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[34] V.S. 31.

[35] SBE. II, p. 81.

[36] B.P. Sinha, *Artha*., p. 134, V. S.2,

[37] G. (*SBE*. II), XVIII, 24 & 25.

[38] V. S. V. Bhart Ed. 18— चणडलौऽपिहि... । (p. 53)

V.S. Ibid., 40—चण्डालोपि वृत्तस्थो ब्राह्मण: । (p. 10)

V.S. Ibid., 10—चाण्डाली, 26.

S. VIII.44—श्व पंच

[39] V.S. op. cit., 39—ब्रूयां शेषा: शूद्रा ... ।; 43, 44 ; 21 Y, 12 K, N. 5.

[40] *Artha*. (TSS), Vol. II, Ch. IV, p. 49.

[41] There is a legendary story, about Ānanda, Buddha's disciple. Once he asked a woman for water He was told that she was a low caste. Thereupon Ānanda said, "I asked for water, and not for thy caste." (*Bible of the World*, Note 1075, p. 1374).

Yudhiṣthira : 'Even a Chandala, possessed of good conduct is a Brāhmaṇa' (V.S. 40). To corroborate his points he, quoting Śukra says : "It is not birth but the good qualities that are the source of good. Even if a Chandala possess them, he is recognised as a Brāhmaṇa by the gods." (V.S. 18)

Āśramas

Hindus right from the Vedic age followed a four-stages pattern of life. Arthaśāstra records, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas observed Varṇa Āśramdharmas[42] i.e. Brahmacharya, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa and each is assigned a period of twenty:five years. Kautalya has specified the duties of each āśrama. According to him, "strict adherence to these Āśramas "leads to endles bliss and heaven."

Aśvaghoṣa and Āśramas

Aśvaghoṣa[43] in his works has alluded to all the four stages of life. He attributes[44] pleasure to youth, wealth to middle and Dharma to old age. He refers[45] to proper time for giving oneself to the objects and senses earning wealth and going to forests according to scriptures. It infers to a period of twenty-five years of span (of life) for each period.

Brahmacharya

It is the first stage, and is a period of youth for study and training.

Kautalya[46] advocates a very disciplined life to a Brahmachārin. He prescribes learning (of religious and other literature), offering sacrifices (Agnihotra and Rudrābhiṣeka), begging food, observing strict rules of discipline, and living with Guru or in the absence of Guru with Guruputra (guru's son) or colleagues.

Such a disciplined Brahmchāri is lauded in Atharvaveda.[47] With the power

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[42] *Artha.* I.3, pp. 29-30.

[43] B. X.33, 61.

[44] B. X.34 (Hopkins for the II. line quotes *Mbh.* III. 1304. Johnston ft. n.).
B. IX.47.

[45] B. IX.38.
B. IX.17.

[46] *Artha.* (TSS) I.3, p. 30—ब्रह्मचारिणः स्वध्यायोऽग्नि कार्याभिषेकौ भेक्षाव्रतत्वमाचार्ये प्राणन्तिकी
वृत्तिस्तदभावे गुरुपुत्रे सब्रह्मचारिणि व ।

[47] *Artha.* V. XI.5, p. 70.
ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा राजा राष्ट्रं विरक्षति ।
अचार्यो ब्रह्मचर्येण ब्रह्मचारिणमिच्छते ।। 17 ।।
ब्रह्मचर्येण तपेसा देवा मृत्युमुपाघन्त ।
इन्द्रो ब्रह्मर्येण देवेभ्यः स्वराभरत् ।। 19 ।।

(Tap) of Brahmacharya, he protects his Raṣtra, with this Tap even the Devas conquered the death and Indra infused power amongst the devas.[48]

Aśvaghoṣa attaches so much importance to 'Brahmcarya' that he says 'Brahmacaryeṇa Brāhmaṇa' i.e. he who is Brahmacāri (self-controlled or disciplined) is a Brāhmaṇa. About Brahmacāri, the poet quoting Vaiśampāyana, says, the state which a Brahmacārin attains, if he practices abstinence from the objects of the senses even for a night, can not be obtained by others with thousand sacrifices (of animals).[49]

Brahmacarya here alludes to complete mastery of the self and a disciplined person.

Gṛihastha or married life

This is the second stage of life. Telling the duties (dharma) of this stage, Kautalya advocates[50] a householder to earn according to his own gotra or to get married with one of equal status and caste, and to eat, after-giving (in charity) to gods, pitras, guests (Athiti) and servants.

Aśvaghoṣa has not elaborated much on this stage of life as householders were quite common, who enjoyed happy married life during the days of king Śuddhodana.[51] King Śuddhodana performed the duties of a householder and king, according to tradition.[52] Prince Siddhārtha was advised to enjoy lordship over the earth and go to forest at the proper time, as prescribed or approved by the Śāstras.[53]

Vānaprastha

Kautalya[54] defines this period as of complete renunciation or asceticism. He prescribes sleeping on the ground, oblations to fire, coils in the hair, honour and puja (worship) of gods, pitras, guests and the residence in the forest.

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48. V.S. 28.
49. V.S. 50.
50. *Artha.* (TSS) I.2, p. 29.—गृहस्थस्य स्वकर्मजीवस्तुल्यैरसमानर्षिभि वैर्वाह्यमृतुगामित्वं देवपित्रतिथि-भृत्येषु त्यागः शेषभोजनं च ।
51. B. II.13—पत्नि पतिर्वा महिषी पतिं वा परस्परं न व्यभिचेरतुश्च।
    For details—infra—marriage and Aśvaghoṣa vide customs and manners Ch.
52. Infra—Kingship and Administration Ch.
53. B. IX.17.
54. *Artha.* (*TSS.*) I.3, p. 30. वाणप्रस्थस्य ब्रह्मचर्यं भूमौ शय्या जटाजिन धारणमग्निहोत्राभिषेको देवता पित्रतिथिपूजा वत्यश्चहारः ।
    Ajanta pl. XXVIII depicts a Brāhmaṇa copper coloured with shavenhead and a single lock on his head. (*JASB.* V. 1836, p. 558)

Viṣnu Smṛti (Ch. 95) lays great stress on the extreme self-mortification of the Vānaprasthis. It prescribes the practice of 'five austerities' e.g. (i) sitting in the midst of fire on four sides with the sun overhead in summer, (ii) lying under the sky in the rainy reason, (iii) and putting on wet clothes in the dewy season." etc.[55]

Sanyās

It is the 4th (final) stage of life. Dharam Sutras assign complete renunciation to this period of life. Āpspanda[56] D.S. lays, "He shall live without fire, without a house, without pleasure, without protection, remaining silent and uttering speech only on the occasion of the daily recitation of Veda, begging so much food only in the village as will sustain his life, he shall wander about, neither caring for this world nor for heaven."

Vānaprastha or the forest dweller's life and Sanyāsa or the life of complete renunciation are more or less the same.

Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddhist poet, has developed mostly on youth and old age periods of life. The cause may be that due to the rise of Buddhism many a men had taken the life of asceticism and wandering.

Youth

In the words of the poet, it is a restless and deceptive period. It is given to the objects of senses and is heedless intolerant and shortsighted (B. I.37). However hardly checked, hold is difficult.[57] This rebellious and unbalanced time of youth is a target for the god of love.[58] However, in another context it is said that the delights of youth are to be enjoyed.[59]

The above description of youth is due to age-factor. But Buddha is made to say that he does not believe in it. He says that there is no fixed rule. In practice it is seen that "old age too may be volatile and youth constant.[60] Just as death drags the world away, against its will at all the stages of life."[61] So whether old or young or a child, one should act to purify and achieve cessation of activity.[62]

This leads one to construe that Aśvaghoṣa on one hand has shown respect to

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55. S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, pp. 195-96.
56. A. (*SBE.* II), II. 21.10.
57. B. X.35.
58. B. X.38—कामस्य पूर्वंहिवय शख्यं ।
    न शक्यते रक्षितुमिन्द्रियेभ्य: ।।
59. B. V.33.
60. B. XI.60.
61. B. XI.61.
62. B, XI.62.

the ancient tradition of asceticism, which and on the other hand, he has brought forth the changing attitude of society towards life and its aim. This he has done perhaps to indicate the influence of Buddha's teechings.

Old Age

When old, one has no capacity for enjoying the pleasure of life.[63] It is "given to reflection, groves and intent on stability; with little labour it acquires holy tranquillity, partly from incapacity for doing anything else and partly from shame." So this is the age when one can truly attain dharma.

King Śuddhodana told Siddhārtha, that it was his time to renounce the world and crown him.[64] In yore, beings of incomparable nature, after enjoying the worldly pleasures, when a son was born to them left for forest.[65]

POPULATION

Aśvaghoṣa, essentially a Buddhist poet, has given preference to forest dwellers and life of renunciation over all other modes. His description of city life mostly pertains to the royal and upper-classes.[66] Very little is said about the middle and lower classes, except for only a few stray references.

Forest Population

The population of the forests and mountain torrents consisted of Brāhmaṇa seers, royal seers, celestial seers,[67] Ṛsis, Munis[68] and Bhikṣus[69] who lived in the hermitages (Āśrama). The primitive inhabitants of the mountain were Kinnaras[70] and Kinnaris[71] along with Apsarās[72] and Kirātas,[73] who lived in caves.

Himalayas, which is a paradise for Aśvaghoṣa (S.X. canto), was full of divine seers (S.X. 5) and was thronged and frequented by Carnas and Siddhas (S. X. 6, 7).

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[63] B. X.34.

[64] B. V.32.

[65] B. II.56.

[66] S. I.48.

[67] B. VII.39—महर्षि राजर्षि सुरर्षिजुष्टः पुण्यः समीपे हिमवान् हि शैलः ।
S. X.5.—देवर्षिमन्तं ।

[68] S. III.2—विविधनियमाश्रयान्मुनीन् ।

[69] S. VII.20.

[70] S. I.48, X.13—दरीचरीणामति सुन्दरीणां, ...किन्नरिनां ।

[71] S. IV.10.

[72] S. X.33.

[73] S. X.12.

In short, the inhabitants of forests are described as heavenly beings, who thronged the groves, which were full of trees which cast flowers throughout the year (B. I.24).

Hermitages and Population

Since time immemorial hermitages are built in the lapse of Himalayas or on the slopes of the mountains full of forests, such places, being lonely and deserted, promote the atmosphere of peace and calmness which suit the life of renunciation.[74] According to Jātaka,[75] Boddhisattva took his abode in dread thickest forest so that his vigil might not be disturbed.

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned the hermitage of sage Kapila (S. I.5), Bhṛgu (B. VI. 1), Arāḍa (B. VIII. 54), Udraka (B. XII.85) and royal seers of Gaya (B. XII.89).

Sage Kapila's Āśrama

To practice long enduring austerities the sage Kapila Gautama built his hermitage on the slopes of the Himalayas. It is described as the domain and temple of asceticism (S.I. 5). Here he trained the Ikṣvāku princes who, later on laid the foundation of Śākya dynasty.

Hermitage of Bhṛgu's decendant

This hermitage is described to be situated in the Terai forest region of Himalayas, where Chandaka left Bodhisattva.[76] Here lived a large number of Brāhmaṇa ascetics who led a very hard life. Describing the austerities of these sages, it is narrated that some of them lived on uncultivated food (B. VII.14), some lived like birds, by eating whatever they could pick up from the ground, some grazed grass like the deer, some lived on air only and they remained so motionless in their posture of meditation, that wind piled up earth round them (turned into anthills by the forest wind),[77] 'some gained their subsistence by laborious pounding with stones', some ate what they husked by their teath and some cooked or ate the left-cover.[78] To add to the torture "some of them soaked their matted hair twice and offered

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74. B. VIII.13, VII.32—तपां प्रशान्तं स वनं ।
    S. XVI.86—ऐतान्यरणयभित: शिवानि योगानुकूलन्यजनेरितानि ।
    B. V.2—Only those adopt forest life who long for peace.
75. J. (Cowell's ed.) I.94.
    Cf. B. VIII.68.
76. B. VI.1.
    According to *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones), p. 160. Chandaka parted from Buddha from Anomiya a place twelve Yojnas from Kapilavastu and not far away from the Āśrama of Vaśiṣtha.
77. B. VII.15 and ft. note by Johnston.
78. B. VII.16.
    Please see Food and Drink, Ch. for details.

oblations to Agni with sacred texts, others plunged in the water and lived with fishes and their bodies were bitten by turtles. (B. VII.17)

Some of the Brāhmaṇa ascetics used tree-bark for clothes and remained lying in ashes.[79]

The only wealth of these acsetics was a 'Kamandala' or a water pot in their hand.[80]

Such severe austerities were performed by the ascetics to attain paradise. Siddhārtha, though before enlightenment, himself practiced severe penances, did not approve of them. Our poet, recording Buddha's advise to Nanda says :

"Lowest class of men undertakes action for this world only. The next class for this and the world above, the middle man works for results in the hereafter only while the man of superior character acts for freedom from birth." (S. XVIII 55)

Here again our poet has upkept the tradition of asceticism and at the same time has recorded the changing attitude of society towards life. It, according to him, was due to Buddha's teachings.

Describing the effect on the atmosphere and religious activities of these ascetics, our poet writes[81] : "It was in full activity, a workshop as it were of dharma, with the transference elsewhere of the blazing sacrificial fires, with its throngs of seers, who had completed their ablutions and with the shrines of gods humming with the din of prayers."

Hermitage of Arāḍa

Sage Arāḍa has been described as having his hermitage in Vindhyakoṣta.[82] But Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu (II. 191.1, 118.2) place it in the great city of Vaiśāli. Aśvaghoṣa is silent, while other sources tell that he had 300 disciples.[83]

After visiting sage Arāḍa's hermitage, Siddhārtha reached the hermitage of sage Udraka (B. XII. 85) and then the Nagari hermitage of the royal seers of Gaya (B. XII. 89).

Hermitages and their surroundings

In addition to man-made forests, whetever description of nature and its beauties our poet has given that is about the surroundings of these hermitages on the Himalaya or his paradise.

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[79] B. VII.51.
I-Tsing has also mentioned such ascetics.
Y-Chwang calls them Śaivites (I-Tsing, Intro., p. 2).

[80] B. VII.51—कुण्डैकहस्तो ।

[81] B. VII.32. The same scene is depicted in S. I.11 in the hermitage of Kapila Gautama. Agnihotṛ in the sense of 'Sacrificial fire' is rare. (Johnston ft. n.)

[82] B. VII.54, XII.1 cf. XII.73 and ft. n. (Johnston).

[83] T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, p. 248.

These abodes of the ascetics were surrounded by trees, creepers, fragrant flowers,[84] lotus ponds and had excessive natural beauty of fruit and flower laden trees.[84a] Above all, the fragrance of saffron scented the atmosphere.[84b] Constant Yajña (Havana) produced a canopy of smoke, which gave the impression of clouds. (S. I.6) Besprinkled blossoming Madhvi and Lava flowers along with deer looked as if they were the worship offerings before god. (S. I.12)

The part of the Himalaya, though thronged with ascetics looked empty as whosoever lived there was self-controlled and peaceful (S. I.10). The only sound one could hear was of oblations burning in the sacred fire, of chanting hermits and of oblations at the bathing places. (S. I.11)

There were ponds for bathing purposes, fruits and Nivara (coarse rice) to eat (S. I.9,10; X. 20,25), flower fragrance to please the mind (S. X.23), pleasure groves with Apsaras to relax the mind of the Yogis (S. X.18,33,35) who looked upon them with disconcern. (S. III.17)

The only other dwelling places near the hermitages were caves where kinnars and kinnaris lived.[85]

Influence of Austerities

In the times of our poet, the religious effect of peace and calmness prevailed over social life. Even the animals and birds also could not remain immune from the influence of tranquillity. Here ferocious animals roamed together (S. I.13), peacocks relaxed (S.I.8), monkeys wandered (S. X.14) and tigers moved stealthly (S. X.10). The deer slept in perfect peace and birds sat in peace,[86] over the ground which was covered with sharp blades of darbha and kuṣa grass,[87] and peacocks cried in delight. (B. VII.5).

Such were the surroundings of the hermitages in the forests of Himalayas where sages with unstirred senses (S. X.7), balanced and controlled mind practiced Yoga. (S. I.10, X.7)

Dhammapada[88] also narraṭes that Yogis and passionless find great delight in forests, where the world finds no delight—for they look not for pleasure.

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[84] S. I.5, 6, 7.

[84a] S. I.9, X. 21, 22; VIII.16.

[84b] S. I.7.

[85] S. X.13—दरी चरीणामति सुन्दरीणां किन्नरिनां ।
Kinnaras used to live in the Mandara mountain. (S. I.48).

[86] B. VI.2, VII.2, Areana of deer.

[87] B. VI.28 dūrba grass.
B. VII.4 kuśa grass.

[88] *SBE*. X.99.

Bhikṣu or Parivrājaka

The Term Bhikṣu[89] or Parivrājaka[90] is used for both Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist mendicants. The religious books of Brāhmaṇas prescribe proper-time or stage of life (old) to adopt the kind of life, while in Buddhism there is no such restriction.

Buddhism and Bhikṣu

According to Mahāvagga's Pabbaggasūtta (7,12) Bhikṣu is the first stage of monkhood. Here the term 'Bhikṣu' is used for Siddhārtha. The monks, in the first stage are also called 'Navak Bhikṣu' and the first rite of initiation is called Prabajja (Pravrajya) or Pabbagga.

But at a later stage Bhikṣus came to be distinguished from the wanderers general-body, who came to be known as Paribbagakas or Pravrājaka (Nayyo etē bhikkhū paribbājakati i.e. they are not Bhikṣus but pravrājakas).[91]

Pattimokha[92] also records "A Bhikṣu, who with his own hands delivers food or drink to a naked ascetic or a prabbājaka is guilty of Pacittya offence" (Yo pana bhikkū acelakassa vā paribbājakāya vā sahattha khadniyam vā bhojaniyam vā dādeyya pacittiyam).

Thus in later Buddhist texts 'Pravrājika' is inferior in rank to a Bhikṣu. Dr. Sukumar Dutt attributes this change due to the developed and settled life in the monasteries.[93]

Buddhism and Bhikṣu's Life

Buddha had always been particular about the disciplinary life of Bhikṣus. So all the Buddhist works in general and Bhikkuvagga of Dhammapada,[94] Somparibbaganiya Sūtta of Cullavagga, Tuvitaka Sūtta and Urgasūtta of Sutta-Nipāta and Śilakhanda, called Teviggasūtta of Dīgha Nikāya are the sayings attributed to Buddha regarding the qualities, duties and right path for a Bhikṣu.

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[89] The dictionary meanings of Bhikṣu is a beggar (भिक्ष + उ).
(Skt.—Shabda—Kaustūbha, T. Jha, p. 830).

[90] Parivrājaka (परि वृज् + ण्वुल् or क्विप् or घञ् (कर्तृरि), the one who renounces the worldly life and becomes a mendicant.
B. XIII.10. भिक्षावृत्ति । राजर्षिकुले । In ancient days mendicancy was practiced by old kings and not by young princes.

[91] Culla. (*SBE.* XX) V.23, 2.
Entry in the Sangha is completed in two grades Prabajja and Upasampada. (M.N. Shastri, *Buddha*, p. 182).
S. Dutt, *The Buddha*, p. 109 and ft. n. 1.

[92] Patimokka or the rules for 'The Life of Bhikṣu of austerity' are translated in *SBE.* XVII.

[93] S. Dutt, *The Buddha*, p. 109.

[94] *SBE.* X. p. 86 ff.

All the Buddhist works agree that a true Bhikṣu need discard all human passions,[95] family life and affections,[96] cravings,[97] desires,[98] covetousness,[99] greed (Sn. 922) ; arrogance (Urga S.4), anger,[100] five obstacles,[101] fetters etc. He must have restrain over his eye, ear, nose and tongue,[102] hands and feet,[103] speech and mind.[104] He must be devoted to the doctrine of Buddha,[105] charitable (Dhm. 376), must have knowledge and practice meditation to be near unto Nibbāna.[106]

Sūtta-Nipāta (924-931) is specific that a Bhikṣu should not store up things (drinks, solid food, clothes etc.), should abstain from misbehaviour, indolence and live in quiet dwelling, should abandon sloth, deceit, laughter, sport, lust and adornment, should not believe in astrology, indulge in purchase and sale, should avoid boasting, doing wicked things with respect to livelihood and not despise others.

Brāhmaṇism and Bhikṣu

Were the above qualities assigned to a Bhikṣu in Buddhism only ?

No. Dharma Sūtras, Smṛti etc., all are very particular, in assigning the above qualities to a Bhikṣu. The only difference is that in Brāhmaṇism the life of a Bhikṣu is to be adopted in old age while there is no such age bar in Buddhism.

Gautama Dharma Sūtra (III. 11 ff) lays down that a man in this stage should practice self-restraint and should not hoard. He should during rainy season fix his abode at one spot (dhruva-śila) and he is not to enter the village for begging.

Āpstamba D.S. (II. 21.10) lays down that a Bhikṣu is to renounce all worldly pleasures. He is not to take recourse to anybody's help, nor perform any act conducive to temporal well-being (aṅha) and spiritual benefit. The work further adds such a person is to renounce all, even what is ordained in the Śāstras. He is to keep himself above pleasure and pain and meditate upon soul (ātman) (ātamam buddhe—tadeva jñanam sarvamaśubham prakṣalya kṣemam prāpayati ujjvala).[107]

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[95] Urga. S. 11, Sn. 926, Dhm. 369.

[96] Urga. S. 14, Sn. 34, 35.

[97] Urga. S. 3, Sn. 915.

[98] Urga. S. 16, Sn. 920.

[99] Urga. S. 10, Sn. 928.

[100] Urga. S. 6, Sn. 928.

[101] Urga. S. 17 ; Tev. S. I.27. Five form odours, taste, touch and sound called 'chain and bond'.

[102] *Dhm.* 260 ; Sn 932.

[103] *Dhm.* 362 ; Sabba Sava S. (*SBE* XI)) 17-23. Verses narrate that the Asvas of organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and mind are to be subjugated.

[104] *Dhm,* 361. Sn. 932.

[105] *Dhm.* 364, 368 ; Sn. 933.

[106] *Dhm.* 372, Sn. 925, *Udāna* 28. *Udāna* is the translation of Tibetan work Ka-gyur (tr. by W.W. Rockhill).

Vaṣistha does not lay much stress on renouncing both ordained and prohibited but agrees with Ā. DS. for acquiring knowledge of supreme soul, as the duty of a Pravrājika, Viṣnu Smṛti (Ch. 96) tells the subjects to be meditated upon : "transitoriness of life, impure character of the body (aśucibhava) the effect of old age on appearance, distress in the shape of melodies, physical, mental and extraneous (āgantuka), the woeful condition in the mother's womb, the various miseries of the mundane existence and its worthlessness and the lamentable state of rebirth as lower animals etc." (S.C. Banerji, D.S., pp. 196-97)

Aśvaghoṣa and Bhikṣu

Aśvaghoṣa's description of 'Bhikṣu' and his life is in complete agreement with the Suttas and is not free from the effect of Brāhmaṇic literature.

The candidate initiated to Buddhism at the first stage is known as Pravrājika and the ceremony of initiation as Pravrajja.[108] Only self-controlled, stable and with subdued senses is the fittest Pravrajika[109] (wanderer). In order to maintain his body, he leads a pure and disciplined life. He maintains good conduct. As his means of existence depends upon others, he is to refuse what is to be avoided (living beings, rice, wealth etc.) and "accept according to the authorised rules of mendicancy with their definite limits." This he is to practice, till emancipation is reached.[110]

A Bhikṣu's worldly possession is only a begger's bowl. He has shaven head and wears sad-coloured (saffron) clothes. He is self-restrains, tranquil, prideless, calm and composed.[111] He practices law, has ever benevolent mind towards living beings and is of compassionate nature.[112] He is above defects such as wavering of mind, unsaintliness[113] etc. He lives by the mountain torrents, meditates in Yogi's posture and is calm, as if all the desires have been fulfilled.[114]

[107] Haridatta's Commentary on Āpstamba *DS.* (II.2, 14) quoted by S.C. Banerji, *DS.*, p. 196.

[108] S. V.34, 35, VI.23, VIII.9.

[109] S. XVIII.23; V.34,
B. X.11.

[110] S. XIII.10-21.
Artha. (*TSS*) I.3, p. 30 : defines a Parivrajika.
परिव्राजकस्य संयतेन्द्रियत्वमनारम्भो निष्कन्वनत्वं सङ्गत्यागो भैक्षभनेक्त्र अल्पवासो बाह्याम्यन्तरं च शौचम् ।

[111] S. VIII.47, 48, 49, V.11 (begging-bowl).

[112] S. VIII.10—सततं प्राणेषु मैत्रचेतसः ।

[113] S. VIII.11.

[114] S. VII.20—भिक्षुरेषः शान्तस्तथा तृप्त ।
S. VII.17—इवापविष्ट ।
S. IX.1, 49, 50, 51.

To summarise, Aśvaghoṣa lays great stress on the apprehension of knowledge (S. XIII.22), purity of discipline (S. XIII.26) control of : senses (S. XIII.31), desires,[115] likes and dislikes,[116] sight, smell, hearing taste, touch,[117] eating,[118] sleep,[119] awareness of the actions of body,[120] solitary meditation which leads to tranquillity,[121] living alone in a deserted place and avoiding intercourse with sin (S. XIV.52), concentration of the mind (S. XIV.4-11), destruction of the passions and control of thoughts.[122] He should understand the transitoriness of life,[123] the woes of mother's womb, old age, disease and death.[124]

To conclude in addition to the sporadic references our poet has devoted two chapters (XIII and XIV) of *Saundarananda* to the qualities required in a 'Bhikṣu'.[125]

Kirātas or Arrian's Kırrhodar

They are one of the barbarious tribes who inhabit woods and mountains. As they have left all prescribed religious rites, they are regarded as Mlecchas (savages). They live by hunting.[126]

According to Indian literature they mostly inhabit the entire Himalayan range, mostly Brahmaputra valley.[127] From Kautalya's time onward Kirāta dwarfs and humpbacks are mentioned (in Buddhist, Jaina, Sanskrit literature) as employed in harems.[128]

Aśvaghoṣa's reference to humpbacks and swarms of dwarfs and Kirātas pouring from the great houses to bow to prince Siddhārtha[129] on his way to pleasure grove, further corroborates the narration.

According to our poet they lived in the caves of Himalayas or mountains. They

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115. S. XIII.46, 47.
116. Ibid., 48.
117. Ibid., 56.
118. S. XIX.1-18.
119. S. XIV.20-34.
120. S. XIV.35-40.
121. S. XIV.46-51.
122. S. XV.12-28, 51, 64.
123. S. S.V.32-35, 40-41.
124. S. XV. 46, 52-57, 60-63.
125. Infra. Religion Ch. for details.
126. *Dic.* M. Williams, p. 230.
127. *India in Kalidasa*, p. 62. Periplus locates them to the west of the mouth P. Ganga and Ptolemy nearabout Tipparah. (Ibid.)
128. Johnston ft. n. B. III.12.
129. B. III.12.

were of golden colour and had their limbs stripped with gleaning peacock gale. This made them look like tigers.[130]

Kinnaras

They are a tribe different from Kirātas, mentioned in Indian literature along with Yakṣas and Gandharvas.[131] In Mahāvastu's[132] Surūpa Jātaka, the deer named Surūpa is the beloved of devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Kinnaras. They are mentioned along with the spirits of woodland, wild beasts and other creatures.

Aśvaghoṣa describes Kinnaras living in the ravins of the paradise of Himalaya and Mandara Mountains. Kinnara women (Kinnaris) are specially mentioned to be very beautiful and amorous.[133] They are described to have ravishing hips, breasts and waists.[134] Kinnara couples are devoted to each other.[135] Their women are very delicate and are easily frightened,[136] on the mountains and are skilled in the arts (music etc.). They have charming smiles.[137]

Divyāvadāna (p. 299) refers to the Kinnaras as experts in instrumental music.

Apsarās

Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa[138] mentions Apsarās alongwith Gandharvas : "From Prajāpati couples, issue in the form of Gandharvas and Apsarās (SB. IV.229) ; Apsarās and Gandharvas made offerings to Rashtrabhrit oblations (S.B. IV. 230) ; Gandharvas and Apsarās effect sweet scent (ghandha) and have beautiful forms (SB. IV.230)."

Aśvaghoṣa describes Apsarās as celestial ladies of heaven, extremely beautiful and full of joy.[139] They ravish the tired minds of ascetics in the heaven. They are so beautiful to quote the poet, "Their presence render invisible the lustre of women in

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130. S. X.12.
131. *India in Kalidasa*, p. 62. Rām Bk. 3. XXXV. verse 14 (p. 741). Kinnaras are a specie of semi-divine beings having a human figure with the head of a horse.
132. *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 241. Surūpa Jātaka.
    In Puraṇas Himalaya's inhabitants are called Kinnaras and hence Kinnardeśa. Mahādeva appeared there in the garb of a Kirāta. (S.M. Ali, *G.P.*, p. 58).
133. S. IV.10.
134. S. X.13.—(Himalaya's Paradise residents)
    Jay Chander Vidyalankar identifies the land of Kinnars with modern Kanaur in the valley of Sutlej. (Pro. Sixth Ori. Conf., p. 112).
135. S. VIII.12.
136. S. VI.35.
137. S. I.48.
    Divya (P.L. Vaidya), p. 299.
138. *SBE*. XLIV, Index, p. 562 ; XLII. IV, p. 229.
139. S. X.33, 35, 44; XVII.71 and XII.13.

the world of men, just as the brilliance of a rising sun eclipses the light of a candle in darkness."[140]

Yakṣas

In Rāmāyaṇa,[141] Yakṣas are a tribe of Daityas, who lived in a colony in the Himalayas, under Madhu, in Madhuvana or Mathura.

The tibetan work, Ka-gyur (Ralston, p. 81), Lalitavistara (Ch. VIII) and Chinese tradition found in Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtta (late 6th century), assign the power and respect of Deva or anglic powers to Yakṣas. According to all these works, it was a custom of Śākyas to make all new born children bow down at the feet of a statue of a Yakṣa. But when Śākyasiddha was taken to the temple, Yakṣa bowed down at the feet of the child.[142]

In early records, Yakṣas are assigned Deva's supernatural powers. Before the advent of Ārayans, Yakṣas, and Nāgas were the powers of fertility and rainfall.[143] In the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of Christian era, Yakṣa worship was identical with the Bhakti cults, including Buddhism.[144]

But according to another opinion, Yakṣas were a class of non-human beings, generally described as amānuṣa. Malālaśekhar concludes, generally speaking, the Yakṣks were decadent divinities being half deified, having a deva's supernatural powers, particularly as regards influencing people, partly helpful, partly harmful. They are sometimes called devata or devaputta."[145]

Yakṣas and Aśvaghoṣa

In the early literature, Yakṣas are endowed with supernatural and angelic powers, and are considered wealthy and artistic. Their power and position seem to have declined by the time of our poet. He records 'Yakṣa lords stood reverently to guard with golden lotuses in their hands'. The newly born prince Siddhārtha (B. I.17) when he left his home for good on the horse Kanthaka, "Yakṣas bowed down their bodies and bore up his hoofs off the ground on the tips of their hands." (B. V.81)

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[140] S. X.44.

[141] Rām., Uttara. Ch.31, 74.
Childers Dic., p. 596. Yakṣas are mostly enemies of man but some of them are harmless creatures.

[142] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣa.* I, p. 15.
S.N. I.205 they are called 'devatas'.

[143] Furgussen : *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 244.
Deva is a shape-shifter which is characteristic power of Yakkhas'. (A.K. Coomaraswamy, I, p. 11) *Childers Dic.*, p. 596. Yakṣas Superhuman beings.

[144] Coomaraswamy, I. p. 27.
Yakka cult seems to have originated primarily from the woods and secondarily from legends of sea-faring merchants. "To the later belong the stories connected with vimāna found in or near the sea or lakes. The worship of trees and spirits is found in or near the one of the most primitive forms of religion. Some, atleast of Yakkhas are called 'Rukkha-devata".
(Pettavatthu Comy. PTS. quotes *DPPN*, p. 675).

[145] *DPPN*, p. 675.

To conclude Yakṣas were mythical gods of wealth. If unhappy they could prove otherwise.

Before Buddha much importance was attached to wealth so they were worshipped. With the teachings of Buddha, the values changed i.e. the life of renunciation began to be prized. So the position of the Yakṣas also was lowered. As narrated, they watched and guarded Buddha, when born. Similarly they acted as Buddha's attendants and stooped to lift the hoofs of his horses. (The idea here is that Buddha's very birth lowered their position.)

Vocational Society

Mahāvastu[146] mentions eighteen guilds of various craftsmen who went to see Buddha along with king Śreṇya of Magadha. Our poet has mentioned very few craftsmen, but has mentioned various crafts, hence their practitioners, who formed the vocational society of the age.

The vocational society of Aśvaghoṣa's time consisted of cultivators[147] or farmers[148] or agriculturists,[149] traders,[150] goldsmiths[151] and goldwashers,[151a] weavers of cotton and silk cloth,[152] tailors or dress-makers,[153] chariot makers,[154] boat-makers,[155] shoemakers,[156] dyers,[157] architects,[158] garland-makers,[159] ropemakers,[160] wood cutters (S. IX.32), cow herds (B. IV.14), deer-rearers (B. VII.5), wrestlers (S. I.54), toy makers,[161] musical instrument makers,[162] fish-catchers,[163] hunters,[164] elephant-tamers,[165] horse-keepers,[166] charioteers,[167] musicians, actors and mimics,[168] slaves,[169] dwarfs, hunchbacks and kinnaras who served in harem and rich houses,[170] women-nurses (B. XIV.32), gamblers,[171] thieves,[172] harlots,[173] lepors[174], potters[175] etc.

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[146] *Mhv*. J.J. Jones, p. 6 ff.
Mhv. (J.J. Jones) III, p. 443, mentions 24 guilds it seems to be a later interpolation.

[147] B. V.6—कृषतः पुरुषाश्ंच ।

[148] B. VII.3—चक्रधराः ।

[149] B. XI.20—कृष्यादिभिः ।

[150] B. XIII.62.
S. V.1, X.27, 28, XV. 68, 62, XIII. 1.

[151] S. XV. 69—सुवर्णं कर्मारो ।

[151a] S. XV.66—सुवर्णहेतोरपि पांसुधावको ।

[152] B. III.25, VI.31, X.22.
Infra. dress.

[153] Infra—dress.

[154] B. III.8 ; S. XIV.12, the axle of chariot was greased to bear load.

[155] B. IX.24.

To illustrate the inference of these craftsmen, let one example be discussed :

Potters

Mahāvastu[176] mentions 'Ghatikāra' and unbaked pottery[177] or vessel of clay, a pot[178] and potters.[179] Divyāvadāna[180] mentions Kumbhakāra and our poet mentions 'mṛnamya Ghatam'.[181]

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[156] S. VI.5.

[157] B. II.1.

[158] S. I.41—वास्तुज्ञा: ।

[159] S. IV.26.

[160] B. XII.64.

[161] B. II.21, 22.

[162] Infra. Musical Instruments.

[163] S. VIII.44. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, p. 228.
Flower used to catch birds.

[164] B. VI.60—व्याध, XI.62 ; S. VIII.15.
V.S. (Delhi and) 6—स्प्तव्याधा ।

[165] B. II.—मण्डल शाक्यभिहामिनेतुम् ।

[166] B. V.68—तुरगावचरं, VI.66.

[167] B. III.29—रथप्रणेता, III.55—सूत ।
Mhv. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 162 : mentions a horse dealer named Vajrasena.

[168] V.S. 14—नटभटकैवर्तभाण्ड.
B. XIII.17.

[169] B. XI.44—दास: ।

[170] B. III.12, XIII.23 ; S. I.48.
Hunchbacks, dwarfs, maidens, women and girls worked as attendants. (*DN*. vol. III, *PTS*. 1951, pt. II. 334).

[171] B. VII.3.

[172] S. VIII.28 ; B. II.15.

[173] S. VII.10 ; X.44.

[174] S. X.44.

[175] S. IX.10.

[176] *Mhv.* (Ibid.) II, p. 147 Ghatikāra.

[177] Ibid., p. 227 and p. 303.

General Social Life

Describing the general social life of the people of Kapilavastu our poet exalts the masses. The main idea, though not so clearly visible, is to depict the effect of Buddha's teachings.

He says that none pursued love for sexual-pleasure, none collected wealth to gratify his desires, none hurt on the plea of religion and none preached religion for the sake of riches.[182]

The poet further adds that even worldly and sex loving people adopted Vinaya and renunciation.[183] Code of conduct was followed by public, to get freedom from birth and death circle.[184]

This indicates that even laymen and lay women were not less hypnotised by the personality of the teacher, than their brothers and sisters, who had withdrawn themselves from temporal concerns and had preferred to go to monasteries and forests.

This social life clearly depicts a change in the rigid rules of Vinaya and Dharma by the time of our poet.[185] For, Dhammakariya sūtta clearly records Buddha saying that how could one, who dwelt at home, live the higher life in all its purity ? "Wise man should avoid those who are not Samaṇas."[186]

WOMEN

Generally speaking, women in Hindu Tradition, command great respect, though there are instances of respectful and despised phases in Vedic, epic and Brāhmaṇic age.

The early hymns of Ṛgveda give great importance and respect to her. In all the Vedic rites and Yajñas her presence is recommended.[187] But in the later stage she is considered weak minded and unworthy of trust,[188] her heart is the heart of

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178. Ibid., p. 303.
179. Ibid., p. 414—potters.
180. *Divya.* (Cowell & Neil), p. 348.
181. S. IX.10.
182. B. II.14.
183. S. III.40—त्यगविनयनियमभिरतो ।
184. S. III.38.
185. For details please see author's work *History of Buddhism in Kashmir*, p. 35 ff.
186. Dhammakariya Sūtta (*SBE.* X), 279 & 281.
187. RV. V.61. 8.
188. RV. VIII.3, 17.

hyena,[189] and so much so that she is treated like a slave or a commodity and is pawned in the game of disc.[190]

Similarly in the Mahābhārata period, women were held as the centres of domestic life and pivots of entire social structure at one hand and at another hand Draupdi is put to stake by the Pāṅdvas. Mahābhārata depicts two phases of a woman :

(a) the incarnation of purity and worthy of reverence, and

(b) the image of all the sins and thus deserved to be despised.

Manu lays great stress on the honouring of women in his two well known verses unambiguously. "The gods are pleased, where women are honoured, but where they are not honoured, no rite yields to any reward."[191]

In the later stage, however, on one hand Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, lays that daughters are the cause of misery,[192] while on the other hand it says,[193] a man is complete whole only when he gets a wife 'Tasmād puruṣojāyām vittvā kṛtsnataramivātmanam manyate'. The same idea is expressed by Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[194] 'Ayajñiyovaiṣa Yopatnīkah' who lays so much importance to marriage and a wife that a bachelor or one without wife is not permitted to perform sacrifice.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa[195] regards a woman the incarnation of Śri "Strī va eṣā yat śrih".

Women and Dharma-Sūtras

Dharma-Sūtras present two contrasting phases of women : (a) She is ever pure (Va. DS. V.4) and respected. (b) She is treated like a household commodity and is denied complete liberty. Gautama denies her religious liberty (Asvatantra dharma stri).[196] B. DS.[197] denies her social independence. Vaśiṣtha (V. 1,2) Viṣnu (XXV. 3) and Manu (IX. 3) are identical in recording that she needs protection in childhood by the father, in youth by the husband and in old age by the sons and is not fit for independence. Gautama (XVIII.2) exhorts her not to violate her duty towards her husband.

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[189] RV. X.95,15.

[190] KV. X.34. 2, 4.

[191] *SBE.* (Vol. XXV), 56.
Manu III.55 & 56—(यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवता:
यंत्रतास्तु न पूज्यन्ते सर्वस्तित्राफला: क्रिया) (56)

[192] A.B. VIII.31, 1.

[193] A.B. I.2, 5.

[194] S.B., 5.1. 6-10.

[195] Śat. Br. 11.4-3-2.

[196] *SBE.* II & XVIII.1.

[197] *BDS.* II.44, 45.

Baudhāyana (II. 4,2)[198] says, a woman is more precious than wealth, so wives of all castes must be guarded more carefully (Sarveṣam varṇānām dārā rakṣyatamā dhanāt...).

In Āpstamba DS. (II.11.18) a woman is worth a bull and a cow. It states "At the wedding called Ārsha, the bridegroom shall present to the father of the bride a bull and a cow."

Women under Buddhism

Buddhism was a moral religion. It touched all classes irrespective of any sex consideration. Status of women under Buddhism, did improve, but Buddha could not break totally the age long practices. Women, as we have seen, under Brāhmaṇic injunction, had lost religious and social individuality. However, Buddha did not make any (caste, creed or sex) distinction.

In pre-Buddha period the birth of a female child was a matter of great despair. But there is no record to tell about such discrimination being made between a male and female child by Buddha. He himself is said to have remarked,[199] "A female child...may prove a better offspring than a male." And MN.[200] records the story of a pregnant mother who went to Buddha saying, "Be it a boy or be it a girl... my child unborn seeks refuge with thee Lord."

In Jātakas[201] we read of two persons called Brahmadatta and Kāśīrāja praying for a daughter or a son.

Sat and Asat Phase of Woman in Buddhism

Samutta Nikāya[202] deals with the Sat and Asat phase of the life of a woman. According to it, a woman is possessed for five qualities, beauteous in form, possessed for wealth, moral, vigorous and gets offsprings. Further, extoling the virtues of a woman and describing her better than a man, Buddha says,[203] "A woman grows in virtue, in generosity, in wisdom. Such growth brethren, she takes hold of essential, she takes hold of the better."

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[198] *SBE.* XIV.

[199] S.N. (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1956) IV, p. 169.
Mhv. III, p. 451 : tells about girls and cattle were the wealth of the king of Mithila.

[200] *MN.* Vol. II, pt. II.97.

[201] J. (Cowell's Ed.), 521, 526.

[202] IV Ch. XXXVII.

[203] *SN.* IV. (Ch. XXXIII. Pts. 1956), p. 169.

AN. IV. (Ch. III), on householder, tells how a wife was always esteemed by the husband in the household. There is one very conspicuous example of Ugga, who gave his wife to a man of her own choice, without feeling discomfort. (I. 21, p.142ff)

AN.[204] elaborates on the qualities of a married woman who is dutiful and obedient to her husband. Such a woman with eight qualities is reborn as 'Manāpkayī Devi'.

The Woes of Women

Describing the woes of women, Buddha says in SN.[205] that she has to undergo five special woes apart from man :

"(1) Married at tender age, she has to leave her family and go to her husband's house.
(2) She is subject to menses.
(3) Is subject to pregnancy.
(4) Is to bring forth.
(5) Is to wait upon a man."

It shows Buddha was compassionate towards women.

Asat Phase

The basic teaching of Buddha is the control of passions. A woman is blamed for bringing the downfall of a man's self-control. There are many examples in Buddhist literature where the Master is quoted making adverse remarks about them e g. Being asked by his chief disciple, Ānanda, as to "How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womanhood?" The reply[206] was :

"Do not see Ānanda !
But if we should see them what are we to do ?
Abstain from speech Ānanda !
But if they should speak to us Lord ! What are we to do ?
Keep wide Awake !"

Similarly in SN. (IV. 5.1) Buddha says, "possessed of five things, Anuraddha, a woman is reborn. Inpurgatory she is faithless, shameless, unscrupulous, wrathful of weak wisdom. These are the five things possessed of which a woman is reborn."

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[204] *AN* (H), p. 335 ff. The eight qualities include respect of the guests and Brāhmaṇa, looking after the servants and other employees of the family, she maintains the prestige of the family and does not drink or is not a thief, is selfless, looks after the comfort of the husband etc.

[205] *SN*. IV (Mrs. R. Davids), p. 162.

[206] M.P.N. Sutta (*SBE*. XI). Ch. V.23.

Jātakas[207] are full of stories narrating the snares of women. They are told as embodiment of unchastity, infidelity and as untrustworthy. Men are warned against their evil influence.

Milindapanha[208] quotes Buddha while discussing the wills of women :

"With opportunity and secrecy
And the night woor, all women go wrong
Aye failing others, with a crippleman."

Women as Household Commodity

There are several examples in Buddhist literature which indirectly advise that women were no better than household possession in those days. To quote Sullavagga :

"The great human wealth, attended with a number of cows and combined with a folk of women, with these the Brāhmaṇa has become covetous."[209]

"Cows beds, garments and adorned women and well made chariots drawn by noble horses with these the Brāhmaṇa has became covetous."[210]

Buddhism and nuns

Buddha, in the beginning, did not approve of women, joining the order. But later on at the request of Ānanda Mahāprajāpati Gautami was taken in the order and then followed a host of other women.[211]

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[207] Ruhala Jātaka (II.191).
Kulla Padma Jātaka (II.193).
In Jataka 4 in Kulla Padma, the master says, "Woman kind are all ungrateful and treachrous."

[208] *SBE*. XXXV. IV.4.42 (p. 294).
V. Trenckner points out that it is found in Jātaka 536 and is a specimen, not of Buddhist Teaching but of Indian folklore. (Ibid., ft. n. I, p. 294).

[209] Sullavagga.
18, 21 (quoted in Status of Women, ft. n. 1, 2, p. 188).

[210] *SN*. (Brāhmaṇa dhamaka sūtta), p. 49.
Supra—ft. n. 12.

[211] Chullavagga (*SBE*. Vol. XX. 1975) X.1. ff (p. 320 ff).
Later on Buddha relented the initiation of women in the doctrine (Ibid., X. 16), as it curtailed the life of Law to half. Ānanda is blamed by Mahākaṣyapa in Vinaya of the Mulsarvastivāda and Tripitaka for interceding (Tokyo Ed. XVII, 2p. 90a) (2 EA, p. 178). According to Tibetan Sources, the order of nuns look place in the 7th year. (Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 61).
"The commentary called Manorathapurani of Buddhaghoṣa in Anguttara Nikāya tells that the chief women disciples of Buddha, who entered the order were known as Theris."
(R.K. Mukerji, *AIE*, p. 464).

As the gates of Dhamma were opened by Buddha, women in this period remained leading an independent life. They enjoyed the order of alms-women, entirely absorbed themselves in pursuit of the highest bliss without getting married or renouncing their husband's household. Moreover he gave Buddhism to both the sexes without making any individual distinction.[212]

The Sūttas of Sisters[213] mention nuns who reached a very high level of renunciation e.g. Ālavite (V.1), Soma (V.1), Guatami (V.3), Vijaya (V.4), Uppalavanna (V.5), Cala (V.6), Upacāla (V.7), Sisupacāla (V.8), Sela (V.9) and Vajra (V.10). Even Māra could not conquer them.

Uttarā's resolve, piety and achievements are worth quoting. She, resolving to conquer Āsvas "...excited her intellectual grasp, and gradually clarifying insight as she progressed along the Paths, she attained Arhatship together with the power of intitution and through grasp of the Norm... ."[214]

Dipvaṁśa[215] records of a queen, named Anula, who had deep faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha. It mentions wise Saṅghamitta, clever and skillful Uttarā, Hema, Masagallā and Agnimittā and so many other nuns "who were free from passions, attentive, had pure mental determination, who found delight in true law of discipline, had their sins attenuated (Khiṇāsava), who had their senses under control, well versed in the branches of knowledge, who were established in the highest bliss" and so many other nuns, who went to Ceylon and ordained 500 daughters of notable families headed by Anulādevi. This clearly indicates that by the time of Aśoka the nuns took active part in the Saṁgha and its activities.

Thus "Buddhism produced numerous remarkable women in its fold, who played a prominent part as leaders of thought in that religious reformation. The order of nuns was a training ground of these women."[216]

This was only due to the full freedom given to women. Therigāthā (XV. p. 101) mentions one girl of Vaiśya caste in Ujjain named Ṛṣidasi, who was married thrice by her father, but being ill treated by the in-laws, ultimately became a nun. And another girl (Sumedhā),[216a] the daughter of the king of Varaṇavati, preferred to accept 'parivrajya' than to get married to a king. It was because of her being enlightened by the teachings of Buddha she did not agree to his father's proposal of marriage.

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[212] *A.N.* II.57 ; *MN.* Vol. II, pt. II. 97.
DN. Vol. III, pt. II. (*PTS.* 1951), 104 (p. 112).

[213] *S.N.* I. Ch. V.

[214] Mrs. R. Davids, *The Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, I.94 (p. 262).
Infra—Buddhist Disciples.

[215] Dipvaṁśa (Ed. B.C. Law, *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-4, 1959), verses 73-75 (p. 226).

[216] R.K. Mukerji, *A.I.E.*, p. 463.

[216a] Therigāthā (H) Bharat Singh, Ch. XVI, 448-466.

Thus we see that in all the ages, the contemporary literature and legendary account depict 'Sat' (good) and Asat (bad) phase of a woman.

Aśvaghoṣa and Women

Our poet, Aśvaghoṣa is also not an exception. He, in his works under study, has dealt with good or virtuous (Sat) and bad (Asat) and hence detestable phase of a woman. In chapters IV and V of *Saundarananda* virtuous pleasant and beautiful phase of a woman is described. Chapter VIII (S. 37,38,39,61 ff) depicts sinful, sexy, deceitful and hence hateful phase. Chapter VII (S. 46 ff) describes the impurity of a woman's body. Chapter IV of Buddhacarita narrates the wiles of a woman to conquer man.

In addition to these narrations, there is no dearth in both the Kāvyas. So many other stray references to both the phases of women and their mental condition.

Since our poet's centre of devotion has been Buddha and his family, the description of women given by him is mainly concerned directly or indirectly with the palace or the Master.

Sat Phase

No point is ignored while depicting the beautiful phases of a woman. She is 'Sundari' for her physical beauty and majesty, 'Mānini' for her pride and obstinancy, and 'Bhāmini' for her extreme beauty in love and spirits[217], Sādhvi (S. VI. 40) and Sati (S. VI. 16) for her devotion and 'Sri'[218] or the goddess of virtues.

Siddhārtha's mother Māyā Devi and wife Yaśodha were the centres of many virtues, while Nanda's wife (Sundri) was par excellence in physical beauty.

Māyā Devi was "devoid of vices of anger, deceit and ignorance" (S. II.49). She resembled incomparable Māyā in splendour, beauty and steadfast (B. I.2). Hinting at the quality of forbearance in a woman, she is told to be free from weariness, sorrow and illusion (B. I.5) and was hallowed by her vows when pregnant (B. I.9).

Yaśodha was "virtuous and endowed with beauty, modesty and gentle bearing" and is called 'Śri' or the goddess of fortune.[219]

Talking about the spirit of devotion and renunciation of Śākya women, it is said, "That the wives of these Śākyas who go off in search of salvation, treat the homes as groves of asceticism taking the vow of chastity (Sādhvi bratam) on them-

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217. S. IV.3.
218. B. II.26.
219. B. II.26—स्थिरशीलयुक्तात्साध्वीं वपर्ह्रीविनयोपपन्नाम् ।
....श्रियमाजुहाव ।

selves as if it were the same as love (Kāmavadāśritānām).[220] The young wives of the illustrious lineage were affectionate and devoted (B. VI.33) as Yaśodhara, in the words of Chandaka, was. It was extreme devotion which makes her utter,[221] "my desire is to secure that my beloved shall not leave me either in this life or in the hereafter." She chided Kanthaka that when everyone was asleep at night, he carried off her 'treasure' like a jewel thief (B. VIII.38).

Physical Beauty

Nanda's wife 'Sundari' is the example of the chaste physical beauty of a woman. "Her face seemed like a lotus with the Tamāla leaf for its water-weed, her dark red lips for its flaming tip and her flashing eyes for the bees settled on it".[222] This simili tells the study of a woman's delicate and fragrant beauty. She was so beautiful that she needed no decoration. If Nanda covered her with ornaments, it was to serve her, otherwise she was the ornament of her ornaments,[223] and like a divinity in the garden of Nandana.[224]

The poet's insight and psychological study of a woman's character is in keeping with the tradition of these times. He, in his powerful poetical expression, has exalted all previous works (Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist) and has condemned even the touch of a woman.

Physically the nails, teeth, skin and hair of all women are impure.[225] Their bodies are impure and oozing abodes of evil.[226] No man, capable of feeling disgust, "would touch a woman oozing and foul like a broken pot, if it were not for the mere covering of skin no thicker than fly's wing".[227]

They are the origin of all sins and dangers and full of intoxications.[228] They cause friction.[229] They have honey in tongue and poison in heart.[230] They never love whole-heartedly though become Sati.[231] They are unsteady, ignoble and

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220. S. VI.40.

221. B. VIII.66—स तु प्रियो मामिह वा परश्च वा कथं न
जह्यादिति मे मनोरथः ।

222. S. IV.21.

223. S. IV.12—स्वेनैव रूपेण विभूषिता हि विभूषणामपि भूषणं सा ।

224. S. IV.6—सा देवता नन्दनचारिणीव ।

225. S. VIII.54.

226. S. VIII.47.

227. S. VIII.52.

228. S. VIII.32.

229. S. VIII.34

230. S. VIII.35.

231. S. VIII.42, 41. fickle in love.

ungrateful.[232] The association with women must be shunned to avoid disaster. "As the torch, held in the hand, burns it when its flames are fanned by the wind, as the snake swift to wrath, bites when trodden on, as the tiger, though caught young, kept in the house, is still given to killing, so too the association with women leads to disaster in many ways".[233]

Gautama DS (V. 1.2.5) prescribes restrain to a householder in enjoying his wife in addition to food and drinks. But our poet in his enthusiasm to condemn women, says, that even the thought of a wife means wandering in the darkness.[234]

Though full of these defects women are full of intoxications and cause intoxication to others.[235] With their passions, pride, gait, smiles, anger, intoxication and vices they have not spared and have captivated crowds of divine and royal seers.[236] They are expert in judging the weaknesses of others and exploiting them.[237] Ferocious snakes can be captured but not their mind.[238] They strike indiscriminately[239] so they are not to be trusted more than an enemy.[240]

Wiles and giles of Women

Before meeting the old dead and diseased, Siddhārtha enjoyed the company of women in the palace. They delighted him with "soft voices, charming blandishments, playful intoxications, sweet laughter, curving of the eyebrows and sidelong glances".[241] But when he reached 'Pramadavihār', where women expert in making love were gathered to entertain him, could not captivate his mind.

These young and beautiful women started with sweet gesticulations[242] and conversation to tempt Siddhārtha, but finding no effect upon the prince and being goaded by Udayin, they stooped to wiles e.g. falling on the prince as if under the effect of intoxication,[243] touching him with firm rounded close-set charming breasts,[244] touching his hands with their hands, wet with unquents,[245] letting blue garments slip down under the pretext of intoxications (loose women's action),[246] displaying their hips, which had only transparent cover,[247] singing sweet songs with gesticulations to excite passions,[248] mocking,[249] laughing,[250] rolling blue eyes (which indicate invitation to enjoy with bruntees)[251] showing Tilak tree embraced by a mango branch,[252] and even gave the example of sheldrake in pond who followed his mate like a servant.[253] But the prince remained uneffected as his mind was perturbed over the inevitability of death.[254]

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[232] S. VIII.46.

[233] S. VIII.66.

[234] S. X.3.—भार्याभिधाने तमसि भ्रमन्तं ।

[235] S. VIII.32—प्रमदाः समदा मदप्रदाः प्रमदा वीतमदा भयप्रदाः ।

[236] S. VII.24, X.16.
cf. B. VI.64.

[237] S. VIII.33.

[238] S. VIII.36.

[239] S. VIII.37.

[240] S. VIII.38.

[241] B. II.31—वाग्भिः कलाभिर्ललितैश्च हावैर्मदैः सखेलैर्मधुरैश्च हासैः ।
तं तत्र नार्यो रमयां बभूवुर्भ्रूवञ्चितैरर्धनिरीक्षितैश्च ॥

[242] B. IV.5, 6 ff.

[243] B. IV.30.

[244] B. IV.29.

Women and Art

Women, as described in the works, are not only expert in the art of conquering the hearts of men with their wiles but the women employed in the palace (which may be the courtezens of Kautalya) to cheer the prince, are described noblest and expert in instrumental music such as flute[255] or Vīṇā,[256] drum[257] etc. In chapter V(B), our poet has described the beauty of women in all postures, enhanced by make up and ornaments. This description agrees with Mahavastu's[258] palace scene in the same context.

Again, the poet takes the readers to the Buddhist world Siddhārtha seeing these young women lying in different ways and looking loathsome with uncontrolled movements, was moved to disgust. Thus the pleasures of sense, sound and rest did not appeal to him (B. III.57) and he decided to quit the palace forever.

Psychological poet as ours is, he has not spared Siddhārtha even of being of amorous nature, and Yaśodharā though a devoted wife free from jealousy. He has put in her mouth that "He must have held my mind to be secretly and repeatedly

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245. B. IV.32.
246. B. IV.33.
247. B. IV.34.
248. B. IV.37.
249. B. IV.38.
250. B. IV.39.
251. B. IV.43.
252. B. IV.46.
253. B. IV.50.
254. B. IV.54.
255. B. V.45, 46, II.29, 30, 31.
256. B. V.49—करलग्नवेणुरन्या ; *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, p. 154 Venu.
    B. V. 48—वीणाम्.
257. B. V.50. मृदंग; *Mhv.* (Ibid.), III. p. 155, mṛdanga.
    For details—infra. Instrumental Music.
258. *Mhv.* (Ibid.) II, pp. 154-55.

given to jealousy and quarrelling, so lightly and without fear deserting me as being of wrathful nature, he wishes to obtain Apsarās in great Indra's heaven" (B. VIII.64).

On one hand Aśvaghoṣa has condemned the company of women to the extent of hatred and on the other hand has approved the entertainment of the sages by the Apsarās. He justifies his argument "There the amorous Apsarās ravish the weary minds of the ascetics, who had determined to purchase paradise by first paying the price of austerities".[259]

A woman of Aśvaghoṣa is Kāmini, Bhāmini, Sādhvi, Chandi (S. IV.37), Sati and Dhāi (nurse).[260]

CONCEPTION OF BEAUTY

Women

A woman, with round, lotus like face,[261] round, swelling, close and stiff-breasts,[262] which sometimes looked like golden jars[263] and bent their bodies under their load,[264] but delicate to bear the beat of the hands ;[265] red lips ;[266] red cheeks ;[267] long and flashing eyes,[268] restless like that of a deer or hind ; lotus like hands with plump and well rounded fingers which do not leave any interstices,[269] red and bright nails

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[259] S. X.33.—तपोमूल्यपरिग्रहेत ; X.36—फलस्याश्रयणं सुराणां ।

[260] S. XIV. 17, B. I.59, 61.
Infra—Kingship and Luxury for details.

[261] S. IV.21.
B. VIII.27.

[262] S. IV.40, X.37.
B. III.16—पीनपयोधर ; IV.29—कठिनैः पस्पृशुः पीनै सहितैवल्गुस्तनैः ।
B. IV.35 ; IV.39—पीनवल्गुस्तनौ ;
VIII.29—सहितोन्ततेः स्तनैः ; VIII. 26—स्तनान्धराधरः ;
B. II.46—चारुपयोधरायां ।

[263] B. IV.35—सुवर्णकलश पयोधरान् ।

[264] B. V.54—स्तनभारैरवनभ्यमानगात्राः ।

[265] B. VIII.30—वक्षांसि करैरपीडयंस्तयैव वक्षोभिरपीडपयन् ।

[266] S. IV.20—ताम्राधरौष्ठं ।
B. IV.31.

[267] B. V.
S. IV.20—मुखं तत्सतमाल पत्रं ।

[268] S. IV.21—चिकुरायताक्षं ।
B. V.41—वनिताभिरधीरलौचनाभिर्नृगशाभिरिव ।

[269] B. VIII.28...सुवृत्तपीनांगुलिभि - - - -
कमलोपमैः करैः · · · · ।।

(B. IV.47) ; slender waist,[270] ravishing hips[271] which can be compared with chariot's wheel and hinder the swift gait of the ladies,[272] was considered beautiful.

Man

A man with tall stature,[273] broad chest,[274] thick and long arms,[275] was considered beautiful.

Royal Beauty

Siddhārtha had stature, like the peak of the golden mountain. His arm, voice and eyes resembled an elephant, thunder-cloud and a bull respectively. His face and steps were like the moon and lion respectively.[276] He had broad chest,[277] long arms,[278] lotus like[279] hands and blazing form,[280] hands beautifully webbed and curls of hair between brows.[281] These are the signs of royalty, yet he was in Bhikṣu-veśa (ascetic's dress).[282] He was so beautiful that whosoever saw his brows, forehead, his mouth or his eyes, his form or his hands, his feet or his gait—was attracted[283] towards him.

He had a face with straight and high nose, large loving eyes, a red lower lip with white sharp teeth, and a thin red tongue.[284] These were the signs of genius and the reading of the seer (in the penance grove who directed him to sage Arāḍa) was that he would surely drink-up to the very last drop of the ocean what is to be known.[285] His bodily signs and brilliance of form indicated that he would attain on earth a position which was not won even by seers of golden age.[286]

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[270] S. IV.40.
Ś.B. I.2.5 & III.5.1.11—
a woman with broad buttocks and thin in the middle i.e., waist, is praised.

[271] S. X.13—मनोहरश्रोणिकुचोदरीणां ।

[272] B. III.16—गतिं गुरुत्वाज्जगृहुर्विशाल: श्रोणीरथ: ।

[273] S. I.19, 8. Balaram's long and thick arms are praised.

[274] S. I.19.

[275] S. I.19, X.8.

[276] B. V.27—मृगराजगति ; VIII.53—मृगराजविक्रमो ;
B. X.81, 9 17—सिंहगति ।

[277] B. V.74—विशाल वक्षा: ; X.1—पृथुपीनवक्षास्तौ

[278] B. IX.6—दीर्घबाहु: ; VIII.53—प्रलम्बबाहु

[279] B. V.74—कमलाभेन च सान्त्वयन् करेण ।

[280] B. IX.8 ; X. 2, 3, 9—ज्वलच्छरीरं ।
B. X.23. दीप्तमिदं वपुश्च ।
B. III.23, जाज्वलयमानं वपुषा ।

[281] B. X.9—शुभजालहस्तं. . . सोर्णभ्रुवमायताक्षं ।

[282] B. X.9—तं भिक्षुवेशं क्षितिपालनार्हं राजगृहस्य लक्ष्मी: ।

[283] B. X.8.

[284] B. VII.56.

Since Aśvaghoṣa is essentially a moralist he perceives the virtues as the real beauty. Physical beauty whether of a man or a woman, is transitory. The real beauty is of the mind free from vices and evil thoughts (S. XVIII.34).

HAIR STYLE

Women

Women kept long hair and perhaps braided them. It is just possible that a 'jūrā' (bund) was also made as a cuckoo sitting on the flower covered crown of a Tilak tree is compared to the coils of Sundari's hair.[287] When in mourning the hair were left loose.[288]

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[289] appreciates 'fair-knotted, well braided and fair locked hair' of a woman. Mahavastu[290] mentions plaits in a braid of hair curving this way and that way.

The use of oil in hair is also recorded.[291] Jatakas mention perfumed coconut oil being applied to hair before it was arranged. Madras museum plate IX displays a sthasake or pot containing oil. It is being held by a maid servant who helps her mistress in hair-dressing.[292]

National Museum Delhi, hoards a Nanda-Sundari scene No. 69, 27 displaying Sundari having long hair and Nanda is combing them.[293]

Men

Siddhārtha had 'soft hair black and glossy, in great locks and encircling upwards with each hair growing separately, from its orifice'. This style of growth and hair seems to be a sign of genius and royalty as the poet adds, that such hair were worthy of being encircled by a royal diadom.[294]

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[285] Ibid.

[286] B. VII.57.

[287] S. VII.7. Mathura M. No. J. 2. fig. 16 (2nd-1st c. B.C.) displays a lady with big Jura.

[288] B. VIII.21—विलम्बकेश्यो ।

[289] Ś. B. VI. 5.1.10.

[290] J.J. Jones, II. p. 123.

[291] S. VII.7.

[292] C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculpture in Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 120.

[293] Ref. Plate II.

[294] B. VIII.52.

Nanda had long curly umbrella-cut hair with a bund on the head.[295] In National Museum Delhi No. 69.27[296] (Nanda Sundari Scene), Nanda is shown with such style of hair.

In short, curly, umbrella-cut and long hair were in fashion. The stylish gentery kept moustaches.[297]

Monks and Ascetics

Some Brāhmaṇa ascetics had smoke-coloured hair.[298] This agrees with Mahāvastu,[299] where Sage Vaśiṣtha is described to have "matted hair like a flame ruddy amid dark smoke" (Tāmradhūmrāruṇajaṭā).

Some Brāhmaṇa ascetics had their hair in a tuft,[300] some had coils of matted hair,[301] as long as snakes,[302] while others had dishevelled hair or with top knots and half-shaven polls.[303]

Foreign Evidence

Q. Curtius Rufus writes—

"Indians frequently comb, but seldom cut the hair of their head. The beard of the chin is never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished."[304]

"Strabo notes from Kleitarchos, similar statement regarding the treatment of their hair by Indians (XV.171) and Arrian has noted the Indian practice (which i still in vogue) of dying the beard in a variety of colours."[305]

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[295] S. I.51—केशं श्रियं छत्र निभस्य मूर्ध्नः ।

[296] Ref. Plate-II.

[297] S. IV.14.

[298] B. XIII.21. Ref. may be to Śaiva ascetics (Johnston ft. n.).

[299] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II.195 (p. 187).

[300] B. VII.51—प्रांशुः शिखी ।

[301] B. VII.36—जटा ; VII.17—जटाकलापा ।

[302] B. XI.17—जटावहन्तोऽपि भुजङ्गदीर्घाः ।

[303] B. XIII.24.

[304] J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 188.

[305] Ibid., ft. n. 2, p. 188.

DRESS

The general words used by Aśvaghoṣa for the dress are Vāsas,[306] Vasan,[307] ambar,[308] śukla,[309] veṣa,[310] and vastra.[311] Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned different dresses for royalty, forest-dwellers or monks, hunters, warriors and women. White, dirty and multicoloured clothes were used to suit the occasion while thick or thin clothes were used to suit the seasons.[312]

Royal Dress[313]

Costly clothes were used by royal personages. These precious clothes were studded with jewels and had gold lines.[314] Sundari's bed had golden feet and was covered with a multicoloured soft (silk) bed-cover, decorated with beryl and diamonds.[315] White cloth (silk) illumined with gold was used for dress.[316]

Prince Siddhārtha's clothes had embroidery of golden geese.[317]

A Bhiksu or Pravrājika's dress (*in Dharma-Sūtras*)

Dharma Sūtras generally prescribe to a Bhikṣu, clothes only to cover his nakedness. But Āpstamba DS (II.21.12) cites examples of 'some' who advocate nakedness and others who permit the wear of thrown away and useless clothes. The later

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306. B. V.60—वाससो ;
S. I.35—वाससः ; IX.26—वाससा. ; X.22—वासांसि. ।
S. XI.52—वासांसि.
Vāsasā seems to be a loose cloth. It is mentioned to cover the breasts of women as well. B. V.60 tells the fasting knots of their dress (vāsas) were undone.

307. B. V.64—वसन; 51—वसानाः ।

308. S. IV.31—चित्राभरणाम्बर ।

309. B. VI.62—शुक्लमेतत् ;
B. VI.63—त्च्छुक्लमादाय ।

310. B. X.6—विधित्रवेषाः (gaudly dressed).

311. B. VIII.56.

312. S. X.22—*Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 416, mentions dyers workshop where clothes of king, queen and Sudarśana were dyed.

313. B. IX.2—राजर्द्धिमुत्सृज्य ।

314. S. III.25—हेममणिजालवलयिन ।

315. S. VI.31.

316. S. X.22—सुवर्णभक्तिव्यवमासितानि ।
Mhv. II. (J.J. Jones) p. 169, mentions silken clothes.

317. B. VI.59.

view receives corroboration from Gautama Dharma Sūtra (III.19), who quotes the views of 'others', saying that such old rags are to be used only after cleaning.

Āpstamba DS (II.22.1) prescribe the dress only procured from the woods (skins or bark) for a hermit or Bhikṣu. Vaśiṣtha DS differs and allows a pravrājika to wear a single piece of cloth. It prescribes Ajina or grass as an alternative.

Monks and Forest Dwellers Dress (*in Aśvaghoṣa*)

The monks used yellow or saffron coloured dress or clothes. It is invariably mentioned as 'Kāṣāya vastra'[318] and sometimes 'Āraṇyaka vāsasā'[319] or sometimes only 'Kāṣāya' word is used to indicate ochre coloured dress.

This dress consists of three garments according to Buddhist-rules,[320] and is the indicator of the wearer as a seer or a monk.[321]

The Brāhmaṇa or perhaps the Śaiva ascetics in the time of our poet are also described wearing bark-tree (Daravāchīrvāsa and having the habit of lying in the ashes (Bhasamsayin[322]). This agrees with Āpstamba Dharam Sūtra.

Sometimes the mendicants in the forest lived naked.[323] This again agrees with Āpstamba DS which has cited examples of some advocating nakedness.

Māra's army described by our poet in B. XIII.21,22 and 24, takes the form of Brāhmaṇical ascetics. This description of the kinds, as ascetics, is developed, according to Johnston, from a hint in Padhana Sutta.[324] They are described either naked or clad in leather or skins.[325] They, Johnston says, seem to be Śaiva ascetics,[326] who are told to have over-garments of snakes, over their arms, while others are described as clad in red-cloth.[327]

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318. S. X,4, XVIII.5.
B. VI.60, 65, X.15—काषाय वासा, X.24.

319. B. VI.64—आरण्यके वाससि ;
B. VIII.48—वासो बनवास संमतं ।

320. Mahavagga I.

321. B. VI.61-63, IX.45, X.9—भिक्षुवेशं ।

322. B. VII.51, 36—वत्कलचीर ।
B. XI.17—bark-dress—चीराम्बरा ।

323. B. IX.18—वनं च लिङ्गं ।

324. Johnston, B. XIII.19 ft. n.

325. B. XIII.21— चर्माम्बरा श्चैव निराम्बराश्च ।

326. Johnston, ft. n. XIII.21.

327. B. XIII.22.

Kirātas and Dress

Kirātas, who lived in the mountain-caves are compared with peacocks. They had golden complexion and covered their bodies with peacock's gale and looked like tigers.[328]

Women and Dress

The dress of a woman is indicated by the word 'Anśuka,[329] and a long loose cloth, called 'dukul'.[330] Lotus coloured[331] clothes seem to be in great fashion in those days, though multi-coloured clothes were also in use.[332] The ladies of the high taste used white silk-clothes.[333] The perfumes in the clothes were used by the royal-class.[334]

The ladies of the ordinary class seem to be using ordinary clothes. Like the modern cowherd women, Nandabāla cowherd chief's daughter, used dark-blue coloured clothes.[335]

Warriors and their Dress

It was loose and long which covered them properly. They used leather gloves to cover and protect their fingers (aṅglitrāṇ).[336]

Dress and Occasion

Generally, Royalty used very costly clothes, but Nanda had to change his clothes, when he went to see Buddha and wore a dress suiting the meeting with the Teacher.[337]

Siddhārtha, when entered the forest, was provided with garments suitable for forest wear (by the hunter) in exchange of his royal dress.[337a] Nanda, when initiated to Buddhism, wore a dress in accordance with Śāstras i.e. three rugged garments, worn by Bhikṣus.[337b]

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[328] S. X.12. Certain worshippers of Śiva known as Gaṇas, even now-a-days wear plumes of peacock's feather. In central India (Nagpur, Itarsi, Gadarwara etc.) on Gaṇapati Pūja festival, dancers are seen decorating their body with peacock colour paints and decorating their heads and long artificial tails with peacock's feathers. Generally their feet are covered with tiger's claws, to give the look of Tiger's feet.

[329] B. IV.33, 49 पांडुरांशुक ; VIII.21.
S. VIII.50.

[330] S. VI.8.—Seems to be like a modern dupatta.

[331] S. VI.26.

[332] S. X.22.

[333] S. VI.7 ; B. IV.49—पांडुरांशुक ।

[334] S. IV.26—वासोऽङ्गना काचिद् वासयक्ष ।

[335] B. XII.110.

[336] S. I.35—अङ्गलित्राण ।

[337] S. IV.38—विहाय वेषं मदनानुरूपं सत्कारयोग्यं च वपुर्वभार ।

Yellow is the colour of love. Women in the upper chamber of the palace, are described wearing peerless yellow garments,[337c] as their purpose was to excite Siddhārtha.

Dirty and torn off clothes were considered as a sign of mourning. Women are described in dirty clothes, when Chandaka returned from forest without Siddhārtha.[337d]

Sundari is mentioned to have torn off her clothes in separation from her husband.[337e]

Seasons and Dress

The clothes were used to suit different seasons. Warm clothes were used in winter,[337f] while delicate (sūkṣma) and thick (ghaṇa) clothes in multi-colours, described poetically[337g] "diaphanous clothes without thread or interstices, shot with many colours", were used to suit the other seasons.

Male and Female Dress

Except the use of warm, silken and transparent clothes our poet has not named as to what the male and female dress consisted of, it was stitched or loose ? Bhikṣus of course used unstitched three garments, as mentioned earlier.

337a. B. VIII.48—वासो बनवास सम्मतं ।
B. V.60 –काषायवस्त्रो मिययौ ।
B. V.64—आरण्यके वासांसि ।

337b. Mahavagga I.
S. V.53—नन्दस्ततस्तरुकाषाय विरक्तवासा ।

337c. B. V.43, 44 ; 51—पीतमनुत्तमं वसाना ।
Presumably a very light yellow colour to resemble the whitish Karṇikāra flower is indicated. (Johnston, ft. n. B.V. 51).

337d. B. VIII.21—मलिनांशुकाम्बरा ।

337e. S. VI.34.

337f. B. XI.42 –गुरुणि वासांस्यगुरुणि चैव सुखाय शीते ।
The use of aloe wood is prohibited in winter.

337g. S. X.22. नानावर्ण indicates the known colour of S. X.19, 20, 21 verses. Otherwise the known colours were red, crystal, dark brown, scarlet, red-medder, white (S. X.28), golden, blue, beryl (S. X.29), goldenyellow (S. X.30), blazing fire, red (S. X.31) and blue (S. X.21).

Male Dress

Siddhārtha cut his hair, and discorded his decorated 'head dress'. Its muslin trailed from it in the air.[337h] It seems the modern 'Pagri' was the head dress of men of those days.

Sculpture

(a) Mathura Museum 14.485 (Ist c. A.D.) depicts standing Bodhisattva wearing turban, dhoti and a long cloth hanging from the left shoulder.

(b) Mathura Museum 18, 1448 (2nd c. B.C.) depicts Kāmadeva wearing a turban and a dangling long cloth on both the arms.

(c) Mathura Museum Nanda Sundari Scene 12.186 (Ist c. A.D.) Nanda is wearing a dhoti, tied to his waist and a turban with decoration.

(d) National Museum Delhi, 69.27 Nanda Sundari Scene—Nanda is wearing a Dhoti with one corner thrown on the shoulder and a loose cloth wrapping both the shoulders and chest, is hanging from his arms.[337i]

Mathura Museum E. 8 depicts a standing male figure, belonging to Kuṣāna period, which is clad in a dhoti, tied round the waist with a flat girdle, over which a scarf is bound.[338]

Mathura Museum E. 13 depicts a man in Dhoti fastened to the loins by means of a flat girdle. A scarf is thrown over the left shoulder and arm. This also belongs to Kuṣāna period.[339]

Mathura Museum J. 12, fig. 16 (2nd-1st century B.C.) displays a lady in dancing pose. She is clad in transparent cloth, which exposes her body as if naked.

Mathura Museum 56.42.39 sculpture (1st c. A.D.) deplicts Siddhārtha's turban.

Painting and Dress

Ajanta Cave 10 (2nd c. B.C.) depicts Chhadanta Jātakam in painting. The dress of men as shown therein, consists of (a) Pugree and (b) a shirt and Pataka on the waist. The attendant to the family queen is wearing loin-cloth, which is a little loose and a turban on the head.[340]

In Ajanta plate XXVIII, the caps worn by the chiefs or the nobles or princes is a tiara, loaded with pearls mostly conical.[341]

337h. B. VI.57.अंशुक (Pagri or long cloth, Johnston, ft. n).

337i. (Ref. Plate numbers III, IX, X, and XI).

338 & 339. *Catalogue Mathura Museum*, pp. 108-9.

340. C. Sivaramamurti, *S. Indian Paintings*, fig. 5, p. 40.

341. *JASB*. V. 1936, p. 558.

Foreign notices

Dress

Head-dress Q. Curtius Rufus writes, Indians coil round their heads with cloth of linen (cotton).[342]

Nearchus, describing the dress of Indians, writes, that the dress of Indians was made of cotton, it was a tunic of tree linen, down to the middle of their shins. One piece of the sluff (linen cloth) was thrown over their shoulders and the other was twisted round their heads.[343]

Magesthnese, at Pātliputra, observed Indians wearing a very simple dress but of bright colours and made of flowered muslins.[344]

To conclude, the dress of men of those days, consisted of a 'pagree' and (loose cloth) Dhoti. Sometimes a piece of cloth was thrown over the shoulders and the waist had a (pataka or long cloth) tied round it.

They used various coloured and flowered clothes. The dress of the royalty was costly and illumined with gold thread and decorated with precious stones.

The Bhikṣus used saffron-coloured dress and bark-trees.

Warm clothes were used in winter, while the transparent clothes were used in summer. In short the dress to suit all the seasons and occasions, was used. A long piece of loose cloth was the popular dress of the people.

Women and Dress

As with men, so with women, no specific stitched or unstiched dress is mentioned by our poet, except 'Dukal' and 'Aṅśuk, which indicates a loose cloth. Aṅśuk of transparent cloth was also in use.[345]

Sculpture

Mathura Museum, Nanda-Sundari Scene (12.186) depicts Sundari (in the upper penal) almost naked, of loose cloth tied round her waist and hanging in the front. The female attendant is absolutely naked.[346] It belongs to Kuśāna period and is a contemporary work.

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[342] J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 188.

[343] Nearchus, Frag. 9 and 10=Arr. Ind.16 (vide—Camb. H., Vol. I, p. 412).

[344] Mag. Frag. 27=Strabo XV. C. 709 vide Camb. H., Vol. I, p. 414.

[345] Supra Women and Dress, 'Aṅśuk' means Cloth (Johnston ft. n. B. VI.57) cf. IV.34 also.

[346] Ref. Plate XI.
R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 53.

Dress in Painting

Women

Ajanta Cave 10, has a painting of 2nd century B.C. of Chhadanta Jātaka. Here women are shown wearing a dhoti type long cloth to cover the lower private parts only, otherwise the upper portion of the body is almost naked.[347]

Sculpture

By first century A.D. the influence of foreign dress is also clearly visible. Mathura Museum No. 00 C.2 (Ist c. A.D.) depicts a lady attendant with the impact of Śaka dress. Her head dress is also worth noticing. This is Gandhara influence on Mathura Art.

National Museum Delhi No. 69.27 (2nd c. A.D.) depicts Sundari in full sleeved blouse and properly tied Dhoti or Petticoat with a loose cloth; with one corner thrown over the left shoulder.[348]

Thus according to our poet and the contemporary sculpture, and Ajanta Cave paintings, the dress of women consisted of loose cloth which sometimes covered the private parts and at others kept them naked.

But under the influence of Greek/Rome/Saka culture a change in dress seems to have come by 2nd century A.D. Properly stitched up clothes, such as full sleeved blouse and Dhoti (properly tied) come in vogue. Not only this, the influence of foreign dress is also witnessed in sculpture. (See also f/n 89b, Chapter 1).

Beds and Covers

The beds of rich or royalty were spotlessly white. They were covered with multi-coloured soft bed-covers decorated with beryl and diamonds, and had a gorgeous canopy, feet of beryl and framework of gold (S. VI.31, B. 1.17).

For child-delivery purposes the use of awning (canvas spread) as a couch-spread was used.[349]

Some of the forest dwellers slept on the ground with a piece of cloth[350] only and some of the twice-born (Śaivites) were in the habit of lying in the ashes.[351]

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347. C. Sivaramamurti, *S. Indian Paintings*, fig. 5, p. 40.

348. (Ref. Plate III).
This is dated 2nd c. A.D. (Sivaramamurti, *Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture*, Plate VII; The Album of Indian Sculpture, Plate VIII).

349. B. I 8—वितानोपहितां ।

350. B. VIII.58—पटैक ।

351. B. VII.51—भस्मशायी ।

Dress Material

“Ṛgveda mentions of cotton plant and female weavers intertwining the extended thread Q. Curtius Rufus writes that Indian soil produced flex, from which the ordinary dress of the natives was made”.[352] Arrian Ciling Nearchus tells that the dress of the Indians is made of cotton, a material produced from trees... .”[353]

Aṅguttara Nikāya[354] mentions the gift of various types of rare clothes and stuffs, used as bed-spreads . . . “good are the muslins from Benaras, good is a couch with a fleecy woollen cloth or coverlet, cover-spread with rugs of deer skins, with swinnings over it and crimson cushions at either ends . . . accept the exalted one accept.”

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned muslin and silk as described earlier. So the cloth used for the dress was cotton in general and silk (by the rich) only, while the bed spreads may be of different stuffs.

The Art of Stitching

Mahāvagga (V.II.2) mentions the use of needle cases made of bamboo. It seems certain clothes were stitched and the use of needle was known.[355] ‘Suci’ is also mentioned in *Buddhacarita*.

The Art of Laundry

Mahāvastu[356] mentions laundrymen (Coḍakadhāvaka) and slaves employed on payment basis for washing clothes. *Saundarananda*[357] mentions a kind of Soda (Kṣār) used for washing the clothes.

SHOES

Buddha in the beginning, permitted the use of sandals with only one lining (string) and prohibited the use of sandals with two, three or many strings.[358] (Dviguṇa—Tiguṇa—guṇamaguṇupāhanā). Later on, finding the feet of the monks

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352. J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India* (1969), pp. 185-86.

353. Ibid., ft. n. I, p. 186.
In fact it is a plant and not a tree.

354. *AN.* III (London, 1934), Ch. V, p. 41.

355. *SBE.* XX.
B. XIV.28—सूची ।

356. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) II, p. 415 and 416.
‘Cola’ means clothes in Pāli & Sanskrit.

357. S. X.42—क्षार ।

358. Mahāvagga (Tr. Horner), V.1. (pp. 245-46).
Ekapalasikan ti eka-patalam B (*SBE* XVII. V.1.29 ft. n. 2), p. 13,

torn, he permitted them to use sandals with many linings that have been cast off (not new),[359] and prohibited the use of many kinds and multicoloured shoes,[360] Munja grass shoes, shoes of reeds, marshy date palm shoes, Kamala grass shoes (Khas Khas shoes), wooden shoes, shoes made with gold, lapis lazuli, crystal (phalika or quartz), bronze, glass, tin and lead. At another occasion the monks were prohibited[361] the use of sandals with heel-covering; knee-boots[362] (which cover the whole foot as far as knee), and sandals decorated with lion's skins, ottar skins, catskins, owls skins, squarrel skins; sandals[363] with wooden show or clogs as the monks who wore them may not step on insects and kill them. The use of Palmyra palm leaves (ibid. 7.2) and bamboo leaves[364] were also prohibited.

Shoes in Sculpture and Painting

Ajanta Cave 10, painting of second century B.C. displays V (vi) type, one knot chappals worn by a man.[365]

Mathura Museum No. 12.269 (Ist c. A.D.) displays Surya wearing northern dress including shoes.

Mathura Museum No. 00 C.2 (Ist c. A.D.) displays a lady attendant wearing shoes which cover her feet. She is in Śaka dress or Udichaya Veśa.

Mathura Museum No. A. 0047 (2nd c. A.D.) displays lower part of a seated Bodhisattva wearing one string sandals.[366]

Foreign evidences

Q. Curtius Rufus (A.D. 41-54) writes that Indians clad themselves according to the country and its climate as is done elsewhere. In cold they covered their person down to the feet, with fine muslin and shod with sandals.[367] Arrian, on the authority of Nearchus states in his 'Indika' that "the Indians wear shoes of white leather elaborating, trimmed and heavy thick soles (or heels) to make them look taller".[368]

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[359] Mahāvagga, V.2.3 (p. 248).
Guṇamaguṇupāhanā i.e. commentary on Vinaya 1083 says 'Sandals with upwards of four linings.'
(M. Vagga. Tr. Horner, ft. n. 1, p. 146).

[360] M. Vagga. V. I.2.

[361] M. Vagga. V.3.2.

[362] Ibid. V.4.2.

[363] Ibid., V.63.

[364] Ibid., V.3.7.

[365] C. Sivaramamurti, *S. Ind. Paintings*, fig. 5, p. 40.

[366] Ref. Plate XIV.

[367] J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 188.

[368] Nearchus, Frag. 9 & 10=Arr. Ind. 16 (Camb. H. I, p. 412).
J.W. Mcrindle, Ibid., p. 188.

Q. Curtius Rufus, the contemporary writer records that when the slippers of king were taken off his feet were rubbed with scented ointments.[369]

Aśvaghoṣa

He has not mentioned the use of shoes by a Bhikṣu, king, or a man. Only Sundari (Nanda's wife) using slippers or shoes[370] is mentioned.

The evidence of contemporary foreign writers, sculptures, and paintings, all tell us that kings, men and Bhikṣus all used shoes according to their need.

Mahavagga's narration of the various colours, types of shoes or chappals tell the stage of developed shoe-industry. The style of shoes, with foreign inference is very different from the Indian style. Mathura Museums Nos. 12.269 and OOc-2 are the foreign examples and A 0047 is the Indian available example ?

ORNAMENTS OR JEWELLERY

Women and Ornaments

Jewellery is mentioned as Bhūṣaṇa,[371] Ābharaṇa[372] and Mandana.[373] It included the following ornaments: various kinds of necklaces called Mālā,[374] Hāra[375] which sometimes were long enough to dangle upto breasts,[376] special necklaces called Yoktraka[377] (Kantha Sutra), Suvarṇa-sūtra[378] and Kaṇṭha sūtra;[379] dangling ear-

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369. J.W. Mcrindle, Ibid., p. 189.

370. S. VI.5—पादुकै ।

371. S. IV.12, 14, VI.7, 28, VIII.59, XI.35, B.V.60—विभूषण ;
XIV.39.

372. S. IV.31.
B. V.64.

373. S. IV.22.
B. III.14.

374. S. VI.25, 34, 73, X.23.
B. IV.40.

375. S. IV.3, VI.25, 73, X.23.
B. VIII.22.

376. S. IV.19—स्तनोद्वर्तितहार ।
B. V.52—विलिम्बचारूहारा ।

377. S. V.3—योक्त्रक ; (कण्ठहार Shastri's Tr.)
B. VIII 22—हारयोक्त्रैर्मुर्षितैरिव स्तन्नैः ।
B. V.55—वदनेनानुकलयोक्त्रकेण ।

378. B. V.55.

379. B. V.58.

rings : Kundala[380] and Maṇikundala[381] (studded with precious jewels), anklets[382] (nūpur), bracelets or armlets called keyūra,[383] Bhujapāsha,[384] Valaya[385] (bangles) and Aṅgad;[386] girdle called Mekhalā,[387] Kānchī[388] and Jhaghana Vibhūṣaṇa[389] which sometimes are mentioned to have jingling bells.[390] In addition to jewellery, studded with different precious stones, it also seems to have been made of two metals i.e. one metal was studded in the other. The armlet (B. V.50) seems to be made of two metals : gold and silver.

Mahāvastu (472) mentions various kinds of jewellery made for the women of the court such as "necklaces of pearls, gems, beryl, shell, stone, red coral, crystal, white coral and ruby, necklaces, of sixty-four strings, jewelled ear-rings, jewelled nets, tiaras, bracelets, bangles and girdles... ." It also tells[391] that "At the command of the king golden ornaments and various kinds of things were made for the court such as tiaras, sandals, chaplets, screens, furbelows, jewelled ear-rings, baskets, strings of pearls, mirrors, bracelets, rings girdles, slippers, rings for toes and fingers (padangulivethaka).

Shell or Śaṅkha jewellery

While ladies of high pedegree used gold, silver and studded jewellery, common ladies seem to use less costly ornaments. Nandabālā (shephard chief's daughter) is described to be wearing white shell ornaments (B. XII.109, 110).

Mahāvastu[392] alludes to shell-bracelets (Saṅkavalāyakara), and armlets and girdles of shells. It tells of ornaments and vessels made of ivory as well.

From Begran, in Gandhara region, a beautiful collection of fragments of Indian

[380] S. IV.19, 23, VI.2, X.20, 23, 38.
B. V.41—चलकुण्डल, IV.39, III.18, VIII.22.

[381] B. V.53.

[382] S. IV.17, 43, VI.8.
B. IV.15, VIII.22.

[383] S. X.8,23.
B. X.39.

[384] B. V.50, 54—भुजपाशै ।

[385] B.V.81—कनकवलय ।

[386] B. V.50 ; S. X.9.

[387] B. III.14, VIII.22, XII.22.

[388] B. III.14,15.

[389] B. V.58.

[390] B. XII.22.

[391] *Mhv*. II. p. 423.
Visuddhimagga 446 (angulivethaka) ft. n 7, p. 418.

[392] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II, pp. 420-21.

ivory toilet-boxes have been found from the ruins of Kaniṣka and his successor's palace.[393]

Men and Ornaments

The princes and kings used a large number of Alaṁkāras (ornaments)[394] e.g. royal Tiara with strings of pearls hanging over their shoulders, armlets or bracelets in the arms,[395] diadem with blazing jewel (B. VI.13) and necklaces.[396]

Foreign notices

Ornaments

Q. Curtius Rufus (Ist c. A.D.) writes :

"Indians hang precious stones as pendants from their ears, and persons of high social rank or of great wealth, deck their wrist and upper arm with bracelets of gold...the luxury of their kings or as they call it, their magnificence is carried to a vicious excess without a parallel in the world".[397]

Royal Horses and Ornaments

Royal horses were decorated with golden ornaments.[398] Kanthaka, which took Siddhārtha to the forest, is described decked with ornaments, such as fresh gold-bells, golden trappings, beautified with waving chowries. He resembled a Karṇikāra emblem marked on a flagpole.[399]

The Art of ornament-making

The goldsmiths, who prepared all the above mentioned ornaments in our poet's time, knew their art well. First the gold cleaners or washers sifted or cleaned the gold out of dust.[400] This sifted or cleaned gold was used by the goldsmiths, who used bellows to heat the metal in the fire, turning it over repeatedly and then moulded the same.[401] They did this work with great efficiency and prepared beautiful ornaments.[402]

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[393] Baldev Kumar, *Early Kuṣānas*, p. 187.

[394] B. VI.12, 59 ; S. VIII.59, IV.31.

[395] B. IX.19—मौलिधरैरंस विषक्तहारैः केयूरविष्टब्धभुजैनरेन्द्रैः ।

[396] B. IV.40—माल्यादिभिः ।

[397] J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 188.

[398] B. V.72, VIII.3.

[399] B. V.3—प्रचलच्चामरचारुहेममाण्डम् ।
Barhut Sculpture shows flagpoles with human figures for their flags. The flag-banners being mounted, flowers were actually carried on flag-poles.
(Johnston, ft. n. of the verse ; Infra. Banner, Ch. IV)
Samudragupta's Standard type coin depicts the king holding the standard bound with fillet dropping something on the altar with his right hand.
(J. Numismatic *Society*, I. Vol. XIX, p. 14.)

Mathura Museum No. 56.4035 (2nd century B.C.) is a fragment which depicts the bust of a lady wearing long and heavy ear-rings and heavily studded necklace. (Plate XV)

Mathura Museum No. 2, fig. 16 (2nd-1st Century B.C.) displays a lady carved on an upright pillar. She is heavily decorated with different ornaments such as girdle, bangles, necklaces, elaborately decorated coiffure and big Jūḍā which touches her right shoulder.[403]

Mathura Museum 14-485 (Ist century A.D.) displays a figure of Bodhisattva wearing two thick bangles, ear-rings and necklace. (Plate IX)

Mathura Museum 12.186 (1st century A.D.) displays Nanda-Sundari scene. Sundari is wearing ear-rings necklace, girdle and anklets. Female attendant is also wearing the same ornaments. Nanda is wearing ear-rings, necklace and bangles. (Plate XI)

National Museum Delhi No. 1802-71 (2nd century A.D.) displays Nanda Sundari scenes. Sundari is wearing ear-rings, necklace, bangles and heavy anklets. Nanda is seen in armlet, necklace and bangles.

Mathura Museum 17-1325 (2nd Century A.D.) displays a female bust. She is wearing ear-rings and necklace, and is in beautiful hair dress.

JEWELLERY IN PAINTING

Woman

Cave 10 Ajanta (2nd c. B.C.) fig. 5 displays,[404] ornaments worn by women. (a) jewelled strip running along the combed hair over the parting hair, (b) the Phalakahāra and ekāvali necklace, (c) the elaborate mekhalā, (d) bangles, (e) anklets, (f) ear-rings.

Man

Cave 10 Ajanta (2nd c. B.C.) fig. 5. A man is shown wearing ear-rings ('Kundala' in the ears), bangles and necklace.[405]

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[400] S. XV.68.

[401] S. XV. 68, XVI.61.

[402] S. XV.69.

[403] R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 31. (Ref. Plate IX).

[404] C. Sivaramamurti, *S. Indian Paintings*, p. 40, fig. 5 (Chhadanta Jataka).

[405] Ibid.

Sum Up

In the first century A.D. the art of making ornaments was quite developed. Various kinds of ornaments, as mentioned above were used by men and women. The rich and royal class used ornaments made of gold, silver and studded with various types of precious stones. The poor used jewellery of shell. Ivory was also used for this purpose.

COSMETICS

Men and women used several cosmetics. The general term used to denote them is 'Viśeṣaka'.[406] The act of applying cosmetics is 'Vibhūṣayantam'[407] and 'mandana'.[408]

Women anointed their body with a paint called 'anulepan or aṅgavilepan',[409] which is described as wet and of yellow colour[410] (pītāṅgarāgayā) Sandalwood paste was applied to the breasts.[411] They coloured their hips red with 'Tamāl-patra',[412] cheeks with lac[413] and feet with 'alaktaka',[414] 'Añjana'[415] or collyrium was used for the eyes.

To add to this make up lotus flowers were, tugged in the ear,[416] scented flowers garlands were used[417] and the clothes were also scented.[418] Apsarās of heaven or celestial ladies scented their bodies (S. VII.10).

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406. S. IV.6, 13, 20, 22, 23, 34, 45, VI.4, V.19.
407. S. VI.18.
408. S. IV.22.
409. S. IV.26—अङ्गविलेपन ; 36—आर्द्रविलेपन ;
B. IV.32—आर्द्रानुलेपन ;
S. VIII.50—अनुलेपन ।
410. B. IV.46.
S. I.7—It was prepared with greese, grains and yellow colour (or turmeric).
411. S. IV.38—स्तनोद्वर्तितचन्दनाभ्यां ।
B. VIII.26—प्रोषितचन्दनान् स्तनान्धरा धरः ।
412. S. IV.20, 21.
413. S. X.15.
414. S. X.15, B. VIII.22—अरक्तताम्रैश्चरणैः ।
415. S. VIII.50.
B. VIII.21.
416. S. IV.16—कर्णोत्पलमस्य ।
417. S. IV.26, VIII.59, X.20, XIII.50.
Men also used flowers on the head (S. VIII.59) and flower garland.
B. V.60.
418. S. IV.26—
AF. (T. Richard), p. 50—The clothes were scented.

Mahāvastu (II, p. 13) mentions the use of perfumes, garlands and cosmetics by Māyādevi.

The use of mirror[419] was known and is mentioned as a very important item in make-up. The mirrors of the royalty were studded in gold.[420]

Jātaka 526 tells the use of mirror and Jātaka 531 mentions mirror with a handle of ivory.[421]

Not only women but men also used flowers to enhance their beauty. Flower garlands,[422] in addition to various ornaments, seem to be the fashion of the time.

Toilet in Sculpture

The importance of cosmetics can be judged from the toilet-box (Śṛngār Manjuṣā) displayed in the contemporary pre and post Aśvaghoṣa period's sculpture.

Mathura Museum No. 00 G. 48 (2nd century B.C.) displays a toilet-box kept beside a lady sitting under a tree and playing upon a Vīṇā.

Mathura Museum No. 00 P. 79 (Ist c. A.D.) displays a female attendant standing with a toilet box and a royal lady is sitting on a raised seat. Another attendant is sitting on the floor and applying some make up or paint (may be alaktaka) on the feet of the royal lady.

Both the (above) sculptures depict the royal ladies sitting on a raised seat. Jātaka (VI. 544) narrates ladies sitting at their golden chairs while the attendants adorn them.

Mathura Museum No. 12.186 (1st century A.D.) displays a scene from Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*. In the upper penal Nanda is combing the hair of Sundari, while she is holding a mirror in her hand having the support of an attendant. This attendant is standing with a toilet basket.

The lower penal displays Nanda standing with a toilet-basket and Sundari is wearing necklace and holding the same with both hands as if balancing. One dwarf famale is holding the mirror for Sundari (photo attached).

In S. (IV. 13, 14, 20) Nanda holds Darpan for Sundari. Madras Museum (Pl. IX. fig. 10) displays Darpaṇa in the hands of Nanda as in *Saundarananda*. A 'prasādhika' is arranging the hair of her mistress. A pot containing oil (Sthāsika) is held up by one of the attendants (Pl. IX, fig. 12).[423]

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[419] S. IV.13—दर्पणमस्य हस्ते ; 20, 22.
VI.29.

[420] S. VI.29.
B. VI.29.

[421] Jātaka. V, pp. 105 and 158.

[422] S. VIII.59, IV.31.

[423] C. Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 120.

National Museum Delhi No. 69.27 (2nd c. A.D.) displays Nanda Sundari scene of Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*. Nanda is combing the hair of Sundari and a dwarf attendant is grinding some 'Viśeṣaka' sitting at the feet of her mistress. Sundari is sitting on a low chair and Nanda is standing.[424]

Govt. Museum Madras also displays the same scene in Amaravaṭi School (2nd c. A.D.).[425]

AMUSEMENTS, OCCUPATIONS AND CRAFTS

Amusements like music, dancing, drama, and other means of recreation including hunting, gambling, fishing etc. are the true mirror to depict the unrestricted mind of the society.

Āpstamba DS (II. 25.14), Baudhāyana DS (II. 2.13) and Gautama DS (XV.18) tell us that both instrumental and vocal music, dancing and theatrical performances were patronised by people, not only as pastime and entertainment but also as professions. Though these arts display the talent and culture, the artists were not given the respect which they command in these days. Āpstamba DS (II.25.14) says "assaults of arms, singing music and like (performance) shall be held in the houses of the kings and servants". Baudhāyana (II.2.13) equates dancing, singing and acting with tending buffaloes and cows and considers them low occupations. G. DS (XV.18) prohibits dancers, singers and instrumentalists from accepting invitation to a Śrāddha. In fact they were not to be invited.[426]

Thus later Dharma Sūtras consider singing the profession of low class people.

Music

Aśvaghoṣa who himself was a musician of high order according to Chinese sources,[427] has mentioned vocal and instrumental music in his kāvyas. Apsarās[428] and Kinnaris[429] of paradise (Himalayas) and palace-women[430] are described skilled in the art of music. The music of the Apsarās was soft and full and they danced well.[431] The women in the harem or palace played on musical instruments and produced gentle and soft notes with the strokes of their fingers. Their dances rivalled these beautiful Apsarās.[432]

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[424] Ref. Plate III.

[425] *The Way of Buddha*, p. 299, fig. 21.

[426] *SBE*. Vol. II, (G. DS & Ap. DS).
SBE. XIV. (B. DS).

[427] Supra—Aśvaghoṣa a musician.

[428] S. X.37. (Aśvaghoṣa's heaven is Himalaya and there lived Apsarās and Kinnaris).

[429] S. I.48. *Divya* (P.L. Vaidya), p. 299.

[430] B. II.29, 30.

[431] S. X.37.

Describing music in a pious setting of good omen, our poet says that at the time of the birth of Siddhārtha there was music in the air.[433] When Buddha took Nanda to paradise (Himalaya), there charming Apsarās were singing melodious songs softly and proudly (S. X.31, 37).

Instrumental Music

Our poet has referred to all kinds of musical instruments of skin, string, hollow and solid.[434] This is the traditional classification of musical instruments.

He has mentioned Vīṇā,[435] Paṇava,[436] Parivādinī (big Vīṇā)[437] which consisted of seven strings,[438] Turya,[439] flute,[440] Dundubhi[441] and mṛdanga.[442] These instruments produced heavenly music. Here again the expression bears the pious touch 'Divya tūryakalpe'.[443]

The sculpture, Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literature testify to the popularity and historical evidence of the above mentioned instruments.

Vīṇā

Vīṇā is the most popular Indian musical instrument. It is said to have been invented by Nārada. It is mentioned in the later Sāṁhitas and Brāhmaṇas. Aitareya Āraṇyaka tells that the instrument was once covered with a hairy skin. It enumerates its parts as Sīrṣa (head) i.e. neck, Udara (cavity), Ambhana 'sounding board', Tantra 'string' and Vadana (plectrum).[444] The epics, Mahābhārata, Patanjali, Arthaśāstra, Saṁutta Nikāya, Jātakas, Malinda, Mahāvagga and Mahāvastu all testify to the importance of the instrument.[445]

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[432] B. II.30.

[433] S. II.52-56.

[434] S. X.25—ततांश्च तांस्तान्वकद्यस्य हेतून्सूषिरान् धनांश्च ।

String instruments are connected with tanta (string) such as Vīṇā. Tānpura, Sārangi, Belā, Sarod etc.

Anaddha or skin instruments are drums of various kinds such as Dhol, Nagara, Tabla. Mridanga, Khanjri etc.

Susira or hollow instruments are flute, Shahnai, Band, Harmonium, shell etc.

Ghana or solid instruments are jhang, Manjira, Kartal etc.

(Kalyana, Hindu Sanskriti Aṅk—vide Prachin Bharat ke Vadya Yantra, p. 699).
cf. Bulletin, *Madras Museum*, IV, p. 144.

[435] S. VI.32, X.25 ; B. V.48.

[436] B. V.56.

[437] B. V.55.

[438] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), p. 155 (parivādinī a lute or Vīṇā of seven strings).

[439] B. II.29, V.45, 46, VIII.58.

[440] B. V.49—वेणू .

[441] B. I.26 ; XIV.90—नेदुर्दुन्दुमयो (R.C. Dasa ed.).
S. III.9.

[442] B. II.30, V.50.

[443] B. V.46.

The commonest type of Vīṅā was bow-shaped and resembled a harp while another type looking like a guitar, was also known. They can be seen in Madras Museum Sculpture (Pl. XIII, fig. 3.)[456]

Saṅgīta Makaranda (IV. 6-7) mentions 19 types of Vīṇā, while our poet has mentioned only two types : Vīṇā and Parivādinī. The latter is referred in Mahāvastu and is said to be of seven strings.[447]

Mṛdanga

It is the most pleasant sounding drum used as a musical instrument. It often required a kind of rice paste to be applied to both the leather surfaces to sweeten the sound.[447a]

It is mentioned in Bharat Muni's Nātyaśāstra, Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya, Divyāvadāna and Mahāvastu.[448] Out of various varieties of drums, our poet, in addition to it has mentioned another soft drum Paṇava (B.V.56) and a very large drum, *Dundubhi*,[449] which is known to Indians from the time of Ṛgveda. (I.28.5, VI.47, 2) , 31).

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444. Nārada Bhakti Sūtra, Intro., p. ii.
Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 316.

445. Patanjali (Vol. II. 332, vide IHQ. II., 1926, p. 755).
Artha, p. 125.
SN. IV.196 ff.
J. 40, वीणादि तुरियानि and 243.
Milinda (Trenchner, p. 53) mentions its various parts also.
Mhv. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 154.
M. Vagga (*SBE*. XVII, V. 1, 16, p. 8.).

446. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculptures in Madras Museum*, p. 145.

447. *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II. ft. n. 13, p. 155.
कच्छपी कुण्जिका चित्रा वहन्ती परिवादिनी ।
(*Saṅgita Makaranda* 1V. 6-7)

447a. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculptures in Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 147.

448. Nātyaśāstra XXIII.21.
Patanjali, Vol. II, p. 332 (*IHQ*. II.1926, p. 755).
Mhv. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 155.
Divya (P.L. Vaidya), p. 299—पणवसुधोषक वल्लरीमृदङ्गादि. . . . ।

449. Supra ft. n. 441
Dundubhi is mentioned by Patanjali, Vol. II, 332.
also (*IHQ*. II, 1926, p. 755).
Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*, p. 368.
Dundbhi is used in war and peace.

Veṇu or Flute

It is a very old portable musical instrument. It is mentioned in Mahāvastu (II.159)[450] and J.J. Jones tells it as made of reed. Our poet has mentioned it made of bamboo (B. V.49). It is said to have seven holes (Veṇum gayami saptacchidram) in Mṛchchakatika Act V, but today the flute has eight holes. In present days flutes of various metals e.g. brass, silver, and bamboo studded with various metals (ordinary and costly like gold) are in use.

Turiya

The Pāli word 'Turiya' connotes an orchestra. Attata, Vitata, atata-vitata, ghaṇa and Suśira are enumerated as making up a turiya pancangika (five limbed orchestra).[451] Our poet has used the word (Turiya) representing Instrumental music or Orchestra in *Buddhacarita* (II.29, V.45, 46, VIII.58).

Dances and Musical Instruments in Sculpture

National Museum Delhi No. 51.99 (Railing Pillar, 2nd c. B C.) illustrates a Jātaka scene. It shows a dance and musical scene. The musical orchestra consists of Vīṇā, the flute and the drum. All the musicians and dancers are female.

Mathura Museum 5Y.4264 (2nd c. B.C.) displays a male playing upon mṛdanga under a tree No. G. 48 (2nd c. B.C.)[452] displays a lady playing upon Vīṇā under a tree.

Lucknow Museum No. G. 244 displays four music and dance scenes in Gandhāra sculpture (1st c. A.D.). On the left two musicians are seen holding probably drums. One Guitar like instrument is also seen. A man is dancing to the tune of music.

Similarly in the next compartment a male is playing on music and a lady is performing dance.[453]

Mathura Museum No. 00.P.79(I st c. A.D.) displays a palace scene. A woman of royal family is sitting on a raised seat under a tree (Aśoka tree) and enjoying the music. One lady is playing upon a Vīṇā and another is playing upon another string instrument (Pakhavaj ?).

State Museum Simla No. 76.76 of Kuṣāna period (from Mathura) displays two drummers with different types of drums. LH side drum (7 CM×33) is oblong drum hanging from the neck with a string and is being beaten with both the hands.

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[450] J.J. Jones, II, p. 154 and ft. n. 5.

[451] *Vimanavatthu*. 5.4 (p. 4).
Pali Dic. by Rhys Davids. '*Turiya*', p. 139.
C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculpture in Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 144.

[452] R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 30.

[453] Catalogue, Lucknow Museum, fig. 88, p. 98.

The second drummer has a square drum (3.5 CM×35) hanging from his shoulder (not neck). He is beating it with a stick in his R. hand any playing also with the other hand or supporting with this hand.

The third figure is broken.[454]

One sculpture of Amaravati School (2nd c. B.C.) now in "Indian Museum Calcutta (Furgussen Pl. LXXXIV) shows some of the devas dancing merrily and others sounding musical instruments as the Boddhisattva's decends to earth in a beautiful pavilion from the Tuṣita heaven for birth in the royal house of Śuddhodana."[455]

"One sculpture preserved only in a drawing by Col. Mackew shows women dancing to entertain a king in his harem and the other shows the division of the relics at Kuṣinara where women are also shown dancing.[456]

Drama

Origin

According to tradition preserved in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra, Drama has close connection with Vedas. Brahmā at the request of devas took the element of recitation from Ṛgveda, song from Sāmveda, mimic art from Yajurveda and sentiment from Atharvaveda. Then He bade the divine architect Viśvakarma to build a play house in which Sage Bharata was asked to practice the art thus created. Śiva contributed the Tāndava dance (violent emotion), Pārvati the tender and voluptuous Lāsya and Viṣnu invented the four dramatic styles.[457]

The existence of Sanskrit drama is witnessed in the dialogues of Ṛgveda, epics, Pāṇiṇi's mention of Nata sūtras and Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya (about 140 B.C.). Patanjali (Vol. II, p. 36) has used the words 'Raṅga Arambhoka, Nata, Granthika and Śobhanika which all refer to theatrical performance.'[458]

Drama in Buddhist Literature

Buddhist Sūttas employ the terms Visūkadassana, Nacca and Pekkha and refer to Samajjas, which leaves no doubt to the belief in the existence of actual drama.[459] According to Lalitavistra[460] Buddha's one of the accomplishment was the knowledge of drama. It further goes to the extend of saying that Buddha himself has entered to gaze on the Drama of the Great Law.

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[454] Ref. Plate XV.

[455] C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculpture in Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 150.

[456] Ibid., p. 148.

[457] A.B. Keith, *HSD.*, p. 12.

[458] *IHQ.*, II.1926, p. 751.
Keith, *HSD*, pp. 23-42.

[459] Keith, *HSD*, p. 43.

[460] LV. XII, p. 178 ff.

Divyāvadāna[461] alludes to the art of Drama or acting in immitation.

Mahāvastu tells of very prosperous condition of music dance and dramatic performances. These arts, in those days were patronised by the royalty, who employed Reciters, musicians. (gandharvika), actors (nata), dancers (Nartakas) and bards (Vaitālika).[462] We hear of a party of actors from Takṣasila which came to Varanasi to collect subscription.[463]

Aśvaghoṣa and Drama

By the time of our poet 'drama' seems to have developed fully as laid down by Bharata's Nātyaśāstra.

In *Saundarananda* there is mention of Nātyaśālā (Anart) and Nātyaśāstra.[464] In *Buddhacharita*[465] a woman in the city garden acts immitating the gait and appearance of a man and Vajrasūci,[466] refers to professional actors, bards and musicians alluding that dramas were played and were common in those days.

Recently, Professor Lūders has discovered three Buddhist dramas (MSS.) on' Palm-leaf from Turfan in Central Asia. One of these dramas 'Śāriputraprakaraṇa' is written by Aśvaghoṣa. The theme of the drama is the conversion of Śāriputra to Buddhism by Buddha. This drama is in close correspondence to the classical type as laid down by Bharata's Natya Śāstra.[467]

Thus drama and the rules of acting and playing did exist as found in Bharata's Nātyaśāstra prior to Aśvāghoṣa. But our poet infused his own touch. In addition to entertainment he wrote with added utility of propagating Buddhism—through this media. His Śāriputra-prakaraṇa is the example.

FESTIVALS

Nṛtyotsava

Our poet has not mentioned any special type of dance known to the Apsarā or women in the harem or pleasure groves. The general references to the 'dances seems to belong to the category of spontaneous rhythmical steps at the sound of music and musical instruments.

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[461] Divya (*BST.* No. 20), p. 226.
मारश्च वनगहनमनुप्रविश्य ।
बुद्ध रूपं कृत्वा नट इव ।

[462] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) III, p. 110 and ft. n. (Vaitālika are bards whose duty it was to awaken the chief or prince at dawn with music and song).

[463] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) II, pp. 169, 170—Shyama Jataka.

[464] S. I.54—(Anarat=Nātyasala—S.N. Chowdhery, ft. n. of the verse).

[465] B. IV.42—काचित्पुरुषवत्कृत्वा गतिं संस्थानमेव च ।

[466] V.S. (Delhi Ed.) 14—नटभटभण्ड प्रमृत्यः ।

[467] Keith, *HSD*, pp. 81-82.

But 'dance' seems to be very popular entertainment in those days. It has been mentioned earlier that the sculptures between (2nd c. B.C.—1st c. A.D.) depict devas women and men, dancing together as well as 'single', to entertain royalty or marry-making to the tune of instrumental music. This indicates that some 'folk dances' and 'solo' dances were quite popular in the society of the age.

In addition to the known amusements of music, dance and drama, dances including 'folk-dances' were performed to celebrate special occasions.

King Śuddhodana, at the birth of the lamp of his race Siddhārtha, ordered the celebration of Nṛtyotsava (dance festival).[468]

The folk dances must have been performed in great tempo and with gusto. Appolonius of Tyana (1st century A.D.) has mentioned Indians singing and dancing and rolling about drunk.[469]

The hypothesis of taking wine before performance cannot be ruled out as the society was luxury loving and knew the use of flower garlands, perfumes and wine (Indian and foreign).[470]

Royal Procession

Arthaśāstra and foreign evidences[471] attach great importance to kings appearing in public.

Aśvaghoṣa has not described any such occasion as far as the king is concerned but he has given full account of the prince's procession, when he went to 'Pramadanan'(at royal command) for pleasure excursion.

The royal highway was cleared on all sides of all without limbs or maimed, with defective senses aged, sick and the wretched. (B. III.5.). The roads were made beautiful and supremely magnificent (B. III.5,6). It was bestrewen with heaps of flowers and was made gay, beautiful to look at by hanging wreaths and fluṭtering banners (B. III.9).

The prince mounted a golden chariot drawn by four well-broken horses, with golden geer and driven by skilled and reliable drivers (B.III.8).

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[468] B. I.32. In India still a house without a son is considered without a lamp as the race and family is continued because of a male member. Still there are great rejoicing in the family with the birth of a son. The custom of dancing by 'Hijras' (common sex) may be a remnant of the custom.

[469] *A. Travels*, p. 6.

[470] Wine, Infra—Food and Drinks Ch.

[471] J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India*, pp. 188-89.
Q. Curtius Rufus's accounts (1st c. A.D.).

The prince was accompanied by a worthy retinue (B.III.9) and slowly the procession entered the royal highway, which was carpeted with the halves of the blue lotuses in the shape of eyes open to their widest in excitement. All around the citizens gazed at him (B. III.10). The lotus faced women, from the windows (B. III.19) and young women from the palaces, opened the lattices in excitement, to have a look of the exalted prince. It looked like a paradise, with its heavenly mansions full of Apsarās (B. III.20).

King's procession

Q. Curtius Rufus writes :

"When the king desires to show himself in public, his attendants carry in their hands silver censors, and perfume with incense, all along the road by which it is his pleasure to be conveyed. He lolls in a golden palanquin, garnished with pearls, which sang all round it, and he is robed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold."[472]

PROCESSIONS

Queen and King's entry in the city

The birth of the prince was celebrated with Nṛtyotsava, but the entry of the king Śuddhodhano and Mayadevi, along with the newly born babe (Siddhārtha), in the town (Kapilavastu) from Lumbini grove, seems to be an occasion of great festivity. It was in procession. The king followed the queen with babe attended by elderly women and hosts of citizens saluted them on the way (B. I.87).

In addition to these (without telling the names) there is mention of many public and religious functions which provided good amusement to the people (S. I.55).

Paintings

Elaborate directions are given in Vinaya (III.170-72) for preparing smooth plaster basis on which frescoes were painted. And the art of painting, by the time of our poet, had reached a very highly developed stage. The paintings in Ajanta Caves IX and X (c. 100 A.D.) are a witness to the fact.[473] The painters seem to have a big share in public life of those days. Appolonius of Tyana (1st c. A.D.) saw a temple outside the walls of old kingdom of Porus. There he found, hanging round the shrine 'pictures of copper tablets representing the feet of Alexander and Poros. "The elephants, horses, soldiers and armours were depicted in a mosaic of orchalm, silver, gold and oxydised, copper, the spears, javelines and swords in iron, in addition to the several metals were also worked into one another with so nice a gradation of tints, that the picture they formed, in correctness of drawing, vivicity of expression and truthfulness of perspective remained one of the productivity of Zeuxis Polygnotus and Euphraner.''[474]

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[472] J.W. Mcrindle, *The Invasion of India*, pp. 188-89.

[473] *SBE* (XX), Vinaya Text, III, p. 170 ff.
For details of Ajanta Paintings, pl. see author's book *Gupta's Civilization*, p. 179ff.

Fa-hein (4th c. A.D.) and Yuan-Chwang (6th c. A.D.) also saw paintings on the walls of the shrines opposite the entrance in Kapilvastu.[475]

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned (S. XV.39) painters and painting (perhaps portrait painting of beautiful woman). This reference alludes to romanticism in painting, which is so well witnessed in Ajanta paintings.

So there must have lived professional painter-artists in the age.

Gambling

It is a game of chance, and has been a means of recreation from remote times. The earliest evidence is Mohenjodaro's findings of dice pieces. Though Marshall is not sure of the similarity in the dice associated with a draught board found by Mr. Wooley at Ur, he does not rule out the possibility of dice being used in conjunction with board games at the earliest period.[476]

The dice pieces found at Mohenjodaro resemble the modern 'Ludo' pieces which is played on a card board (P1. CLVIII).[477]

Dicing remained one of the amusements in the Vedic India.[478]

By the time of Dharma Sūtras, dicing appears to have become a very popular pastime. So much so, that a king, according to Ā. DS. (II.25.12,13) was to see that a gambling hall is built, a play-table is raised and dice made of Vibhitaka (wood) are kept ready on it. Though Ā. DS. tells it a game of pure and truthful people, Gautama DS (XV.18)[479] considers it an impure game and ordains that a dicer is not fit, to be invited to a Śrāddha.

It shows that in the age of Ā. DS (600-300 B.C.), the game was in fashion with the upper society and by the time of Gautama DS. it became a game of even common man and social abuses associated with it, crept in the society. The most conspicuous example is witnessed in Mahābhārata where Draupdī is put at stake by the Pāndavas.

Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned Chess-board (Aṣtapadmiva S.I. 32) beautiful with

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474. *Appolonius Travels*, p. 13.
475. Watters Y-Ch. II, pp. 2, 3 (the present excavations by the Director ASI, Shri K.M. Srivastava has not yielded any remains of this art).
476. Marshall, *Indus Civilization*, pp. 551-52.
477. Ibid.
478. Macdonnel and Keith, *Vedic Index*, p. 2.
479. *SBE*. II, p. 258.

bouodary marks, and the game of a stake (dhūram).[480] There is mention of 'Yuga' (perhaps) indicating a dice piece.[481]

Thus it is self-evident that the game of dicing with a chess-board played at stakes, was one of the popular pastimes of the people of those days.

Excavations

The recent excavations at Taxila have lead to the discovery of gambling dice from the monasteries numbers, one and ten.[482]

It shows that even the Buddhists entertained themselves with the game of dicing.

Gambling with birds

Manusmṛti refers to gambling with dice and birds.[483]

Our poet has also referred to hawk and sheldrake fight (S. VI.30) and hawk and partridge fight (S. VIII.20). Partridge is described as generally afraid of a hawk. The tips of sheldrake are sometimes broken by the hawk in this fight.

This amusement still lingers in central India and Uttar Pradesh, where these fights carry fight to heavy stakes.

Hunting

Arthaśāstra alludes to leather, ivory and bone industry, where skins, horns and teeth of animals were collected and given treatment.[484]

Though Buddha does not approve of killing any being for a profitable outcome[485]; hunting, as a pastime and profession continued. A hunter is described as

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480. S. II.13—धुरं (धुरा—धृ+खच्) मुम् हृस्व
(वि०) जूआ ढोने वाला–
(Skt. Shabārtha-Kaustubha, p. 556)

481. B. VII.3—हस्तस्थयुगास्तथैव ।
Johnston has left the Tr. as ambiguous. S.N. Chowdhary has defined that it is a piece of stake.

482. *A.S.I. AR*. 1923-24, p. 74.

483. *Manu*. 223.
अप्राणिभिर्यत्क्रियते तल्लोके द्यूतमुच्यते ।
प्राणिभि: क्रियते यस्तु स विज्ञेय: समाह्वय: ।।

484. *Artha*. II.17.15.

485. B. XI.65— परं हि हन्तुंविवशं फलेप्सया न युक्त रूपं ।
Dharma-Sūtras assign hunting to low class people.
(S.C. Banerji. *DS*, p. 204)

of a deceiving nature.[486] Deer[487] was hunted along with other animals for skin, ivory and flesh.

Mahāvastu ranks a hunter with a fowler and a Chandala and describes him as a person 'black of complexion, with white teeth, red eyes, like a cannibal, in dark blue garb'.[488] But Mahāvastu and *Buddhacarita* both mention a hunter disguised in saffron or yellow clothes who exchanged his garb with prince Siddhārtha's royal robe.[489]

Q. Curtius Rufus (1st c. A.D.) writes 'shooting the game' enclosed within the royal park—as the principal exercise of the king. "The arrows which are two cubits long, are discharged with more effort than effect, for though the force of these missiles depends on their lightness they are loaded with an obnoxious weight."[490]

Fishing

It also appears to be one of the professions and pastimes. Fish are referred to be found in ponds and caught with net.[491]

Dharma Sūtras assign this work to low class people. (S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, p. 204).

Wrestling

Kapilavastu as a picketing ground for men of might, is referred in *Saundarananda* (I.54)[492] which indicates wrestling was a source of amusement, as in the modern times.

Prostitution

Though in vogue, Dharma Sūtras look down upon it.[493] However it seems to be a flourishing pursuit, even in the days of Buddha. Āmrapāli was the famous courtesan of the time and her mango-grove was the most beautiful place at Vaiśāli (Mhv. I. 300.16).

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[486] B. VI.62.

[487] B. VI.62; XI.62—व्याध ।

[488] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, p. 222 ff, p. 237.

[489] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, p. 186.
B. VI. 60-63.

[490] J.W. M'crindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 189.

[491] S. XI. 61.
cf. Food & Drinks, Ch.

[492] आननं कृतशास्त्राणामालानं बाहुशालिनां ।
(S. I.54)

[493] S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 200.

Mahāvagga does not approve of prostitution by monks. It advocates a monk to cut short his rainy season "if is invited by kings, a low class woman...and an enunch and is offered gold, daughter as a wife or another wife...and his mind is found quickly changing."[494]

Kāmasūtra[495] enumerates sixty-four kalās or arts in which an expert prostitute (woman) is supposed to be skilled in.

Arthaśāstra[496] mentions Gaṇikās Royal Courtezans and Rūpajivas. Gaṇikās (prostitutes) are described well trained in music, dance, painting, shampooing and even in the art of conversation. They were highly cultured. The kings also maintained young courtezans who were accomplished in various arts. Besides these, there lived Rūpajivas, who, as in every age and place, lived by selling their youth and body.

Mahāvastu (III.375) records that the charges of the company of women were fixed according to individual merit. A charming courtesan Kāśika of Benaras charged one thousand pieces of money, while her sister, Upārdhakāsika, who though had beautiful body, had only one eye, charged only half a thousand pieces of money.

Aśvaghoṣa refers to women in Pramadvan and palace as expert in the accessories of love and indefatigable in sexual pleasure.[497] He calls them stri,[498] Nāri,[499] Padmalochana[500] and Vāramukhya.[501]

They had knowledge of the sentiments, wealth of charm and beauty.[502] They were courteous, charming and adept in captivating the feelings, even of the lust free seers.[503] Their wiles agree with the courtezans of Arthaśāstra and they resemble royal courtezans described in it. The best method for a man to conquer a women, as advocated by Udayan, is to show courtesy[504] towards them.

Thus prostutes were a part of the affluent society of the time. They were well versed in their art of captivating the hearts of men. This agrees with 'kāmaśāstra's' wiles and giles of experts.

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[494] Mahāvagga (Tr. Horner), III, p. 198.

[495] 'Kāmasūtra (Kāśi, *SS.* N. 29), I.3, 16.

[496] *Artha.* II.27,28,30.
Mhv. (J.J. Jones), III, p. 372.
Patanjali mentions Dancing girls (III, p. 261, vide IHQ, II, 1926, p. 755).

[497] B. II.32.

[498] B. IV.1,12,15,19,28; II.32.

[499] B. IV.7,27,31.

[500] B. IV.36.

[501] B. III.52—योग्या: समाज्ञापयति स्म तत्र स्मं तत्र कलास्वभिज्ञा इति वारमुख्याः ।

[502] B. IV.12.

[503] B. 10-13. Supra 'Wiles and Giles of Women'.

[504] B. IV.70-71,

Entertainment of the Children

Toys

Siddhārtha, when a child, was presented many kinds of toys by his father's friends. They included little chariots yoked with little oxen, little golden carts to which deer were harnessed, elephants, deer, horses of gold and dolls gay with gold and silver. These toys were in addition to priceless unguents of sandalwood and strings of jewels, fitted with magic herbs, suited to the age of the child.[505]

Thus the children, like the modern days entertained themselves with artificial toys. But the toys of our poet's time were sometime filled with magic herbs.

Mahāvastu[506] alludes to a prosperous toy industry and mentions machine made toys such as parrots, sārikas, cuckoo, geese, peacocks, wood packers, ducks, morambas (a kind of peacock) and various kinds of machine-made fruits such as bhavyas (fruit of bhavya tree), pomegranates, citrons, virasena (or Aruka, a medical plant grown in the Himalayas), grapes, mangoes, rose apples, figs, elephant-tree apples, coconuts, bread fruit of kṣirika, kadamba (nauclea codifoliu) and dates.

Jātaka (III.465) mentions horses and elephants as toys.

Story Tellers

While tender children enjoyed playing with toys, youngsters specially a little grown up princes, were entertained by the professional story tellers. The state patronised expert conversationists or story tellers,[507] whose main profession was to be the companions of princes or kings and to entertain them.

Magic Shows

Even in modern days magic shows are a big entertainment of children. The elders also enjoy them (alone and in their company). The reference to "magician's Kaleidoscopic show" (Indrajāl, S. VI.45) alludes to the existence of this media of entertainment.

Soothsayers and Dream Interpreters

Dream Interpreters

As in modern days, so in the time of our poet, there lived Brāhmaṇas skilled in the interpretation of dreams. Queen Māyādevi's dream of a six-tusked elephant, mighty as Airāvata entering her womb, was interpreted by the birth of a prince who would be possessed of the "glory of majesty and righteousness".[508]

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505. B. II.21,22. Saundarananda (V.31) mentions a protective herb against snake-bite.

506. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, pp. 422-23.

507. B. V.2.

508. B. I.4; S. II.50.
S. II.51—स्वप्नविदो द्विजाः ।

Destiny anticipators or Astrologers

There seems to live a class of twice-born philosophers who were expert in reading heavenly bodies and predicting the future events. Siddhārtha was born in Puṣyanakṣatra (B. I.9), was the moon of the planets and sun of fires (B. I.37), and was like the constellation of the seven seers (B. I.14). The Brāhmaṇas, famed for learning eloquences, on hearing about the omens, considered them (B. I.31). They forecast either the prince to be a Chakravartin or an enlightened seer (B. I.34). These Brāhmaṇas seem to be professional soothsayers (B. I.48) and were given rich gifts by the kings (S. VIII.14).

In addition to the above mentioned Brāhmaṇas, there lived learned, auster, and philosophers with mighty priestly power (B. I.49,50). Their knowledge of reading constellations or stars seems to be very accurate and of a very high standard. Sage Asita is an example. He himself telling the purpose of his visit to Śuddhodana, says : "In the path of sun I heard a "divine voice saying' to thee a son is born for enlightenment'." (B. I.57) and adds—this he learnt and understood through signs (B. I.58).[509] It indicates or refers to a 'horoscope' and some 'Śāstra' or 'manual' possessing the knowledge of stars or planets or constellations (known to the poet).

Kathāsaritsāgar Taraṅga XIII (No. 68) tells that Astrology was almost a profession with the Ajivikas even in Buddha's lifetime.

Astrologers seem to have great importance in the society as in the modern times. The very fact of the King Śuddhodana's invitation to Brāhmaṇa to forecast the future of the prince is an evidence and indicates clearly how much the science of forecasting or horoscope had developed.

Foreign Notice

Q. Curtius Rufus (first c. A.D.) mentions of a class of people living in woods and fields, who anticipated the hour of destiny. This was done on scientific bases by observing the motion of heavenly bodies.[510]

The traveller has also referred to such a class of philosophers, leading a civilized life in cities. They also believed that no one could accelerate a day of his life than written by destiny.[511]

Physiognomy

Mahāvastu refers to Astrologers, diviners and physiognomists who moved about through cities and villages and interpreted dreams, physical characteristics and omens etc. The art seems to have developed to full measure and some handbooks and manuals were used for the purpose.[512]

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[509] Such were the philosophers known as 'Royal Seer'. They were rich in austerities and poor in wordly goods (B. I.56).

[510] J.W. M'crindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 199.

[511] Ibid., p. 190.

Pāli works mention eight Brāhmaṇa interpreters of body marks—Rāma, Dhaja, Lakkhana, Mānly, Kodañña, Bhoja, Suyāma, and Suddatta, who were invited by king Śuddhodana on the fifth day after the birth of Siddhārtha. It was the youngest Kodañña who told decisively that he will be Buddha. Asita's was the only to forecast that the prince would be indifferent to worldly pleasures.[513]

In *Buddhacarita* the Brāhmaṇas who have been judged as professionals judging from the unwinking, steady and longlashed eyes (B. I.38) and radiating limbs (B. I.13) interpreted the prince to be either an enlightened seer or a Chakravartin (B. I.34).

But sage Asita beholding "the feet of the prince marked with a wheel, fingers and toes joined by a web, the circle of hair growing between his eyebrows and testicals withdrawn like an elephant" (B. I.61) and glowing figure (B. I.62) gave definite interpretation that the "prince will surely reach enlightenment and release from prison the world which is entangled in its own snares of delusion and which is overwhelmed by suffering and destitute of refuge."[514]

Thus in the age from Buddha to Aśvaghoṣa there lived astrologers, physiognomists and palmists of very high knowledge.

Guild System

Jātakas mention eighteen guilds of different crafstmen while the Mahāvastu[515] names the guildsmen of Kapilvastu : goldsmiths, bankers, cloak-sellers, workers in shell and ivory, jewellers, workers in stone, perfumers, Kośavikas, oil dealers, hawkers of jars of ghee (ghṛta-kundika), sugar-factors (Gaulika), vendors of water (Vārika), factors of cotton, curds, cakes, dried treacle (khandakāraka), sweet-meats, kandu, wheat flour and barley meal, hawkers of fruits, roots, perfumed oil from ground powder, āgrīvanīyas, āviddhakas, makers of confectionery from sugar and dried treacle, vendors of dried ginger, distillers and factors of candied sugar and mentions eighteen guilds (Mhv. III, p. 114) in the time of king Śuddhodana.

Our poet has not mentioned any 'Śreṇi or Śreṅipramukha but has referred to 'Śreṣthi', which may be treated as a reference to the existence of various trades and hence their guilds also.[516]

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[512] T. Rahula, *Mhv.* Study, pp. 337-38.

[513] *DPPN*, p. 789.

[514] B. I.75. (Ref. Plate XVIII).

[515] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) III, p. 111 ff. (eighteen guilds of Kapilvastu).
Ibid., p. 443. *Eighteen guilds of Rājagṛha.*

[516] Shabdārth-Kaustubh, p. 133. 'Śreṣthi' is the head of the traders class, 'Seth', and a very rich person.
B. XIV.105 (Johnston ed.); 109 (R.C. Dasa ed.) Tibetan version of B.
Kālidasa (Vik. IV.13) uses the words *Nigama* and *Śreṣtha* to denote the representation of various traders.

In Mahāvastu[517] the craftsmen of Kapilvastu included brass-bounders, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, makers of wooden bowls, pradhvopakas ?, roisnas ?, tin smiths, makers of lead sheets, workers in grass, garland makers, vegetable growers, potters, tanners, weavers of wool, makers of mail armour, weavers of robes for idols, laundrymen, dyers, cleaners, spinners, painters, carpenters, carvers, basket makers, modellers, in clay, plasterers, barbers, hairdressers, woodcutters, decorators, builders, barn makers, minors, hawkers of fragrant earth, wood, grass shrubs and twigs; sailors, boatmen, washers of gold, and tricksters (honest and dishonest occupation).

Our poet has referred to almost all the products manufactured by the above mentioned craftsmen, but has named only goldsmiths, goldwashers,a nd tricksters (hunters, fishers).

Mathura Inscription of Huviṣka (dated 28th year of his reign) records the deposit of 550 Pūrāṇas in each of the two guilds 'Samtikar' and 'dhamñika' (?) with a condition to feed 100 Brāhmaṇas from the interest.

So, not only guilds acted as associations of co-merchants but acted as modern Banks.

Conveyances

The word 'Vāhana' (S. I.30, 5) is often used for conveyances while Ratha (chariots),[518] elephants (Hasti) and horses (Aśva)[519] are generally mentioned as the means of communication and items of wealth.

Chariots were harnessed with horses (S. X.41) and had two wheels (S. VII.16). The chariots of sages, kings and princes were decorated properly and had swift horses (S. I.30). If loaded they were greased in the central core (S. XIV.12).

Boats and ships were used for crossing rivers[520] and ocean.

Air Passage

There are references of journeys taken by sage Asita[521] by the path of wind (b),

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J.J. Jones (*Mhv.* III, ft. n. 4, p. 110), differentiates between 'Śreṇi' and 'Śreṣṭhi' though they are synonymous.

Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 97. Mahāseṭṭhi acted as a chief olderman of guilds.

[517] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), III, pp. 113-14.

[518] S. I.30, III.1, V.1.

[519] S. I.52, III.1, V.1.—द्विपेभ्यः ।

[520] B. I.21, 70; IX.24; XII.14.
S. XVII.68.

[521] B. I.80—पवन पथेन ।

by Buddha and Nanda by air[522] and (c) by a Śramaṇa[523] (B. V.17) who met Buddha, talked to him about his aim of searching the highest good and flew up to the sky.

It cannot be ascertained (at this stage) whether by the 'Pavan Pathen' the poet means the direction of the wind or the route followed by some swift conveyance or there was any air vessel like the modern aeroplane.

The Changing Trend

Historically reviewed our poet has highlighted the influence of Buddhism on the society of his time.

Gautama Buddha turned the wheel of law after his enlightenment (S. III.11).[524] The first multitude conversions were done at Kāśī, Gayā and Girivraja. Then he went to his ancestral town of Kapilvastu (S. III.19), and initiated his father, who after conversion, prostrated before him, "as before a spiritual guide" (S. II.26,27). Then followed the conversion of a large number of Śākya nobles, who were afraid of the afflictions of death and birth (S. II.28).

Nearly six centuries lapsed between Tathāgata and Aśvaghoṣa. Buddhism, by this time, had undergone many a changes. The most important change was its emergence in countries beyond India's boundaries, which resulted in contrast with original teaching of the Master. Mahāyāna is the general term used for this changed phase.[525]

Aśvaghoṣa's following description tells of the general effect of Buddhism on the masses. However, it cannot be said to be altogether free from poetical expressions.

The effect of Gautama's teaching on the masses was so great that even the hunters left Himsa (S. II. 30); the poor worked hard, but did not steal the goods of others (S. III. 31); rich, young and stirred in senses never touched the wives of others (S. III. 32); everyone told the truth (S. III. 33); no one in mind or even in thoughts coveted the goods of others (S. III. 34); everyone was compassionate (S. III. 35); everyone felt enlightened that the re-birth is linked with the actions of the past, present and future (S. III. 36); from reliance in the sage they followed the tenfold conduct, which is good in the highest degree (S. III. 37); all acted to bring the cessation of existence and not rebirth (S. III. 38); and however one may had been attached with the objects of senses, he never swerved from the right path (S. III. 40)."

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[522] S. X.3—पाणौ गृहीत्वा वियदुत्पपात ।

[523] B. V.17,20—नभः समुत्पपात ।

Śramaṇa is one who leaves home life for the sake of salvation (B. IV.17). Jain, Ājivika and Buddhist monks and nuns belonged to the Śramaṇa class. Brāhmaṇas stood for the authority of the Śruti and Smṛti laws. (Bhāskar, *Kuṣāna State*, p. 203)

[524] Infra. Ch. Religion, and Buddhist—Disciples.

[525] For details please see Ch. on Religion and Ch. IX of my work 'Buddhism in Kashmir'.

To conclude the society of our poet's time was luxury loving : fond of plenty of flowers, long garlands, various kinds of perfumes, cosmetics, music (vocal and instrumental), dance, drama, painting, gambling, fight between tame and wild birds, hunting, fishing, wrestling, prostitution and taking intoxicants like Sura, wine etc.

Master-mind as our poet is, he has not forgotten to jot down the entertainment of the children with artificial toys and expert story-tellers.

Young and old enjoyed magic shows. There lived Dream-interpreters, Astrologers and Physiognomists, in addition to various other artists and professionalists.

6

Customs and Manners

MARRIAGE

The custom of 'marriage' is quite prominent in social structure of any society of any age.

Though a woman is condemned for being the cause of a man's self control's downfall in Buddhism, she is still an essential part of the society. Buddha also, who, in the beginning, did not include them in his Saṁgha, later on yielded to the request of his step-mother and they were given equal status with Buddhist Bhikṣus and monks.[1]

Buddha has always encouraged house-holders and others to adopt the life of a renunciator, but has never allowed under any circumstances, a Bhikṣu, to accept a wife or a woman.[2]

Inter-Caste Marriage

Dharma Sūtras[3] are full of innumerable examples of intercaste marriages.

During the age of Brāhmaṇas, "Incestuous marriages and marriages within the circle of agnates and cognates were banned. Though marriage, within the gotra, was not explicitly prohibited, marriages outside the Gotra, must have been the prevalent custom in those days. However an exception to the general rule is met with in Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 1-8-3-6, which goes to prove that marriage within the 3rd or 4th degree on either the paternal or maternal side was in vogue or was allowed.

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1. Supra—*Social Life* (Women).
2. M. Vagga (Tr. Horner) III, p. 198.
3. S.C. Banerji, *D.S.*, pp. 127-29.

Marriage within the same caste is always praised and enjoined upon. But intercaste marriage was also prevalent in the Vedic Society."[4]

Viṣṇu Smṛti prohibits the marriage between persons of the same Gotra, ṛsi and 'pravara'. Āpstamba dharma sūtra ordains that "a man should not give away his daughter to a person having his own gotra nor[5] to one related on the mother's side. (Matuśca yonisambandhebhyaḥ (II. 11.16) Māturyonisambandhāh kanyāyā matulādayah, cakārāt-piturapyevam. (Hardatta's comments.)

Brother-Sister marriage

Among the early people, as all over the world so in India, there are references of restrictions to the cunnubium (the right of inter-marriage). But the customs of endogamy and exogamy were universal.[6] Buddhist period was not an exception. A brother marrying a sister is recorded only in Buddhist literature, which the Brāhmaṇic scriptures do not permit.

Sumangal vilāsini[7] presents such an instance. Here prince Okkaka have five queens. The chief queen had four sons and five daughters. After the death of chief queen, the king married another lady, with a promise to place her son upon the throne. As a precaution, the king banished the princes. They took their sisters with them and settled in the Himalaya's forest near sage Kapila's hermitage. In course of time they married four sisters excepting the eldest one.

The Tibetan source Ka'-gyur[8] also narrates the same story with a little variation. There the four brothers marry one sister and become the founder rulers of Kapilvastu. The king being surprised on hearing this exclaimed several times "Shākya, Shākya—is it possible, 'O daring O daring'. Thus they came to be known as 'Shākya'." Mahāvaṁśa[9] also refers to brother-sister marriage.

Not Vālmīki but Daśaratha Jātaka[10] records Rama's marriage with his sister Sīta (...dhita Sīta devi nama).

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[4] Dr. J. Basu, *I.A.B.*, p. 37.

[5] S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 80 and ft.n. 6.

[6] T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (1971), p. 52.
Jātaka 137 refers to inter-caste marriage.
Jātaka 49 refers to equal-rank parties becoming partners.

[7] Sumangalvilāsini, Pt. I, pp. 258-60 (quoted by B.C. Law, IHQ. II.1926, p. 563 vide Marriages in B. Lit.).

[8] *JASB.* II.1833, pp. 386-92.
(26th vol. of the M.D. class in the K'-gyur, commencing on the 16th leaf by Alex. Csoma de Korres).

[9] Mahavaṁśa (H), p. 45.

[10] Jat. (Fausboll), IV, pp. 123 ff, 1887.

Conclusion

As far as our poet is concerned, B.C. Law has rightly concluded,[11] "Although Aśvaghoṣa relies on current Buddhist tradition about the origin of Śākyas and foundation of new territory and its capital Kapilavastu, he is careful not to offend the refined taste of the Indo-Ārayan society of his time by avoiding the reference to the brother and sister marriage, which is naively mentioned in the earlier tradition in the Nikāyas."

Monogamy or Polygamy

Pre-Buddha Period

Polygamy was an established fact in pre-Buddhist society. Sage Yājñavalkya had two wives,[12] as stated in Bṛhadaraṇyaka Upaniṣad. King Daśaratha had three wives.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[13] (14.4-1-8) legally allows a king to have four queens or wives known as Mahiṣi, Vāvāta, Parivṛkta and Pātagali. "Catasro-jāya upaklpta bhavanti Mahiṣi vāvāta parivṛkta pālāgali sarvā niṣkinyah alaṅkṛtāh."

Viṣṇu Smṛti lays down that members of four castes may have four, three, two and one wife respectively.[14]

While the law permitted a man to have more than one wife, a wife was not allowed to have more than one husband. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Gopatha Brāhmaṇa clearly state "One man may have many wives but one wife must not have more than one husband."[15]

Buddhist Period

Buddha preached the path of renunciation. He has been very emphatically preaching that marriage is the greatest hindrance to all sublime pursuits, and is defiled with passions.[16] Though the common man, during this period (as nowadays),

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11. *DN.* I, p. 87 ff.—Ambatta Sutta. cf. Sumaṅgalavilāsini I, pp. 258-60; Paramatthajotika on the khuddakapatha (PTS), pp. 158-60 quoted by B.C. Law vide Aśvaghoṣa, p. 61.
12. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.—Dr. J. Basu, *I.A.B.*, p. 36.
13. Ś.B. 13.4.1.8. चतस्रो जायाऽउपकलप्ता भवन्ति। महिषीवार्वाता परिवृक्ता पालागली सर्वा निष्किप्योऽलङ्कृता मिथुनस्यैव सर्वत्वाय वाभिः सहाग्न्यगारे प्रपद्यते पूर्वया द्वारा यजमानो दक्षिणया पत्न्यः।
14. S.C. Banerji, *DS.*, p. 78.
15. A.B. 3-12-12 and G.B. (Uttarārdha) 3-20. 'Ekasya bahvyo jaya bhavanti, na ekasyai bahavah sahapatayah' (quoted by Dr. J. Basu, *I.A.B.*, p. 36, ft.n. 15).
16. Tevegga Sūtta 47. In Dhammika Sūtta 21 Buddha propagates to avoid married life. Jatakmala of Aryasura XXXII justifies Buddha's views : "It is easy to obtain righteousness in the forest, but not so for a householder" (Coomaraswamy, *Gospel of B.*, p. 131 ft.n.).

disliked the idea of plurality of wives, Jātakas[17] tell that the custom did prevail and the worst misery of a woman was to quarrel with her fellow-wives.

King Śuddhodana in Lalitavistara[18] is described to have one thousand wives and Māyādevi was the head queen.

According to Tibetan source (Dul-Va. III. 1.446) king Śuddhodana got a right to marry Māyādevi the elder sister, as a recompense, for defeating the Pāṇḍva Tribe (Skya-bseng-kyi-bu) who were raiding the kingdom. Otherwise he was refused her hand and was married to the younger sister Mahāmāyā only (Rockhill, *Buddha*, p. 15).

Aśvaghoṣa[19] however has recorded the tradition of Śuddhodana marrying both the sisters without praising or condemning monogamy and polygamy.

So it is concluded that the king, as the tradition permitted, could have more than one wife.

Widow

Dharmasūtra do not mention any rigid rules to be preserved by a widow. But Baudhāyana Sūtra (II. 4.7.8) prohibits her the use of honey meat, spirituous liquor and salt and advocates sleep on the ground for one year or according to some for six months only. Again the same Sūtra (B) permits the second marriage of widow (a) if her betrothed dies or (b) if the marriage is not consummated.[20]

Normally a widow was to observe the above restrictions (B. II. 4.7.8) throughout her life or says Viṣṇu DS (XXV. 14) otherwise to ascend the pile, after her husband.

But by the time of Kautalya, the condition of widow had improved. She could remarry, if she liked. Otherwise, according to Arthaśāstra (III. 20.16, XIII. 2.42) rich widows sometimes lived independently, but often in apprehension of being robbed or duped, in confidence. A pious widow was only allowed to retain the property of her husband (B.P. Sinha, *Artha.*, p. 143).

Aśvaghoṣa and Widow

The condition of a widowi, as depicted by our poet is pitiable. She cries constantly and tears finish her splendour (B. VIII. 36).

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[17] Jataka 489.
In exceptional cases the custom still prevails in the country.

[18] L.V. (Leff.), p. 28—
शुद्धोदनस्य प्रमदा प्रधाना नारी सहस्रेषु हि साग्राप्राप्ता ।

[19] B. II.18,19, VI.32.
S. II.57.

[20] S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 164.

Sati

Though mentioned indirectly the Sati system also seems to prevail in those days. (S. VIII. 42)

Dowery System

Dowery and Dharma Sūtras

Gautama DS. uses the word 'Stri-dhana' to denote in general sense and also as bride's price (Śulka). "All kinds of ,Stri-dhana, excepting the latter variety, mentioned above devolves upon daughters among whom those who are unmarried and married but poor (apritṣtihita) get the preference."[21]

"Viṣṇu Smṛti recognises the following classes of Stri-dhana : (1) Given by father, mother, son or brother, (2) Received at the nuptial fire (adhyagnyupāgata), (3) Received on supersession (ādhivedanika), (4) Given by relatives (bandhu datta), (6) Bride's price (Śulka), (6) Received after marriage (anvadheya)."[22]

The Strī-dhana of a woman who has children, goes to her daughters.[23]

But Baudhāyana DS. (II.343) gives a daughter the right to inherit the ornaments of her mother, according to the custom (of the caste).[24]

In a wedding called ' Brahmā' a father gives his daughter to the bridegroom, after enquiring about family, character, learning and health and "ornaments according to his power". (Āpastamba DS. II.11.17).

Manu[25] advocates the same where in the marriage called 'Brahmā', the father calls a virtuous bridegroom at his residence and offers the hand of his daughter, decorating her with beautiful clothes and ornaments.

Arthaśāstra,[26] refers to 'Śulka' as 'Strī-dhana' (woman's property) which was given by the father to his daughter or father-in-law to his daughter-in-law. She had full right over it. In the approved form of marriage, the husband had the control over Istrī-dhana, while in the unapproved form of marriage the control over Istri-dhana vested completely with the wife.[27]

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[21] S.C. Banerji, *DS*, p. 119. The commentators suggest childless daughter, unmarried daughter and poor son.
(Ibid., ft.n., 78)

[22] Ibid., p. 120.

[23] Ibid.

[24] *SBE.* XIV.

[25] *Manu.* III.27—आच्छाद्य चार्चयित्वा च श्रुतिशीलवते स्वयम् ।
आहूय दानं कन्याया ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ।।

[26] *Artha* (TSS) II. Ch. II.59 (p. 17)—
शुल्कं स्त्रीधनम् शुल्क स्त्री धनायास्तत्प्रमाणमाधिवेदनि कमनुरूपां · · · ।

[27] *Artha.* III.2.18.

Buddhist Literature and Dowery System

Buddhist literature hardly mentions of dowery system in connection with marriage ceremony. But in Visakavatthu of the commentary of Dhammapada (Vol. I), one Savatthian treasurer Migara gave enormous dowery of, "five hundred carts filled with money, five hundred filled with vessels of gold, 500 filled with vessels of silver, 500 filled with copper vessels, 500 filled with garments of various kinds of silk, 500 filled with ghee, 500 filled with husked and winnowed, and five hundred filled with ploughs, plough shares and other farm implements—sixty thousand powerful bulls and sixty thousand milkcows and some powerful calves" to his daughter, Visakha.[28]

The Dhammapada commentary and Jātakas[29] tell of bath and perfume money given by the father to the daughter in the marriage. Mahākośala, the father of the king of Kośala, married his daughter Kośaladevi to king Bimbasāra of Magadha and gave a village in Kāśi for her perfume and bath.

King Pasendi of Kośala married his daughter, princess Vajira, to king Ajātsatthu of Magadha and gave Kāśīgāma to her as bath and perfume money (Dhp. Comy. Vol. III, p. 266).[30]

The poet has referred to mātṛ-śulka (mother's property)[31] which alludes to the custom of dowery.

Marriage : Essential or Not

We have seen, during the days of Buddha women enjoyed complete independence and marriage was not compulsory for them. But by the time of Milindapañha "A woman without husband is said to be despised."[32]

Aśvaghoṣa and Marriage

Buddha's conversion of multitudes (S. III.15), his father (S. III.27 ff) and nobles (S. III.28) led to aversion for family life.[33] This must have raised a voice against him. Our poet, nearly six centuries after the Teacher, whose main aim was to popularise Buddha's teachings did not want to annoy the society of his times. So in order to make his view point well understood he started with appreciation for tradition and ended with his Buddhist views.

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[28] *IHQ*. II, 1926, p. 570.

[29] Jataka (Cowell's Ed.) II.239, III.283; *IHQ*. II, 1926, p. 570.

[30] *IHQ*. II.1926, p. 570.

[31] S. I.21.

[32] Milinda (*SBE*. XXXVI) IV.8.22.

[33] S. III.13, 29, 32.
Supra *V.S.*
Rattanpāla Sūtta (*MN*. II.12), p. 256 tells that even in Buddha's lifetime Rattanpāla father did not like his only son's adoption of a recluse's life and he instead of alms was given abuses.

Following the tradition the poet expresses that a man is born with three debts which he must discharge : debt to the ancestors is to be paid by the procreation of offspring, to the seers by Vedas and to the gods by sacrifices.[34] The married partners are advised to live happily and perform religious duties (sacrifices) which are essential in 'dharma'.[35] He maintains consummation of marriage essential to the upkeep of the family[36] and considers marriage as a sacred bond between husband and wife.[37]

The Importance of a Son

A legitimate son was considered a lamp of the race and family and for men desiring peace on earth there was "no excellence at all than a son".[38] His presence was indispensable for maintaining the tradition of the family, performing funeral ceremony (of the parents) and giving oblations.[39]

The birth of a son was celebrated with great pomp and show.[40] King Śuddhodana was cheered, congratulated and showered blessings of attaining enlightenment even by the dwellers in heaven.[41]

Buddha and Buddhism did not believe in these rites and so much importance of a son. "Buddha explicitly laid down that even a sonless man could attain Nirvāṇa or extinction only if he could lead a spotlessly pure life."[42]

Birth of a Grandson

To see the birth of a grandson was a matter of great rejoicing[43] and was considered a source of great attachment for the family (B. II.48). With the birth of a grandson (Rāhula) Śuddhodana was sure of the prosperity of the race (B. II.47).

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34. B. IX.65.
35. B. VIII.61,63.
36. B. I.79—सन्ताननाशात्तु ।
37. B. VIII.63.
38. B. I.32; 65— पुत्रैऽनिमिषैकचक्षुः ।
    The father may die, the race would continue through his son or like the two eyes one closed and one open.
    (B. I. ft.n. 65.)
39. Infra—Religious practices.
40. B. I.88.
41. B. I.18, 47, 88.
42. *The Status of Women*, p. 185.
43. B. II.46-47.

Child Caretakers or Nurses

Female nurses or caretakers were appointed to guard and look after the children of royalty and rich.[44]

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS

Social Habits

Society consists of elders, equals and youngers or inferiors. Aśvaghoṣa has referred incidentally to a few habits of those towards each other.

Guru and Pupil

When a pupil met his Guru, he showed great respect and did 'Dandvat Praṇām' or bowed to him.[45] Since a Guru and Buddha command highest honour, even king Śuddhodana showed the same honour (prostrated) to his son Buddha, when he met him and accepted him as his Guru.

A request to a Guru was made with bowed head and folded hands.[46] Nanda bowed before Buddha like a "karṇīkāra tree stirred by wind, with the shining glory of its flowers."[47]

Gautama Dharma Sūtra[47b] advocates salute to the teacher, father, and elder in age by touching their feet.

Husband and Wife

Women respected their husbands like god and addressed them as 'Āryaputra' and used the word 'Patidevatā' in their absence.[48]

There is lack of husband and wife conversation in our Kāvyas, but sometimes husband, out of love, seems to address his wife as 'candi' as was done by Nanda at the time of his departure to see the Muni (Buddha).[49]

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[44] S. V.47—बालस्य धात्री ।

B. I.61—धात्र्यङ्क संविष्टमवेक्ष्य ।

[45] S. III.27—ननाम स यतो गुराविव ।

Johnston interprets it 'Dandvat Praṇam'.

S. I.30—शिरोभि: प्रणिपत्य च ।

A. *DS*. I.13.13,14 7. A student shall embrace the feet of his teacher and who teaches him.

[46] S. XII.12—प्रणम्य च गुरो मूर्ध्ना...कृत्वाञ्जलि मुवाचेदं ।

[47] S. XVIII.5.

[47b] Gau. *DS*., (VI.3) The same custom still prevails in the country.

[48] S. IV.34—आर्यपुत्रेहि ; S. VI.42—पतिदेवताया: ;

VIII.43—पतिदेवता: ।

[49] IV.37—विमुञ्च चण्डि (cruel one).

A woman in the pleasure-grove whose motive was only to captivate the mind of the prince, got the liberty of addressing the prince as 'Bharta'.[50]

Royalty and Public Respect

Public showed great respect to the royalty. When king Śuddhodana with his queen Māyādevi and the baby prince entered Kapilavastu, the public from Lumbinivana to the city (Kapilavastu) greeted them with folded hands on both sides of the path.[51]

When prince Siddhārtha was passing through Rājgṛha on his way to forest, none passed on the way without doing reverence to him. "Some worshipped him with joined hands, others honoured by saluting him with their heads and others greeted him with kind words."[52]

The daughters of noblemen saluted the prince with folded hands.[53]

Manners

The kings showed all courtesy, humility and spoke very gently in the presence of learned 'knowers of the Absolute'[54] sages or seers.

When making a request, even a son to his father, showed all humility. Siddhārtha prostrated to Śuddhodana while seeking permission to become a mendicant.[55] Otherwise also even a prince, while talking to his father, was humble and talked in a very polite and low voice.[56]

The elders kissed youngers. King Śuddhodana kissed the forehead of his son while permitting him to visit the pleasure grove.[57]

In fact all elders were respected by the youngers.[58] So much so that even the ladies sought permission from their elders, to go to the balconies to see the procession of Siddhārtha.[59]

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[50] B. IV.44—पश्य भर्तंश्रितं ।

[51] B. I.87.

[52] B. X.5.

[53] B. V.24—साञ्जलि ; राजकन्या ।

[54] B. I.50—तं ब्रह्मविद्ब्रह्मविदं ज्वलन्तं ब्राह्मया
श्रिया चैव तप:श्रिया च ।

B. I.54—गम्भीर धीराणि वचांस्युवाच ।

[55] B. V.28—प्रणिपत्य स चाञ्जलिर्बभाषे ।
Rattanpala Sūtta (*MN*. I, p. 252) parents consent essential for giving the order.

[56] B. VI.25.

[57] B. III.7—शिरस्युमाघाय ; . . . गच्छेति ; 6.

[58] B. II.11.

Masters and Servants

The employee or servants talked with great humility and folded hands to their masters.[60]

The friends and masters in politeness addressed their subordinates as 'Somya'.[61]

In fact the noble qualities were prized in the age and pride was considered noble.[62] It was customary of men of good families to adhere to their words and discussion.[63]

Guests

Viṣṇu DS (LXVII.31) considers a Brāhmaṇa the Lord of all other castes, "as a husband the lord over his wives and as a guest the lord of a householder". Dharma S. goes upto the extent of saying that by honouring a guest, he householder attains heaven.[64] . A disappointed guest takes away his host's religious merit and "throws his own guilt upon him".

Āpstamba DS. advocates,[65] "Among other things a Brāhmaṇa must be given water for washing his feet (pādya) or a householder should himself wash the feet of his guest and "gladden him with milk or other drinks, with estables or at least with water".

The King and Sage-Guests

Special courtesy and honour was shown by the householders and kings towards Brāhmaṇas who were learned and possessed of priestly power of asceticism. Sage Asita's visit to Śuddhodana and Buddha's visit to Nanda are examples.

King Śuddhodana personally honoured sage Asita, when he came to him to congratulate the birth of prince Siddhārtha, by offering a seat, water to wash the feet and proper offerings. The king showed all the humility in his presence and stood at his command. He felt honoured at the visit of the sage.[66]

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[59] B. III.13—The contemporary sculpture display the scenes of ladies peeping from the windows to see a procession.

[60] B. VI.25.

[61] B. VIII.4, VI.50—सौम्य

[62] S. IX. 33-34.

[63] S. VIII 27, X.11.

[64] VI. *DS.* (LXVII.32).

A. *DS.* (II.6.6) honouring a learned guest 'is immunity from misfortune and heavenly bliss'.
Gau. *DS.* (SBE. II) V.37.

[65] Ā. *DS.* (SBE III), II.6,9,11,14.

[66] B. I.49-54.

Nanda was so perturbed on knowing that Buddha had left his palace without being honoured that he followed the sage, leaving his cherished pleasures with his wife to offer him proper hospitality.[67]

This custom of honouring guests is very old, as has been advocated in Dharma Sutras and our poet has also referred to the same honour done by Antideva to Vaśiṣtha.[68]

This expression of our poet reminds us of Mahabharata[69] where at Śukadeva's visit to king Janaka, the king remained standing with folded hands and sat on the floor (with the permission of the sage) along with his retinue. Then the king with great humiliation, asked the reason of sage's visit to him.

Ascetics and Guests

The ascetics welcomed the guests (worth the names) with great courtesy, politeness and hospitality.[70] Their delight was in making others feel like one's own kindred. Siddhārtha was given all such honours in the hermitage of the descendants of Bhṛgu and while leaving he felt sad and said "... I feel indeed so much grief, as I did when quitting my kinsfolk."[71]

Sometimes a guest was welcomed with great joy, calling out aloud 'Svāgatam' (welcome) as was done by Saga Kalama Arāḍa welcoming Siddhārtha.[72] A guest was offered pure wooden seat, covered with deer skin in the hermitage[73] and then enquired about his health and other things.

At the time of departure, it was customary to see the guest off upto a certain point. The hermits of Bhṛgu's Āśrama saw Siddhārtha off, who also in return saluted and proceeded his way.[74]

Ascetics and Kṣatriyas

A Kṣaṭriya showed great reverence to the celestial seers. He dismounted from the horse even at the sight of his hermitage[75] and seeing the ascetics on way he stopped by the roadside.[76]

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[67] S. IV.34-38.
[68] B. I.52.
[69] *Mbh.* (Satara ed.), p. 1780.
[70] B. VII.45.
[71] Ibid.
[72] B. XII.2.
[73] B. XII:3.
[74] B. VII.58.
[75] B. VII.3.
[76] B. VI.36. Siddhārtha stopped by a tree on the road side.

Friendship

Our poet has lavished great importance on friendship which has three-fold characteristics : "(1) to restrain a man from what is unprofitable, (2) to encourage him to what is profitable, and (3) to stand by him in adversity", joys, forbearance and affection.[77] The friendship among virtuous increases with an uninterrupted succession of friendly acts. But it does not stand firm among the vicious.[78] Telling the truth of all times, the poet says, everyone is a friend to a man at ease and in the enjoyment of prosperity.[79] Only the good friends do the same, on behalf of their friends and dharma.[80] Bimbasara, the king of Magadha, was such a friend of Śuddhodana, who made an offer of half of his kingdom to Siddhārtha and advised him to devote himself to dharma of wealth and pleasure.[81]

Not only kings were friends of kings but sometimes the loyal employees are also described to be true friends. Udai, appointed companion of Siddhārtha[82] in the pleasure-grove-trip, while advising the prince to absorb in courtesy towards women,[83] says that he was doing it with a true friendly feeling and duty. He was feeling, that by neglecting the interests of the prince he would be neglecting the duty of a friend.[84]

Giving the worldly experience the poet says, a "wise enemy is better than a silly friend."[85]

Slavery

As in olden days so in our poet's time, the custom of slavery seems to prevail in India.

The Buddhist records allude to slaves who were intelligent and treated nicely. Sometimes they were freed because of their loyalty or good character and behaviour.

There was a time when slaves were not accepted in the order, to avoid the interference with the Right of a third party.[86] But when they were initiated to the order they were given all the requisites of a recluse.[87] Majjhima Nikāya II, 62 alludes

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77. B. IV.64, B. XI.4.
    S. XII.18.
78. B. XI.3.
79. B. XI.4.
80. B. XI.11.
81. B. X.25,27,28—धर्मार्थकामान्विधिवद्भजस्व ।
    Dharma, *Artha*, Kāma, Mokṣa are considered the four ends of the life of a man according to Hinduism.
82. B. IV.63.
83. B. IV.71.
84. B. IV.66.
85. B. VIII.35.
86. DN. I. 60-61. (This ref. seems to be very old remaks the Editor)
87. Samanna-phala Sūtta (*DN*, Vol. II, *Dialogue of Buddha*) 60-61 (pp. 76-77).

to the promise of freedom to a female slave, if the news brought, by her, about former's sons return, who had became a Bhikṣu, was correct (sace je saccaṁ vadasi, a-dāsi bhaksīti).[88] In Aṅguttara Nikāya,[88] Buddha is found expounding the five reasons to get rich lawfully, which would please his parents, himself, wife, children and his slaves.

According to Vinaya Text, those slaves who worked in the household or were personal servants, they seem to be treated nicely.[89] According to Jātakas, those who were captured in the raids and reduced to slavery, were deprived of judicial punishments.[90]

Mahavastu gives elaborate references to slavery.

Mhv. (I. 18)[91] tells of slaves who were shackled with fetters and claims and were made to work forcibly. Rich merchants used to have a large number of bondsmen (dāsa) and bondswomen (dāsīs) in their houses.

According to Syāmā Jātaka[92] plenty of female and male slaves and hirelings served the rich courtezans.

According to another reference (Mhv. I. 95),[93] sometimes the slaves were encouraged to advise the king.

Thus we find Aśvaghoṣa's reference to the slavery and slaves (dāsa) which are described to be 'sometimes happy and at other in distress'[94] alludes to the existence of all types of slaves as mentioned above.

Release of Prisoners

Prisons for the prisoners were maintained by the State. There was a custom of releasing them on special joyful occasions. King Śuddhodana was so delighted at the birth of his son that he threw open all the prisons of his realm.[95]

Belief in Omens

Belief in good and bad omens, based on the 'appearance and movements of heavenly bodies, the behaviour of plants, birds and animals, the spontaneous expression of one's own limbs' and dreams is cherished by the Indian society right from the time of Rāmāyaṇa.[96]

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[88] *MN.* (PTS. II. ed. 1896) p. 62—
सच्चै जो सच्चं वदसि अदासि भवसीति ।
AN. III (PTS. R. Davids, 1934), p. 37 (IV.41).

[89] M. Vagga (SBE. XIII) 39.2 (p. 191).

[90] Jātaka (Cowell's ed. 1973) II.220, p. 135.
Jātaka (Ibid.), I.120.

[91] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) I.18.

[92] *Mhv.* (Ibid.) II.168 (p. 163).

[93] *Mhv.* (Ibid.) I, p. 75.

[94] S. XI.44—दास ।

[95] B. I.82.

This belief in the good and bad omens seems to have continued till the time of our poet, as he has mentioned all of them.

Lucky Omens

Telling about natural good omens, we are told :

Dream

Māyādevi dreams of a mighty (like Airāvat), six-tusked elephant entering her womb[97], when she conceived Buddha.

At the birth and enlightenment of Siddhārtha there was earthquake. Here the expressions are noteworthy. At the birth-time the mountains quivered like a shipwreck by the wind[98] and at the time of his enlightenment, the earth "swayed like a woman drunken with wine."[99]

When Siddhārtha was born and achieved enlightenment the sun shown brilliantly in the cloudless sky.[100] There was thunder, as if of the drums of gods in heaven resounded in the air.[101]

At the time of his birth, from "the cloudless sky there fell a shower, perfumed with sandalwood and at the time of his enlightenment, "pleasant breezes blew softly and the heaven rained moisture". The ground was covered with blue and pink lotuses and water lillies of gold and beryal at the time of his birth and enlightenment[102], as if to do him honour. At the time of his birth, noxious creatures consorted together and did not hurt each other. The diseases were cured without effort.[103] "The birds and deer did not call aloud and the rivers flowed with calm waters"[104] and the world became exceedingly calm.[105]

Body Marks

Telling about the good signs found on the body : Siddhārtha's soles of feet were marked with wheel and the fingers of the toes were joined by a web of lines.[106] His hands were marked with Swastika and had wheel sign on the palms.[107] The sign of wheel or Chakra is supposed to indicate world tour and acclaim, even in present days.

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[96] R.S. Sharma, *Rā. Study*, p. 177.
[97] S. II.50.
[98] S. II.52, B. I.21.
[99] B. XIV.87.
[100] B. I.21; XIV.88.
[101] B. I.26.
[102] B. I.21; B. XIV.88.
[103] B. I.25.
[104] B. I.26.
[105] B. I.27.

Signs in Sculpture

Mathura Museum 12.188 depicts headless statue of Buddha wearing a drapery covering his one shoulder only. The soles of his feet and the hand bear auspicious motifs.

Chandigarh Museum 2080 (Print) displays the broken foot of Buddha with Swāstika, Chakra and lotus symbols, in Gandhara Art. The fingers are also marked with auspicious signs. It is from Peshawar and is dated first century A.D.

Lucky Omens

According to Pāli canon the sight of holy man or king is lucky and is deemed to bring good luck.[108]

The sight of king Śuddhodana brought fortune in business to every one whether a scholar, warrior or man of high degree.[109]

Similarly the sight of sage Arāḍa was considered auspicious by Siddhārtha. He, in excitement, exclaimed, "The extreme graciousness which you show me, in spite of your freedom from passion, makes me feel as if I had already reached the goal, though it is yet unattained by me."[110] And he considered the very sight of the sage a light, guide and boat to cross the river.[111]

Mahurat

The custom of 'Mahurat' or auspicious time or day to perform some auspicious rite or deed was also prevalent. This used to be calculated by the learned foreseers. King Śuddhodana is referred to have decided to enter the city (from Lumbini grove) at the pre-determined fortunate and auspicious day.[112]

The custom of observing the practice of 'Mahurat' by kings is also alluded in Divyāvadāna (Atha rajañah kanakavarṇasya Muhurtaṃ cocitvaitad abhavat).[113]

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106. B. I.60.
Supra—Physiognomy.

107. B. VI.54.

108. Johnston ft. n. B. XII.13.

109. S. II.8.

110. B. XII.13.

111. Ibid., 14.

112. B. I.85—गुणवति नियते शिवे महुर्ते मतिमकरोन्मुदितः पुरप्रवेशे ।।

113. Divya. (Cowell & Neil), p. 292.

Otherwise also the custom is as old as Manu (II. 30) who advocates the ceremonies of Namakaraṇa, Jatakarma Mundana, Upanayana etc. to be performed at auspicious time.

Rites and Practices

Jātakarma, Namakaraṇa, Upanayaṇa, Samāvartana, Vivāha and Antyeṣti are the special Saṁskāras (Rites) known to vālmīki.[114] Though our poet has named Jātakarma, Upanayaṇa and Vivāha he has referred to some special rites of Gautama clan which the sage Kapila celebrated for the Śākya princes (S. I.25).

Jatakarma

Jātakarma[115] Saṁskār or the birth ceremony of a son was performed according to the manner, which befitted the family. King Śuddhodana spent much wealth to celebrate the birth of Siddhārtha.[116]

Gautama DS. (VIII.14) and Manu (II.27) mention this ceremony. Manu, attaching importance to it, tells that the performance of the ceremony purifies the impurities connected with womb and conception.[117]

Upanayaṇa

Dharmasūtras attach great importance to this ceremony. Though it is mentioned in Gautama D.S. (VIII. 14) as the ceremony of initiation to education, Āpstamba DS. (II.15) says a child cannot offer burnt oblations until or unless he is initiated.

Śatapatha Brahmaṇa[118] describes 'Upanayaṇa' or initiation ceremony of a Brāhmaṇical student to studies : "Brahmakarino bhavo Brahmakarayen or āgāamprāpunuyum" or a student utters, "may I obtain or enter religious studentship or let me be a student and then the teacher says, "What 'Ka' is thy name ?" now 'Ka' is Prajāpati. He thus initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati."

Aśvaghoṣa without giving details of the ceremony refers to the existence of the custom of initiation to the rite called Upanayaṇa.[119] Our poet's knowledge of 'Ka' is also displayed in a simile : king Śuddhodana performed works of great difficulty like 'ka' in the primeval age when the (Prajapaṭi) produced creatures.[120]

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[114] R. Sharma, *Ram. Study*, p. 159.

[115] B. I.82.

[116] B. I.89.

[117] Manu. II.27—वैजिक गर्भिकं चैनो द्विजानामपमृज्यते ॥

[118] SBE. XLIV, XI Kanda, Adhyāya 5, p. 86.
Śudras and persons of bad actions are not to be initiated. (A. *DS*. I, 6, SBE. II).

[119] S. II.63—कृत विद्यायोश्च ।
B. II.24—प्रतिपत्तिकर्म ।

[120] B. II.51 (Ka=Prajapati, works of difficulty=austerities. ft. n. Johnston).

Dharma Sūtras permit the rite of 'Upanayaṇa' only to males and that also to the three upper castes, as Śudras and women are debarred.[121]

Pravrajj (Pabbajja)

As the three upper castes were initiated to education with a special ceremony called Upanayaṇa, in the same way a person was initiated to Buddhism and the ceremony was named 'pabbajja' in Pāli works. By it a person presents himself for admission to the order by going out of his previous state 'whether it be that of a layman or household'. Mahāvagga[122] (I. 12.3,4) describes the rule of first ordination i.e. the initiator takes three refuges (Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha).

Vivah

Our poet has referred to two marriages of Śuddhodana with Māyādevi's who become Siddhārtha's mother and Gautami (Māhādevi's sister) who became Nanda's mother; prince Siddhārtha's marriage with Yaśodharā and Nanda's marriage with Sundari without elaborating on the topic.[123]

The Rules Connected with Cremation

Cremation

Siddhārtha saw a corpse carried away by four men and followed by many sad mourners.[124] This alludes to the performance of last rites of a man and due consignment of the corpse to the flames. This is known as Aurdhvadaihika, Pretkriyā or merely Saṁskāra in Rāmayaṇa.[125]

Āpstamba DS II.7,16,19,20,21,22 records the time and day of funeral-oblations' performance.

Apsnat

Āpstamba DS (II.15) discusses the custom of bathing after the dead. Here bathing is prescribed to the blood relations of his "mother and father within six degrees or as far as relation is traceable, he shall bathe, if they die, excepting children, who have not completed their first year."[126] "On account of the death of the latter the parents alone bathe."[127]

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[121] Āp. I.11, 6,7.

[122] *SBE*. Vol. XIII.

[123] B. I.2—Counterpart Māyādevi; S. II.49.
B. II.18—Māyādevi's sister brought Siddhārtha up; S. II.57, Nanda's mother.
B. II.46—Yaśodharā, Siddhārtha's wife.
S. IV.3—Sundari, Nanda's wife.
For details of 'marriage' supra 'Women' in Ch. Social Life.

[124] B. III.55.
"The Hindus call this ceremony 'Aurdhvadaihikakriyā'. . . unless this ceremony is performed, the departed soul is believed to linger about its late habitation and hover about without consolation, and is in great distress as a 'Preta'." (R. Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 424).

[125] Rām. II.90.3; IV.18.2, II.87.3.
cf. R. Pandey, *Hindu Saṁskāras*, p. 161.

Following the signs of mouring, the same DS. prescribes . . . the mourners to go outside the village . . . "stepping into the river they throw up water for the dead once and then ascending (the bank) they sit down (Ā. 15.7). This is repeated thrice (Ā. 15.8). "They pour out water consecrated in such a manner that the dead would know it (to be given to them). Then they return to the village without looking back (Ā. II.15.9).[128]

The fire to the pyre is to be lit by the son (or the nearest relative performing the Saṁskāra) who afterwards goes to the nearest river, stands by the water-side, and offers handful of water (perhaps mixed with sesamum seeds and darba grass) to the departed soul. This custom prevailed even during the days of Rāmāyaṇa.[129]

Aśvaghoṣa's Time

The same tradition is followed by the society of our poet's time. A legitimate son was a necessity and indispensable for maintaining the continuity of the family and performing one's (parents) funeral ceremony and offering oblations. It was with this concern that the king Śuddhodana, asking sage Asita about the long life of Siddhārtha, says, whether his son would "survive him to offer the handfuls of water to the dead."[130] As without that he would get birth as Preta.[131]

The custom of offering water to the 'Pitaras' with sacred thread (Yajñopavīt) put on the shoulder also existed.[132] The mourners took bath (Apsnat)[133] together at a well, spring or river after burning the dead and the corpse of the dead was carried by four men for the last rites as per tradition.[134] This custom still prevails in India.

[126] Ā. II.152.

[127] Ibid. 153.

[128] G. Bühler, ft.n. 7-9 refer Yagn. III.5.7 ff. says, the Mantra while throwing the water is "I give, this water to you *NN.* of the family of *NN.*"

[129] Rām. II.8.1; II.18.29; II.89.2,3; IV.18.30-31.

[130] B. I.64—सलिलाञ्जलि ।
Kalidasa, Kirātārjuna (II & III.22), Śiśupālavadh (II.16), Bhatti Kâvya (XII.4.20), Bṛhatkathā Śloka Saṁgraha (XX.109) also mention it (Johnston ft.n.).

[131] B. VIII.80—पिपासवो ममासव: प्रेतगति पियासव: ।

[132] S. X.10.

[133] B. VIII.7—अपस्नातमिवभिजग्मतुः ।

[134] B. III.55.

The Expression of Grief

According to Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sūtta[135] when Ānanda informed the Mallas of Kuşinara about the death of Buddha, "the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives, were grieved and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelling their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, while some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the very thought : Too soon has the Blessed one died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !"

Aśvaghoṣa and the Expression of Grief

Women

Men and women when cried in distress they lamented aloud. This is one of the signs of the afflicted person, in addition to his various other physical actions.

Amongst women, in heaven or on earth, the custom of beating the breasts with hands while in distress, at the parting with their beloveds existed.[136] Sometimes, while beating so, their breasts and hands were hurt and "their close set up upstanding breasts shook under the blows of their hands."[137] "They clasped one another with their arms and let fall their tears."[138]

The above customs are still lingering in the backward Indian society.

Finding the horse's back empty, women shut the windows and wept aloud.[139] Gautamī wailed like an ofspray in persisting cry, moaning the qualities of Siddhārtha.[140] Similarly Yaśodharā, though swooning and falling on the ground, uttered all sorts of laments in her distress in a choked voice,[141] e.g. Gautama by flight means leaving her husbandless, he left her asleep to obtain Apsarās in heaven,[142] and in great anguish she charged him as brute, unkind and so forth,[143] and rebuked Chandaka.[144]

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135. SBE. XI. MPN. Sūtta. 23,24 (pp. 121-22).
136. B. XIV. 40.38, VIII.28.
137. B. VIII.29,30.
138. B. VIII.59.
139. B. VIII.14—चुकुशुः ।
140. B. VIII.51—कुररीव दुखिता । विहाय धैर्यं विरुराव
    गौतमी तताम् चैवाश्रुमुखी . . . .।।
    LV. (P.L. Vaidya, p. 154) describing the cries of women in the palace when Chandaka returned without Siddhārtha, uses the same expression—कुररीभिरिवोत्क्रुष्टमभूत ।
    Both the expressions resemble in words and simili.
141. B. VIII.60 ff.
142. B. VIII.32,61-64.
143. B. VIII.33—
    अनार्यमस्निग्घममित्रकर्मं मे नृशंस कृत्वा किमिहाय रोदिषि ।
144. B. VIII,32,33,34.

Men

Coming to know that Siddhārtha had renounced the world, general public of Kapilvastu wailed so loudly that "the king distressed by it trembled like an elephant at the roar of a thunderbolt".[145]

King Śuddhodana swooned with grief for his son and was held by persons of birth equal to him. In great grief the king also cried aloud, recalling the virtues of his son and is found chiding his stead and others for not bringing him back.[146]

Expressing the delicate feeling in love, the poet recalls that men falling from heaven on earth, lament aloud and cry naming heavenly lakes, groves and beloveds (B. XIV.41).

Ascetics and Grief

What to say of worldly men, women, king, queen, wife, mother, birds and animals, our poet finding a moment when Siddhārtha was in infavourable circumstances has not left the opportunity of recording the reaction. Finding Siddhārtha beset by Māra's cruel host, the ascetics raised cries of 'Ha Ha' in the sky.[147]

Here is blending of our poet's love for the Master and a tinge of supernatural element in Buddha legend.

Animals and Grief

Not only of human beings but our poet's study of animals and birds world is also remarkable. They are all crowned with a humane touch.

Siddhārtha's horse Kanthaka, at the time of parting, wept and licked his feet.[148] Coming to Kapilvastu it did not stir or eat fodder and lay in the compound of the palace, missing his master Siddhārtha, whom he left in the forest.[149]

The other favourite horses and birds in the palace gave back the charger's reply.[150]

All these expressions of grief by men and women though common in all the ages, differ in different classes of people. As in Rāmāyaṇa (II.76.32) King Daśaratha, overwhelmed with grief, fell down, similarly king Śuddhodana could not contain the grief and fell down. Both the expressions are identical.

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[145] B. VIII.72—

जनस्य तेनातरंवेण चाहतश्चचाल वज्रध्वनिनेव वारणः ।

[146] B. VIII.74,75 ff. mark ft. n. 74 of Johnston.

[147] B. XIII.32.

[148] B. VI.53.

[149] B. VIII.17.

[150] B. VIII.18—ततः खगाश्च क्षयमध्यगोचराः

समीप वद्धस्तुरगश्च सत्कृताः ।

Women of pedigree cried aloud and chide Kanthaka, Siddhārtha and Chandaka, and common women beat their breasts, took each other in arms and let tears fall. This is a custom which still prevails in remote parts of our country (and is not a common custom) but reminds us of the tradition.

Morality and Religion

Religious practices, like Pūja, Dān, Jāpa and Homa, were a part of the routine life of society of the time.

Ten days after the birth of Siddhārtha, king Śuddhodana, with great joy and piety of his mind, for the welfare of his child "offered sacrifices to gods together with incantation, oblation and other auspicious rites."[151] He desisted from sin, practised self-restraint and rewarded the good, for the sake of his son's prosperity.[152]

The pious old women, purifying themselves and performing luck bringing rites, prayed to the gods for the good fortune of the baby (Siddhārtha).[153]

Prayers and auspicious oblations were performed (sometimes) in the temples.[154] "The king again and again, for the recovery of his son muttered prayers (Jajāpa) in the temples and performed various rites suitable to his intentions."[155]

Different kinds of Pūjās are absent in all the Dharma Sūtras excepting Viṣṇu Smṛti (25th Ch.) which is probably of a much later period.[156] Japa (meditation with repetition) tapas (penances), Upavāsa (fasting) and dāna are advocated by Dharma Sūtras.[157]

Dāna or gifts to the Brāhmaṇas seems to be a very important part of the religious ceremonies. Early Dharma Sūtras do not attach much importance to charity. Dāna is extolled only in Vaśiṣṭha DS. and Viṣṇu Smṛti.[158]

The King Śuddhodana, for the prosperity of his son, gave in charity to the Brāhmaṇas one thousand cows full of milk, with gilded horns and healthy calves.[159] In addition to this, he performed many auspicious ceremonies, directed towards many ends, which delighted him.[160] Wishing his son to become the lord of the world and not to retire to the forest before old age, he gave rich gifts to the twice born.[161]

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[151] B. I.83.

[152] B. II.33.

[153] B. I.30.

[154] B. VIII.72.

[155] B. VIII.15.

[156] S.C. Banerji, *DS.*, p. 176.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid., p. 177.

[159] B. I.84.

[160] B. I.85—बहुविधविषयास्ततो यतात्मा स्वहृदयतोषकरीः क्रिया विधाय ।

One thousand cows as a gift given in a sacrifice by Jaṇaka of Videha are mentioned in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[162] Though cow was not regarded sacred either at Harappa or Mohenjodaro.[163] Dharma Sūtras give great importance to the cow given in charity.

Nitya Karmas

Referring to compulsory 'Nitya Karmas' to be performed by a man, the king Śuddhodana "did not touch anything to eat till he had performed his āblutions and assigned the first portion to the holy persons."[164] He scattered the 'Bali' oblation according to rule,[165] and gave gifts to the deserving.[166]

Thus, so far Jāpa, Dāna, Pūjā, Homa and 'Nitya Karmas' are concerned, the society was tradition bound.

Begging

Aśvaghoṣa has described the society of the time so self-respecting that though of wretched means, no one except 'monks' begged.[167] The example given is of the ideal Bhikṣu Siddhārtha. He begged his food with "moveless eyes, looking only a yoke's length ahead, voice stilled and walk slow and restrained . . . with limbs and active mind under control."[168]

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161. B. I.48.
162. Śat. Br. (SBE. XLIV, p. 114) (XI.6).
163. Marshall, *Indus Givilization*, I, p. 355.
164. S. II.19.
165. S. II.20.
166. B. II.12.
167. B. II.10.
168. B. X.13.—भिक्षां, निधाय गात्राण ।

7

Food and Drinks

Kapilavastu lies in the foot-holds of Himalayas and is surrounded by Sal and other trees. The streams from the mountain ranges, and middle part of the Rapti river on the other side,[1] have made the land fertile. The water of the rainy season and of inundation, standing on the rich soil, have rendered the low lying flat land, fittest for the cultivation of rice.[2] Thus rice has been the chief crop of this part of the country from hoary past.

Śākyas are frequently mentioned in literature, as blessed with prosperity and opulence. The chief source of their wealth was undoubtedly the products of their region, including that of forests and land.[3]

Mahāvastu, while telling about the wealth of Mahākāsyapa, records his property included five thousand cattles, five thousand fields and villages, nine hundred and ninty-nine ploughs, and good and shining ploughshares made at Kapilvastu.[4] Similarly the wealth of the heads of guilds at Markaṭa, Mathura, Benaras and Kosala included 'granaries'.[5]

The above mentioned prosperity seems to be due to cultivation being the main occupation of those who were not otherwise employed. Their main duty was to see that various crops were sown in time, inclosed and inspected. When the crops were ripe, they were to see that they are reaped at proper time, brought to the threshing floor and winnowed.[6]

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[1] Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 95. Rohini falls into Rapti near Gorakhpur, a few hundred miles N. of Benaras. (Ibid. ft. n.).

[2] Ibid., p. 97.

[3] Supra—*Forest Wealth*, Ch. IV.

[4] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), III, p. 49.

[5] *Mhv.* (Ibid.) III, pp. 379, 382, 402, 374.

Forests and ploughing the fields have been attached great importance in Buddhist literature (perhaps because), the turning point of Buddha's life is connected with them.

Nidāna Kathā (pp. 74-75) refers to the 'Festival of ploughing', where the young Siddhārtha went with his parents. Finding others busy in enjoying the ploughing scene, he sat under a tree, cross-legged, and began to meditate. This was his first trance of calmness.

The same story is repeated in Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara.

The story of Mahāvastu[7] however differs from Nidāna Kathā, which places the incident in the pleasure-grove. Finding the land, being ploughed, the prince got interested. Suddenly he saw a frog and snake thrown out by the plough. A young boy took the frog for eating and threw away the snake. This led the prince to meditate on the miseries of life.

In Majjhima Nikāya (I. 246-7) Buddha narrates : "I know that while my father, the Śākyan, was ploughing, and I was sitting in the cool shade of a rose-apple tree, aloof from pleasures of senses, aloof from unskilled states of mind, entering on the first meditation, which is accompanied by initial thought and discursive thought, is born of aloofness, and is rapturous and joyful, and while abiding, therein, I thought 'Now could this be a way to awakening. Then following on my mindfulness, Aggivessana there, was the consciousness. This is itself the way to awakening...(247)...' 'I am not afraid of that happiness which is happiness apart from sense pleasures, apart from unskilled states of mind."

Here, according to M.N.A. II.290 this was a ritual sowing, "Vappamangala". But, whatever the case may be, whether a festival or Siddhārtha's visit to forest or pleasure garden, his 'First Trance' is connected with fields.

Our poet however has given a more realistic touch and has introduced the ploughing scene after Siddhārtha's rejection of women in the pleasure-grove. Here the prince expresses his wish to visit 'the forest as well, as the excellent land',[8] where finding "the young grass torn up and scattered by the ploughs and littered with dead worms, insects and other creatures",[9] he is upset. His mind becomes still and he enters into first trance of calmness[10] and obtains "possession of concentration of mind, which springs from discernment and yields extreme ecstasy and bliss, and

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6. Ibid., p. 173.
7. Ibid., II.45, 9-12.
8. B. V.4.
9. B. V.5.
10. B. V.10.

thereafter, rightly perceiving in his mind the course of the world, he meditates on the same matter."[11]

All this tells that cultivation was the main occupation of the people of those times. Vast fields, stretching upto the forest range, were under cultivation in Kapilavastu, which excelled in making ploughing-instruments.

Aśvaghoṣa has not mentioned many items of cultivation, but has given a general reference that the entire land was cultivated.[12] Before sowing the seed, the land was ploughed, its surface was broken and furrows were made.[13] Oxen were used for tilling the land and 'Halla or Cakra' was the main instrument used for digging the soil.[14]

Heat, dust or wind, the ploughman worked so hard that their bodies were discoloured.[15] The husbandman sowed the seed of a particular crop of their need[16] and choice and according to reason. Sometimes the farmers were assisted in the fields by their wives.[17]

In addition to the fields, which required very hard labour, there is mention of certain groves, which grew without the labour of tilling.[18]

Famine

Due to the failure of rains sometimes the seeds did not grow and were 'burnt by the heat of the Sun and destroyed by the wind.'[19] *Buddhacarita* refers to 'Durbhikṣa' (famine),[20] which could be the result of failure of rains or some other unforeseen natural calamity.

Food Categories

In Rāmāyaṇa, Buddhist and Jain literature, food is classified into four categories. Vālmīki speaks of bhojya (soft), bhakṣkya (hard), coṣya (to be sucked) and lehya (to be licked).[21] The same four are found in the subsequent literature, of later days.

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[11] B. V.11.

[12] S. II.28—निखिलां गामवीवयत् ।

[13] B. V.4,6.

[14] B. VII.3—हलाचक्रधराः ; V. 5—हलभिन्न विकीर्णं, 6.

[15] B. V.6; XI.20.

[16] S. XI.27—फलविशेषार्थं बीजं वपतिकार्षकः ।
B. II.8.

[17] B. VII.3—स्थिता हि हस्तस्थयुगास्तथैव कौतूहलाचक्रधराः सदाराः ।

[18] B. II.8—कृषिश्रमेण ।

[19] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), III, p. 358.

[20] B. II.13.

In Buddhist literature[22] "Bhojaniya includes boiled rice, boiled mixture of barley and beans, parched barley meal (Saktu) and meat and fish." Hard food includes roots, stalks, flowers and fruits.[23]

Aśvaghoṣa has referred to four kinds of nutriment with its manyfold attachments.[24] They, according to Buddhist works are[25] Kavlikara (hard and soft), Sparsha (concerned with senses and organs), Manaschetana (concerned with mind and consciousness) and Vijñana and consciousness and Vijñāna (concerned with knowledge and awakening).

Saṁyuta Nikāya Vol. V (Ch. VI) gives detailed account of what is food and what is not food for the five hindrances and for the seven limbs of the wisdom.[26] According to this work "Things good and bad, things blameworthy and of the body and mind. Systematic attention thereto if made much of this is food for the arising of the limb of wisdom that is tranquility concentration, equanimity, which has not arisen for the growth thereof."[27]

Bhagvat Gītā[28] refers to Sāttvic (Saintly), Rājasic (passionate) and Tāmasic (inferior) food and advocates quality and purity of food for mental uplift.

Food—A Necessity

Buddha starved for six years and reduced himself to a skeleton. Ultimately he realised that food was essential to maintain strength in the body, without which concentrated meditation was impossible.[29]

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[21] भदयं भोज्यं च चौष्यं च लेह्‌य च विविधं बहु ।
(Rām. Ayo. 91-20, (Gita Press ed.)
DN. 30 (Lakhana Sutta).
In Jain works the four categories are called *asana* (soft food), Khaima (hard food), Pāna (beverages) and Saima (relishable articles) (O.P., *Food and Drinks*, p. 58 and ft. notes).

[22] Vin. 92, J(F) 127 (Ibid).
J. (F) 127, J. (F) 349, J(F) 339.
Abhi. K. III.38, II, p. 119, n 2.

[23] Khadaniya includes roots, fruits, leaves, flowers and stalks (M. Vagga. VI.21,16).
Bhikkhu Patimokha V.35, Bhikkhuni Pati Mokha IV.120 (O.P., *Food and Drinks*, ft. n., p. 58).
In *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 13. Māyādevi is provided choicest solid and soft food.
DN. II.149 (p. 188) sweet food both hard and soft is mentioned.

[24] S. XVIII.18.

[25] Abhi. K. 3.38.
Mulamadhyamakarikas (B.B. IV, p. 40, n. 8, quoted by Johnston vide ft. n. XVIII.18).
M. Vagga. (*SBE*. XVII), VI.31, 14.

[26] Five hindrances are attachment to sense-pleasures, desire, affection, thirst and craving. (*MN*. I. (PTS), p. 134). The seven limbs of wisdom are zest or energy, the cultivation and growth of concentration, equanimity etc.
(SN. Vol. V, p. 87 ff)

[27] *SN*. Vol. V, II. Ch. VI, p. 87.

[28] Geeta XVIII. 8-10, VI. 16-17.

Hence, as with the Master, so with the Buddhist works, all advocate the necessity of food and do not believe in starvation.[30]

Aśvaghoṣa, emphasising the need for the food, says: If less food is taken, it leads to the loss of capacity, brilliance, energy, activity and strength.[31] Hence it is like a prop to the falling roof,[32] or like a boat to cross the flooded river, to support the body.[33]

Food Measurement

Control of food is advocated in medical works on health ground and also in other works (Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and Jain) as essential to have self-control or control over the senses.

Caraka[34] in order to have good digestion allows food only once. This is in agreement with Manu,[35] who is also particular about the quality, quantity and time of the food.

Buddha laid down rules[36] to see that Bhikṣus practiced moderation in food. They were not allowed to take more quantity of food than absolutely necessary to sustain life and that also at proper time.[37] It is interesting to note that at the time of scarcity, finding Khabbagiya Bhikṣus retaining good food for themselves and distributing the worse food to other Bhikṣus, Buddha rationed prized eatables of the time along with other things. A special disposer, in every Saṁgha unit, was appointed. He allowed "Each, a separate needle, and pair of scissors, and a pair of

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29. *Dhmp*. (*SBE*. X.7).
    LV, p. 183 tells Bodhisattva knew about the uselessness of the self-mortification, but he followed them only to convince the world of its futility.
    Mhv. II.126, 1-4.
    B. XII.95 ff.
30. *Milinda*. X.36.
    MN. I.134-5;
    S. XIV.8.
31. S. XIV.3,4.
32. S. XIV.15.
33. S. XIV.16,17 cf. *MN*. I.134-5 (for simili resemblance).
34. Caraka Su. 25.39.
35. *Manu*. IV.62.

    न भुञ्जीतोद्‌घृतस्नेहं नीतिसौहित्यमाचरेत् ।
    नातिप्रगे नाति सायं न सायं प्रोतराशितः ॥

36. M. Vagga. VII.
37. Culla (*SBE*. XX), XII.1.1. ("Midday meal might be eaten when the sun's shadow showed two finger breaths afternoon." p. 386).

sandals, and girdle, and pair of braces, and filtering cloth and regulation strainer, a plate, and a half plate, and gusset, and half gusset, and binding, and braiding to be given. If the Saṁgha had any ghee or oil or honey or molasses, he is to give it away for personal consumption only, and if it be wanted he is to give it a second time and third time also."[38]

Caraka prescribes limited quantity of food : for too much eating conduces to poor health and too little eating leads to the loss of capacity.[39]

According to Buddhist works, to keep the Māra under control moderate eating is compulsory.[40] "Unsystematic attention to food cultivates sensual lust, sloth, torpor excitement, flurry, a non-tranquility of mind; if it has already not risen or been cultivated it cultivates; when cultivated, it excites growth."[41]

Jains also insist in eating as much food as necessary to sustain life.[42]

Aśvaghoṣa and Control of Food

As the aim of our poet is religious he has indulged elaborately in the food habits needed for the control of senses. *Saundarananda* deals with the control of food and its advantages. This is in keeping with the 'Niyamas of Buddhism'.[43]

Exact measure, in the eating of food, is essential for the sake of mystic meditation and freedom from disease.[44] "Deficiency in food drains away the substance of body along with brilliance, energy, activity and strength."[45] Since living beings are attached to superfine food.[46] So food should be taken by a Yogi to satisfy hunger[47] only to sustain life[48] and not to obtain beauty of form, splendour,[49] out of gluttony or for only liking to it.[50]

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38. Culla (*SBE.* XX) VI.21.3 (p. 222).
Ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses—these five are prescribed as medicines in M. Vagga. (*SBE* XVII) VI.1.2-5 (p. 42 ff).
39. Caraka Su. 25.31 :

हिताहारपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्यमिवृद्धि करो भवति
अहिताहारोपयोग: पुनर्व्याधिनां निमित्तमिति ।

40. *Dhp.* 7 (Bombay Ed.).
41. S.N. (*PTS*), vol. V, II, VI (pp 85-87).
42. O.P., *Food & Drinks*, p. 81.
43. Supra, ft. notes 40,41.
44. S. XIV.1.
45. S. XIV.4—आचयं धुतिमुत्साहं प्रयोगं बलमेव च ।
भोजनं कृतमव्यल्पं शरीरस्यापकर्षति ।।
46. S. XIV.10.
47. S. XIV.11.
48. S. XIV.12.
49. S. XIV.14.
50. S. XIV.19.

Much eating "kills enterprise, impedes the intake and outflow of breadth, induces lassitude and drowsiness."[51] So it should be taken according to the optimal requirement—neither too much nor too little.[52] However the level of nourishment must be maintained,[53] to keep the level of fire in the body.[54]

Buddhism prohibits the choice of food,[55] so does our poet.[56]

Thus the control of food and food habits is necessary to maintain body-energy and self-control. But the purity of food is not the only thing required for gaining merit according to Buddha and Aśvaghoṣa.[57]

Food Items

During Mauryan period rice (Vṛhi and śāli), kodrava (a poor man's diet), sisamum (tila), priyaṅgu, udāraka, varaka, mudga (munga), māṣha (beans), śhambya (liguminous plant, pulse), kusumba (saffron), masūra (a kind of pulse), kulattha (a kind of pulse), yava (barley), godhūma (wheat), kalāya (a sort of pea or pulse), Atasī (linseed), sasharpā (mustard) were sown according to rains[58] (in different seasons).

Rice and unbroken rice (Tandula) was eaten by the householders.[59] The broken pieces of rice were given to slaves and servants.[60] The quality of rice used by the king was superfine and only one-fourth of the śali (unhusked rice) was considered edible by him.[61]

Greeks noticed two harvests in India. Rice and millet were sown in summer while wheat and barley in winter.[62]

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51. S. XIV.2.
52. S. XIV.6.
53. S. XIV.5.
54. S. XIV.7.
55. *D.N.* III.43.
56. S. XIV.9.
57. Vin. M. Vagga. I.80.
    B. VII.28.
58. *Artha*. (TSS. No. LXXIX) II.24, p. 286.
    शालि ब्रीहिकोद्रवतिल प्रियड्गुदारक वरकाः पूर्ववापाः ।
    मुद्रगभाषशैम्व्या मध्यवापाः । कुसुम्भमसूर कुलत्थयवगोधूमक
    लायात सीसर्षपाः पश्चाद्वापाः ।
59. *Artha*. II.15.
60. *Artha*. II.15.
61. Ibid. II.15, pp. 236-37—
    पञ्चद्रौणे शालीनाम् . . . .
    पञ्चकमं राज्ञाम् ।
62. Strabo. XV. C. 690 (quoted Camb. H.I. Vol. I, p. 404 ft. n. 6).

Caraka Sūtra mentions two kinds of grains : Suka Dhānya (those with awns) and Sami-Dhānya (those having legumes).[63] The same Sūtra tells of many pulses in use including Mudga, Ādhaki, Masūra, Māṣa, Rājmāṣa, Kullatta, Mokuṣthaka, Caṇka, Khandika, Hareṇu, Simbi, Avalguja, Edgaja, Niṣpāva, Kakāndola and Ātmagupta.[64]

Aśvaghoṣa instead of naming different varieties of cereals mentions 'Aṅña',[65] indicating cereal food in general, 'Kṛshi'[66] and 'Subhikṣa',[67] to indicate plenty of fruitful grains according to season. Otherwise he has named 'Nivara', rice, 'Tila' and has mentioned various other kinds of fruits and roots which were used as food.

Rice

Rice and barley has been the favourite food of Indians from the hoary past. Atharvaveda describes them as the "prescription for endless life".[68]

In the Sūtra period, daily offerings to the gods consisted of 'barley from the barley harvest, till the rice harvest, and rice from the rice harvest, till the barley harvest.'[69]

Āpstamba DS[70] mentions Tandula (rice) as food item.

Rice in Buddhist Period

Rice and rice preparations seem to have continued to be the cherished food of masses.

Buddha, while practising strict austerities in the forest, subsisted on Tandul (rice) and Tila (sesamum). When this vow of strict diet-control or starvation was relaxed, he took rice and milk (Pāyasam) from Sujātā.[71] Sweet rice and cakes were served to him by Kunda (Chunda) in the mango grove at Pava.[72]

Rice was the food of common, as well as, well-to-do families. Punna's wife

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63. Caraka Su. 27.6.
64. Ibid., 27.22-23.
65. B. XII.96—अन्न ।
66. B. II.8—फलवद्यर्थंतु . . . . कृषिश्रमेण ।
67. S. III.41—कृषि, सुभिक्ष ।
68. *Ath*. V. VIII.7.20—ब्रीहिर्यवेश्च भेषजो अमर्त्यो ।
69. O.P., *Food & Drinks*, p. 34.
70. A. *DS*. I.2.37.
71. *MN*. I.246-7 (pp. 300-2), Infra ft. n. 81.
    Mhv. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 123 (Buddha fed himself on single grain of rice).
    cf. B. XII.96—तिल तण्डुलै ।
72. M.P.N. Sutta. (*SBE*. XI), 17, (p. 71).

cooked rice for her husband.[73] Buddha allowed Bhikṣus to take rice, beans etc. with them as ration while in journey.[74]

Rice in Aśvaghoṣa's Time

Rice is the popular crop of Kapilavastu and seems to be the staple food of the people. Our poet has mentioned 'Nivara'[75] rice variety grown in plenty, which was the food of ascetics. This is considered a coarse variety of the cereal.[76] He has used the word 'Tandul' for the variety eaten by Buddha.[77]

'Puffed-rice' was offered to gods.[78]

Siddhārtha, in the forest while yearning for further shore of cycle of transmigration lived on fruits, Tila (sesamum) and rice grains.[78b] When this vow of starvation was broken he took rice and milk preparation (Pāyasa).[79]

Rice Preparations

Though our poet has not mentioned any other variety of rice preparation, Mahāvastu[80] narrates Buddha saying "There are some worthy recluses who prescribe purity of diet of rice. They feed on rice and ground rice, drink rice-gruel. Thus in short, they subsist on various kinds of rice concoctions."

In Majjhima Nikāya,[81] Buddha himself confesses, being so emaciated "I will touch the skin of my belly', it was my backbone I took hold of", decided to abandon extreme starvation and took material nourishment—boiled rice and sour-milk.

Though the story differs (Sujātā is not mentioned) but rice was taken by Buddha, whether it was with curd or milk preparation.

Mahāvastu and *Buddhacarita* both mention that Sujātā offered sweet milk and rice preparation to Siddhārtha.[82]

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[73] *DPPN.*, p. 221.

[74] M. Vagga. (*SBE.* XVII) VI.34.21.

[75] S. I.10—निवारफलसंतुष्टै...तपोभृद्भिः ।

[76] Carak Su. 27, 15-17.
Suśrat Sut. 46, 21.
Kalidasa has also mentioned this variety of rice.

[77] B. XII.96.

[78] S. I.12 (Johnston's Tr.).

[78b] B. XII.96.

[79] B. XII.111, 112—पायसम ।
Pāyasa is mentioned in Yajñavalkya Smṛti I.303, 173 and Suṣruta Saṁhita, 46, 345.

[80] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II, p. 123.

[81] *MN.* I.246-7 (pp. 300-2).

[82] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), II.126.
B. XII, 111, 112.

Though our poet has not mentioned, Appolonius[83] (first c. A.D.) writes that fine quality of millet was grown in the Gangetic valley.

Mathura stone inscription of 2nd century A.D. records that the hungry and thirsty were provided fixed quantity of (one prastha measurement) Saktuna (dried corn) along with ādhaka of groats and other articles.[84] Jātakas also tell the use of fried corn.[85]

Tila (sesamum)

The cultivation of Tila (sesamum) in India is known since the Harappa Civilization.[86] A preparation of 'Tila' mixed with curd was used as a medicine according to Atharvaveda.[87]

Tila and Dharma Sūtras

'Tila' (sesamum) in the time of D. Sūtras was so famous that most of the Sutras mention it. In Āpstamba DS.[88] it is one of the things which can be used in Śrāddha. It was also used as a mode of repentence (Prāyaścitta) for certain kinds of sin and its sale was prohibited.

In Baudhyāyan DS.[89] it is told to be used for eating and presenting gifts. But rice mixed with 'Tila' was a condemned food for a Snataka.

Its use is mentioned in Gautama DS.[90] and Vaśiṣṭha DS.[91] also.

In Buddhist works, sesamum oil is described as good for eating and other purposes.[92] Tila cake was the favourite sweet of Bhikṣus. So much so Kullavagga (I. 18.2-5)[93] mentions of its demand by them from a householder Kitta (though they had to repent afterwards).

Mahāvastu[94] gives details "There are some worthy recluses and Brāhmaṇas (128) who prescribe purity on diet of sesamum. They eat sesamum and ground sesamum, drink water in which ground sesamum has been boiled and in short subsist on various preparations of sesamum. Let me know then make my diet one single sesamum seed. ...Then I lived on single sesamum seed...."

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[83] *Appolonius Travels*, p. 29.

[84] *E.I.*, Vol. XXI. 1931-3, p. 58.

[85] J. 339.

[86] Vats, *Harappa*, p. 6.

[87] *Ath.* V. IV.3.

[88] A. I.26.15 ; I.27.1 ; I.20.13 ; II.16.22 ; II.20.1.

[89] B. II.2.13,14,18 ; II.6.2.

[90] Gau. *DS.* VII.20, XV.26, XIX.17.

[91] Va. *DS.* II.39, VI.79,17,8, I.87,90,27.

[92] M. Vagga. VI.16 ; VI.34.24.
J. 340, 325.

[93] *SBE* (XVII), pp. 360-65.

[94] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones) II, p. 123.

Aśvaghoṣa[95] has mentioned the use of 'Tila' by Siddhārtha, when practicing meditation and living on restricted diet.

To sum up, the use of sesamum, with its various preparations, were known to the society.

Fruits and Vegetables

Hermits Food

From the time of Rāmāyaṇa[96], Kanda, Mūla, Phala (fruits, roots, tubers) have been the food of saints and munis or hermits.

The stages of evolution in the food of a Vānaprasthī are found in different Dharma Sūtras. Āpstamba DS. (II.2) allows them only forest-produced (roots, fruits leaves and grass) food. Gautama DS. (III.28) allows a hermit to live on wild growing vegetables or roots and fruits only. Viṣṇu Smṛti (94-95) permits a Vānprasthī to gather his food from a nearby village.[97]

Roots

Buddha also allowed fruits and roots to the Bhikṣus. Permitting the use of roots he exhorts "I allow you Bhikṣus the use of roots as medicine turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris roots, ativisa, black-hellebore, uśira root, bhadda-muttoka, and whatsoever other roots are used for medicine and impart an appetising flavour to foods, either hard or soft, which the sick Bhikṣus could not otherwise eat."[98]

Thus fruits and roots continued to be the food of those who renounced the world.

Our poet has referred to hermits living on food prescribed in the scriptures, e.g. what grows in the water i.e. fruits, roots and leaves;[99] food picked up from the ground i.e. grass[100] or pounded (hard food) with stones or what can be husked by

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95. B. XII.96—तिल तण्डुलै ।

96. Rām. Ay. (Gita Press) 20.29—कन्दमूलफलैर्जीवन हिवामुनिवदभिषम् ।

97. S.C. Banerji, *DS.*, pp. 194-95.

98. M. Vagga. (*SBE.* XVII) VI.3.1 (p. 44).

99. B. VII.14—सलिले प्ररुढ़ं तोयं फलमूलमेव ।
B. XI.17—मूलफलाम्बु भक्षा ।
Mhv. III, p. 131—tells of fruits and roots.

100. B. VII.15—उच्छेन जीवन्ति खगा इवान्ये तृणानि केचन्मृग वदच्चरन्ति ।

their own teeth.[101] Cooked food or left over food was also used by some ascetics for subsistence.[102]

Vegetables

Our poet has not named any vegetable and seems to have included them in his expression of 'Toyam Phala Mula'.[103] Appolonius[104] (first c. A.D.) also writes that he was informed that the king subsisted on vegetables and fruits and herbs. Again the vegetables and herbs are not mentioned though palm-fruit is named by the traveller.

In A. Nikāya,[105] Buddha is presented one oily tube-like vegetable for the use of monks. This seems to be the prized vegetable of the time.

Mahāvagga[106] mentions two kinds of beans 'Mugga and Māṣa' allowed by Buddha to the monks for use.

Mathura stone inscription[107] of 2nd c. A.D. records 'Harita kalāpaka' (bundled fresh vegetables) provided ṭo hungry and thirsty in charity along with other articles.

Thus fresh vegetables like all other ages must have formed a part of the diet in our poet's time.

Fruits

Fruits and vegetables were important items of food in the days of Rāmāyaṇa. The Rāmāyaṇa mentions "mangoes (known as āmra, rasāla and cūta), plantain (kadali), pomegranate (daḍima), jujabe (badari), wood apple (bilva), rose apple (jambu), careya arbora (pilu), coconut (nārikela), walnut (akṣhota), dates (khajura), jaick fruit (paṇasa), emblic myrobalan (āmalaka or āmalaki), palmyra (tala), disopyros embryopteris (tinduka—a variety of orange), mimusops kauli (kṣhiri), ghironji, sapida (pariyāla), marking nut (bhallāṭaka), feronia elephantum, (kapittha), citrus (bijapuraka) and gmelina arborea (kaśmari)."[108]

Buddha allowed the use of fruits as a solid food.[109] Five kinds of fruits are

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101. B. VII.16.
102. B. VII.16.
103. Supra ft. n. 99.
104. *Appolonius Travels*, p. 15.
     Arrian, Indica XI. C & 8 (quoted, *Ibid.*, ft. n. 47).
105. *AN*. Vol. III (London, 1934), Ch. V, p. 41.
106. M. Vagga. (*SBE*. XVII) VI.34.20 (p. 128).
107. *EI.*, Vol. XXI (1931-32), p. 58.
108. R. Sharma, *Rām. Study*, p. 237.
109. M. Vagga. (*SBE*. XVII) VI.38 (p. 143).

said to have been permitted by the Master in Cullavagga.[110] "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to eat fruit which has become allowable to Samanas in anyone of these five ways—when it has been injured by fire—or by sword—or by nails—when it has not yet any seed in it and fifthly when it has no more seed in it...". Thus with peel, peeled with fire, knife or nail and with kernel and without kernel foods are permitted for the use of monks.

Jāṭaka 339 tells about the use of wild fruits, Jataka 127 of figs[111] and Jātaka 537 of mangoes, rose-apples, and coconuts.

Tapara Piller Edict VII of Aśoka tells that the emperor caused the banyan-trees and mango groves planted for the use of public (CII. Vol. I, p. xlix).

Kautalya (II.15) has mentioned fruit gardens and many fruits : mangoes, jambu, grapes, pomegranates, myrobalan, tamarind, karamarda (pertaining to bamboo), citron, banana (kela), badra, sauviraka, parushaka etc. along with other sour fruits.

Appolonius[112] says "the grapes of the country are small, like the lydian and maeonian and with an agreeable bouquet, when gathered".

Aśvaghoṣa according to tradition has mentioned fruits as the food of hermits.[113] The fruits (trees) named by our poet are mangoes[114] (and its gardens); udambara (Indian fig) and panasya,[115] bananas,[116] jambu[117] (rose-apple) and jujabe fruit.[118]

Non-Vegetarian Food

The use of meat is known since Ṛgvedic period. Here in X Sukta, references to the frequent sacrifice of oxen[119] for Indra, and sacrifices of horses, oxen, rams and

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110. Culla. (*SBE.* XX) V.6.2 (p. 75).
M. Vagga. VI.21, mentions two kinds.
अबीजं निब्बीजं निब्बतबीज अवकतकप्पं फलं परिभुञ्जितुम् ।

111. अम्बवनेन एवं अम्बवनम् जम्बुबनेन जम्बुवनम, लब्जवनम, नलिकेर सज्जादियेन नातिकेर सज्जादियम् (J. 537).
Aśoka's insc. does not refers to mangoes (R.D. Bhandarkar).

112. *Appolonius Travels*, p. 29.

113. S. I.10.
B. VII.14.
Supra—*Hermits Food*.

114. S. VII.4,8— चूतस्य ।
S. VII 3.
Supra—Ch *Flora and Fauna*.

115. *VS.* 35.

116. B. XIV.48.

117. B. XII.101 ; *Rose Apple* (*Jambu*) *Panini*, IV.3.165.

118. B. XII.96. Jujbe are Indian berries.

119. *RV.* X.86.14,15, 27.2.

barren animals (buffaloes, and sheep) in Aśvamedha Yajña,[120] leads to conclude that animals were sacrificed without distinction. After the flesh was offered to Agni and Devas, it was eaten by the priest and others.[121]

During the time of Atharvaveda[122] wild, and domestic animals were sacrificed, along with 'Puruṣa'.

The habit of meat eating seems to have continued right for hoary past. When Āryans became vegetable growers, vegetables were also served in the Śrādhas. Āpstamba DS.[123] tells that meat was preferred in the Śrāddhas but if three was scarcity or anyone did not like, vegetables cooked in oils were also served.

Dharma Sūtras prohibit certain varieties of meat to be served to Brāhmaṇa (though it indicates that such meat was in use) Āpstamba DS and Gautama DS[124] prohibit the use of five toed animals except "The hedgehog, the hare, the percupine, the iguna, the rhinoceros and tortoise." Gautama DS[125] prohibits the use of the meat of those animals which have double row of teeth, those with excessive and no hair on the body, one hoofed animals sparrows, the heron called 'Plava', Brāhmaṇi-ducks, swans, crows, vulture and felcon, birds with red feet and beaks, tame cocks, pigs, milch cows and drought oxen, "flesh of the animals whose milk teeth have not fallen out, which are deceased, nor the meat of those which have been killed (for no sacred) purpose", parrots and night-birds. Āpstamba DS.[126] telling about the use of fish, prohibits the use of snake-headed fish, the alligator, which live on flesh only and these which are mishappen like marmen.

Dharma Sūtras elaborating on the use of meat, permit the use of the flesh of the animals killed by the beasts of prey (if no blemish is visible),[127] " birds that feed striking with their beaks or scratching with their feet and are not befooted."[128]

Āpstamba DS tells "beef given in funeral oblations, satisfies the Manes (gods) for a year" and buffalo's meat satisfies them for a longer period.[129] It tells the meat of other tame animals was also fit to be offered to gods in sacrifices.

[120] Ibid., X.91.14.

[121] Ibid., X.27.2.

[122] *Ath*. V. XIV.2.24, 25.9—तवेमे पञ्चे पशवो—विभक्ता गावो
अश्वाः पुरुषा अजावये: ।

[123] A. II 8,19,18,19—सर्पिर्मासमिति प्रथमः कल्पः अभावे तैलशाकमिति ।
Ibid., II.7,17, 1-13.

[124] A. I.37, *Gau*. XVII.27 (*SBE.*] II).

[125] *Gau*. XVII. 28,29 ,30,31,34.

[126] A. I.39.

[127] *Gaut*. XVIII.38.

[128] Ibid., 35.

[129] A. II.16.27.

Āpstamba DS[130] further informs us the fish and meat of the crane called vārdhrāns was offered to Brāhmaṇas in sacrifices.

All these prohibitions and prescriptions of certain varieties of meat narrated in Dharma Sūtras tell that meat was used commonly (in this period) served in the Śrāddhas and the meat offered in the sacrifice was eaten by the priests and common people.

In addition to these references, in certain Dharma Sūtras there are contradictory reports, may be they are later interpolations. Baudhyāyana (I.12) allows the meat of goat, sheep and prohibits that of tame, carnivorous and pet birds—Sutta. III.3.19 advocates non-injury even to insects (by a hermit or vanprasthi). On the other hand Gautama DS (III.31) allows an hermit to take the flesh of animals killed by cornivorous beasts.

This above expression is identical with Buddhist view expressed in Majjhima Nikāya[131] where Buddha allows the use of meat killed by others to Bhikṣus.

Manu[132] has discussed elaborately on the use of meat by Brāhmaṇas and others and has prohibited the meat of those birds which eat meat such as vultures, eagle, pigeon, maina etc.

Manu[133] advocates the use of meat offered in the sacrifice as Devi (celestial food) and condemns the purchased meats offer to gods and 'pitaras'. A Brāhmaṇa is not to eat any other meat accept sanctified by the Vedic mantras.

Arthaśāstra mentions the sale of dried and fresh meat[134] and it alludes to dried fish and dried meat stored along with other fruits and vegetables.[135]

Caraka,[136] the expert in medical science, prescribes the use of meat to provide strength to the body.

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[130] Ibid., 17,2,3.

[131] *MN*. II.369 (p. 33).

[132] *Manu*. V.11,12—

क्व्यादा छकुनान्सर्वास्तथा ग्रामनिवासिन: ।
अनिर्दिष्टांश्चैकश फांटिट् टभ च विवर्जयेत् ।। (११)
कलविङ्कं प्लवं हसं चक्रांह्वं ग्रामकुक्कुटम् ।
सारसं रज्जुवालं च दात्यूहं शुकसारिके ।। (१२)

cf. Ibid., V.14,15-18,27,41,45,46,48,49.

[133] *Manu*. V.31,32,37.

[134] *Artha*. (*TSS*), II.29—मांस माममाद्रं शुष्कं च विक्रीणीयु: ।

[135] Ibid., II.15—शुष्कमत्स्यमांस कन्दमूलफल शाकादि च शाक वर्ग: ।
In Kashmir Valley even in the present times dried fish is taken along with other dried fruits such as apples, figs etc.

[136] Caraka Su. 27.87—शरीर बृहणे नान्याद खाद्यं मांसाद विशिष्यते ।

Meat, in Buddhist Literature

As we have seen the use of meat has been frequent in the previous ages, it continued to be in use in Buddhist period, though Buddha did not approve of it for various reasons.

Mahāvagga[137] records, when certain Bhikṣuni was ill she demanded meat soup and was served with Pavattamaṁsa. Dīgha Nikāya[138] mentions broken meat and gruel as food. It tells of the use of 'Śūkra māṁsa' (pig's flesh). Its commentary tells of pickle made of one year old pig's flesh, prepared mixed with sweet tasting jujabe fruit and commin condiment.[139]

Majjhima Nikāya[140] refers to a slaughtering place for cows and the skilled cattle-butcher, which concludes towards regular use of meat.

Jātaka 292 tells fresh caught fish was cooked in the kitchen of a king. Jātakas[141] also tell kings killing many animals in hunting and enjoying their flesh.

Jātakas 429 refers to Brāhmaṇa relishing non-vegetarian diet. Sometimes (J.292) red fish was cooked and enjoyed with rice and new ghee. Jātaka 33 tells about the use of various kinds of fish and meat.

Mahāparinibbāna-sūtta[142] records Kunda (chunda) the worker in metals served dried boar's flesh to Buddha.

Meat : Forbidden

Buddha has permitted the use of meat, "if is not seen, heard and suspected to have been killed on purpose for a monk".[143] In Mahāvagga,[144] he has forbidden the meat of elephant, horse, dog, lion, tiger, panther, bear and hyena to the monks. Otherwise also, as the teacher preferred non-violence,[145] he condemns animal

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137. M. Vagg. (Tr. Horner) VI.23.2.
Pavattamaṁsa is the meat of already killed animal and not killed for the monk (M. Vagga VI. ft. n. I, p. 296).

138. *DN.* (PTS. 1951), Vol. III, II.354.

139. *AN.* (PTS. 1934), Vol. III, ch. V, p. 41 (cf. *DN.* II.127 and Tr. 127. n. Sūkra-madana).

140. *MN.* (PTS), II. I.364 (p. 28).

141. J. 349 (flesh to eat), J (F) 537.

142. *SBE.* XI, IV. 18 ff.
Bhikṣu Āryavanṣo (Mahā Bodhi Society, Delhi) tells that the interpretation is wrong, Buddha was not offered dried boar's flesh but dried mushrooms.

143. *MN.* II.369 (p. 33). cf. Vinaya I.238, III.172.
The fish was also allowed by the Master, under these three conditions (M. Vagga., *SBE*, XVIII, VI.31, 14).

144. M. Vagga. (*SBE*. XVII), VI.23.10-15.

145. *SN.* III. I.9.

sacrifice[146] and does not permit his followers to kill an animal (even for him) for food, in normal times.[147]

Lankāvatār Sūtra (Tr. 433 A.D.)[148] narrates the reasons (in general) of forbidding the use of meat, by the Buddha. In the end, in the same sūtra, Buddha says, "Meat is prohibited by me, in Sūtras such as Hastikakṣhya, the Mahāmegha, the Nirvāṇa, the Anglimalika and Lankāvatāra."[149]

There is great similarity of description in Lankāvatār Sūtra and *Buddhacarita.*[150] Siddhārtha mourns deeply the killing of small insects by the plough, as the slaughter of his own kindred. In Lankāvatār Sūtra, he forbids the slaughter of animals, on the same plea.

Thus in Buddhist literature, Buddha has forbidden the use of meat on certain logical grounds. Its use is permitted in case the animal was not specially killed for the Bhikṣus. In Amagandha Sūtta (7.11),[151] it is not flesh-eating, which is condemned so much, as "Anger, drunkenness, obstinacy, bigotry, deception, envy, self-praise, disparaging others, high-mindedness, and evil communication."

Appolonius[152] records that meat of fish, tiger and goat was served at a dinner, given by the king of Taxila, to the foreigners and Indians. The traveller himself offered the slices of lion and panther flesh just killed, to Indians.[153]

Mahāvastu[154] also mentions the eating of flesh and a special type of fish 'Madgura'.

Aśvaghoṣa's reference to hunters,[155] meat,[156] dog's flesh (V.S. 5) and expressions such as : "...unfortunate are born among various kinds of animals...are miserably slaughtered even before the eyes of their relatives, for the sake of their flesh..." (B. XIV.21,22). And "...others are miserably broiled on heaps of burning red hot coals" (B. XIV.13). These are enough evidences to conclude that animals were hunted, slaughtered and their meat was eaten.

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[146] *Dhmp*. 270; Sn. II.7.27.
M. Vagga. I.56; M. Vagga. (Tr. Horner) V.10.10.

[147] M. Vagga. VI.31.13—न च मयं जिवितु हेतुंपि सजिच्च
पाणं जिवितं वेरो पेय्याम् ।

[148] Lankāvatār Sn. (Tr. Suzuki, 1956), VIII. verses 245-48 (pp. 212-13); 216-21.
For details, please refer S. Khosla, *H. of Buddh. in Kashmir*, p. 56 ff.

[149] Lankāvatār Sū. (Ibid.), p. 221.

[150] B. V.5—हतसूक्ष्मक्रिमिकीटजन्तु कीर्णम् ।

[151] T. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 131.

[152] *Appolonius Travels*, p. 18.

[153] Ibid., p. 6.

[154] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones) II, p. 122.

[155] S. VI.60— व्याध.

[156] S. XIV.83—पुत्रमांसानि खादेतां दम्पती भृशदुःखतो ।

But according to the aim, which Aśvaghoṣa never forgot, he takes, the readers to the world of non-violence and tells that "a Brāhmaṇa fell from Brāhmaṇaship by selling meat" seeing his fall the meat is prohibited.[157]

Eulogising the teachings of Buddha, the poet says "none did hurt on the plea of religion".[158] Telling about the lingering practice of sacrifices and effect of Buddha's teachings, the poet tells, that the king worshipped and offered sacrifices, but they were free from injury to living creatures.[159]

Drinks

Water, milk and its preparations, fruit juices, and other intoxicating drinks were the common drinks as mentioned in literature of those days.

Water

Water is the first essential drink, "In Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma is said to have taken only water as his food (bhojya) on a few occasions...clear, cool, sweat and health-giving water, having the fragrance of lotus, was considered extremely good for drinking. Besides water, people of Valmiki's time were in the habit drinking butter-milk, fruit-juice, sugarcane juice and honey."[160]

Buddha was very particular about drinking water to be pure and free of insects. He allowed the Bhikṣus to use strainer, double strainer and a filter to clean it.[161]

Water mixed with sugar as a drink in mentioned in Jātaka 339.

Aśoka[162] realising the importance of drinking water got the wells dug at short distances.

King Śuddhodana, at the birth of prince Siddhārtha, got the wells and wate tanks constructed for the use of common people (B. II.12).

Our poet has mentioned wells, having clear water for use.[163] Men had to di

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157. *VS.* 10—आकाश गामिनो विप्राः पतन्ति मांस भक्षनात् ।

158. B. II.14—"...धर्माय कश्चिन्न चकार हिंसाम् ।।"

159. B. II.49—तपांस्य तप्त हिंसारहितरयष्ट ।

160. R. Sharma, *Rā. Study*, pp. 237-38.

161. Culla. (*SBE* XX) V.13 (p. 99 ff).
The water was strained with a piece of cloth or a strainer fixed to a ladle or regulation water pot (Dhamma-karakam); for unfiltered water means destroying the life of livings beings, which was against rules. (Ibid.)
A long box, both ends of which strained water, poured into the centre by means of a pipe (dandaka), was called Dandaparissāvanam. (Ibid., ft. n. 1, p. 102).

162. *CII.* (Vol. I) cf. *Topara Piller Edict*, VII, p. XLIV. *RE.* II (CII. 1969), p. 4.

163. B. I.23—कूपः, II.12.

deep, with unremitting energy, to get water.[164] The digging was only done, when it was known that there is water at a particular spot.[165] Water of springs, streams and rivers also must have been used for drinking, as is mentioned in Jataka 540.

'Only roots and water' were sometimes taken by the ascetics (B. XI.17) as diet.

Milk

Dharma Sūtras generally speak of 'Milk' as a drink. But certain Sūtras impose restrictions also on certain qualities of milk, e.g. Baudhāyana (I.12)[166] prohibits the milk of a "female animal, whose offspring is not ten days old ; and one that gives milk while its young one is quite-old, a cow that has no calf or suckles a strange calf, the milk of sheep, camel and one-hoofed animal (ekāspha)." Gautama Dharma Sūtra[167] agrees with Baudhāyana and prohibits the "milk of those animals from whose 'uddars' milk flows spontaneously (Sayandini).

Milk Preparations

Buddha recommends[168] five products of the cow's milk, curds, ghee, butter-milk and butter.

Kautalya[169] has mentioned the use of curd, churned curd,[170] butter and butter-milk.[171] He recommends butter-milk to dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (kurcika) to the soldiers with the food, and the liquid part (kilata) to the cows, with fodder.[172]

Our poet has referred to enormous wealth of milk-giving, healthy cows, with calves.[173] The cow's milk was in much use and was considered nourishing, pious and is called 'gamkṣīr'.[174] The sale of a cow's milk was prohibited for a Brāhmaṇa while Śudras could do so.[175]

164. B. XIII.60.
S. XIV.99.
165. S. XII.33, 34.
It tells about the science of Geology.
166. *SBE* XIV, p. 185 ff, I.12,8,9,10,11.
167. *SBE.* II. Gau. XVII. 8,22,25,26 (p. 268 ff).
168. M. Vagga. (*SBE.* XVII) VI. 34.21 (p. 128).
169. *Artha.* (*TSS*), II.15, p. 233— दधिधान्याम्लादिर्द्रवाआम्लवर्गाः Curds and other sour liquids formed the part of food.
170. *Artha.* (Ibid.) II.29, p. 316— उदश्वित् श्ववराहेभ्यो दद्युः ।
171. *Artha.* (Ibid.) II.29, p. 316—कूर्चिकां सेनाभक्तार्थमाहरेयुः ।
172. *Artha.* (Ibid.) II.29—किलाटो घाणपिण्याकवलेदार्थं ।
173. B. I.84.
174. S. II.19—गामधर्मेण नाधुक्षत्क्षीर तेर्षण गामिव ।
175. *VS.* 10—व्यहाच्छूद्रस्य च भवति ब्राह्मण क्षीर विक्रयी ।

According to Caraka,[176] cow's milk was very nourishing and he calls it 'Amṛta' (nector).

According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[177] cow's milk was used in sacrifice. Aśvaghoṣa[178] has referred to such cows as 'homaduha'. Our poet has mentioned only one milk preparation 'payosa', which prepared with rice, was offered by Nandabala to Gautama.[179]

Intoxicating Drinks

Soma-Rasa

Soma-rasa was the popular drink of Vedic society.[180] Soma is regarded as the author of Ṛgveda, is evoked in most of the Suktas[181] and is the third amongst the Vedic gods (in order of importance). In literature it is the divine drink (IX. book, 110.8).

In Atharvaveda, 'Soma' several times means the moon and in Yajurveda 'Soma' is spoken as having the lunar mansions for his wives.[182]

In post-Vedic literature, 'Soma' is the normal name of moon, which is said to be as being consumed by the gods and consequently waning till it is filled up again by the sun.[183]

In Aiteraya Brāhmaṇa[184] it is described as the giver of sharpness of senses and strength.

Śatapatha Brahmaṇa[185] attaches great importance to Soma sacrifice. According to it, it was distilled by Saraswati for the sake of Indra's strength. It is clear sweet, and mentioned as 'King Soma'. When Indra's energies and vital powers were exhausted, the gods restored them by means of Soma sacrifice. Kanda XII deals with

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[176] Caraka Sn. 27, 32.2—पय: पथां यथामृतं ।

[177] Ś.B. (*SBE*. XLIV), XII, 4 ch. (p. 180).
This Brāhmaṇa refers to Soma and milk as energy giving (XII.8.1).

[178] B. VII.6— प्रसुस्रवुर्होमदुहश्च गाव: ।

[179] B. XII.111. Nandabālā went to worship the tree for her desire for a child. Taking Gautama for a sylvyn deity offered him 'Pāyasa'. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā (Buddhist Legend, *HOS*, Vol. 28, p. 146) tells a tree was worshipped for a desire for children.

[180] It was very popular and energy giving herb. Its use gave wisdom, health and long life etc. Hence it was personified as a god [R.V. (H), p. 31].

[181] *RV*. X.124, 4,6; The whole of IX Book and a few scattered hymns are devoted to *Soma*.

[182] Macdonell, *HSL*, p. 82.

[183] Ibid., p. 83.
Perhaps it is compared with moon because right from Ṛgveda it is described as darkness dispelling agent and its effect increases and decreases, like the rising and waning moon.

[184] Ait. Br. M. Haug. (Bombay, 1967), p. 27.

[185] Ś.B. XII. 8.1,2.

Soma sacrifice. Prajāpati created it (Soma sacrifice). Cups are mentioned as measurement of Soma.

In Āpstamba DS,[186] Soma receives due importance and 'Soma-sacrifice' is described to have been performed for purification.

Aśvaghoṣa's and Soma-Rasa

Aśvaghoṣa's description of Soma-rasa is in keeping with Vedic tradition. Pious sages and king Śuddhodana took Soma-rasa and got it measured at proper time through priests with due ceremony.[187] He got the same pressed by Brāhmaṇas.[188]

In addition to Soma-rasa, Ṛgveda[189] mentions another intoxicating drink 'Surā' and Surā-pātra (drink-container) made of leather. Soma-rasa is praised in the Veda but not Sura, perhaps due to its being very strong.

Intoxicating drinks continued to be in use. Dharma Sūtras prohibit the use of Sura (spirituous liquor) to the Brahmaṇas.[189b]

Later on instead of decreasing, the habit of drinking spirituous liquors seems to have rather increased. Rāmāyaṇa tells, in Ayodhyā, the aroma of wine could be felt in the atmosphere and people were found staggering on the roads.[190] The epic refers to various kinds of liquors such as madhu, Mairaya,[191] Pushpāsava, Phalāsava, Madhvika and Sarkarāsava distilled from flowers, fruits, honey and sugarcane.[192]

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186. Ā. I.27.2.

187. S. II.36, I.15, II.44.
RV. X.85.3 allows Soma-rasa only to Yajñak is and not to others.

188. S. II.31.

189. *RV*. (V.V. Research ed.), VIII.2.12—

हृत्सु पीतासो युध्यन्ते दुर्मदासो न सुरायाम् । उर्धन नग्ना जरन्ते ।
वेङ्कट हृत्सु पीता: सोमा इतरेतरं, मिश्रिता भवन्ति यथा सुरनिमित्तं
सुरापा इतरेतरम् युध्यन्ते ।

RV. (H) I.116.7.
RV. (H) I.191.10.
Surā was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy after distillation.
(O.P., *Food & Drinks*, pp. 24-25).

189b. Va. (*SBE*. XIV), XX.19 (p. 112).
Gau. (*SBE*. II), p. 188.
Surā is not defined in any of the *DS*. The commentators, quoting different passages from Smṛti works, classify it as Gauḍi, Paṣti and Madhvi. Gauḍi is prepared from molasses, Paṣti from grains and madhvi from Madhu (honey).
S.C. Banerji, *DS*, pp. 160-61.

190. Rām. II.127, 19-20.

191. Rām. IV.26 8.

192. Rām. V.6.23.

The epic also mentions Sura, a drink which removes all worries,[193] and Sauviraka[194] which may be alluding to an imported drink.

Buddha allowed eight kinds of drinks: mango-syrup, jambu-syrup, plantain-syrup (may be cocoa-nut), moka-syrup, honey, grape juice, syrup made from the edible root of the water-lilly, and pharūsaka-syrup. At the same time, the Teacher permitted the use of juice of all fruits, except the juice prepared from corn.[195]

In Dīgha Nikāya (II.146), Buddha condemns the use of strong intoxicating and maddening drinks.

Dhammapāda[196] condemns Surā and Mairaya intoxicating drinks. Cullavagga[197] tells about the use of these two drinks.

It seems the use of intoxicating drinks became gradually more and more popular. There is special Jātaka (Surāpān-Jātaka)[198] which tells of a drinking festival, in which the king supplied the best spirits to five hundred hermits who took part in it. Being drunk these ascetics danced in hilarity.

Kumbha Jātaka[199] refers to a drinking festival at Savatthi in which the kings courtiers and women, all drank to their utmost capacity. So much so, that they lost all self-control. These women sang, danced and made improper movements with their hands and feet, even in the presence of their preceptor (who is interpreted to be the Buddha of that birth).

This very Jātaka tells about the origin of Surā and Varuṇa. It narrates the story of their invention by a forester, Sura, who went to the forests of Himalayas to seek merchandise and Varuṇa the ascetic, whom he met in the forest[200]—(the liquors are named after them).

This very Jataka tells that there were wine merchants who prepared very strong wine with chief ingredients and ground rice. When the king tasted the wine for the

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193. Rām. V.19.49.

194. Rām. III.47.45. cf. *S.N.* Vyas, Rām. Kalin Sanskriti, p. 89 and R. Sharma, *Rā. Study*, p. 239.

195. M. Vagga. (*SBE.* XVII), VI,35.6. Toddy and arrack are prepared from corns (ft. n. 3).

196. *Dhm.* 247—सुरामेरयपानञ्च . . . लोकस्मि मूलं खनति अत्तनो ।

197. Culla. (Bihar P.S. 1956) XII.1,3.
एके समणब्राह्मणा सुरं पिवन्ति मेरयं पिवन्ति । (p. 417)

198. J. 81—तापसा सुरं पिवित्वा उध्यानं गन्तवा सुरा मदता हुत्वा
एकच्चे ठटठाय नार्चिसु एकचे गायिसु ।

199. J. 512.

200. The story tells the liquor was filled in the reed-pipe and taken with roast-meat. Even in this age, in the whole of Himalayan range, Tobacco, 'Bhang, Ganja, Soota' are put in the reed-pipe and smoked. 'Bhang' is grounded and mixed with water or milk. This is the favourite drink of the worshippers of 'Siva'. Their ear-loaves are cut with the use of big-rings. They are known as 'kanphata' or 'gaṇas' of Śiva or 'malaṅgs'.

first time, the city was decorated and pavilion was set up in the palace. This was the occasion of festival.

By the time of Kautalya, 'Sura' seems to have become the popular drink of the masses. 'Suramadhya dhyaksha'[201] (superintendent of Sura intoxicant) tells of a special department which managed its sale, ran distilleries and sale-houses.

Otherwise there is reference to six kinds of intoxicants : Medaka, Prasanna, Āsava, Arista, Maireya and Madhu. Arthaśāstra tells about their ingredients as well.[202]

Foreign Wines

Rāmāyaṇa's reference to Sauvirata points to imported wine (from Sauvira).[203] Kautalya refers to two imported wines from Afghanistan—Kapiśāyana and Harakūraka (prepared from grapes).[204]

Foreign Evidence

Pliny writes about Indians taking wine. Alien (I.61) speaks of Indian drinking bouts, and Appolonius of Tyana (Ist c. A.D.) offered palm wine to Indians. The traveller, while dining with his party men and Indians, observed that they had me many Indians, (in Punjab) singing, dancing and rolling about, drunk with palm-wine.[205] According to Periplus, Italian Laodicean and Arabian wines, were preferred for import.[206]

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[201] *Artha.* (*TSS.*) II.24. (p. 136).—सुरामद्याध्यक्ष । Comy.

Here 'Sura' seems to be the popular drink, which must have included the sale of all the following liquors. This importance of 'Surā' agrees with Rāmāyaṇa V.19.49, Surāmāniyatam kṣipram sarvaśokavinaśinim.

(R. Sharma—Rā. Study, p. 239)

[202] *Artha.* (*TSS.*), II.25, p. 293—मेदक प्रसन्नासवारिष्ट मैरेयमधुनाम् ।

II.25, p. 294—मेषश्रृङ्गीत्वकाथक्राभिषुतो गुलप्रतीवापः

पिप्पलीमरिच संभार स्त्रिफलायुक्तो व मैरेय ।

II.21,22,24,25.

cf. ft. ns. 191-92.

[203] *Ra.* III.47.45. *NS.*

S.N. Vyas, *Ra. Kalin Sanskriti*, p. 89.

R. Sharma, *Rām. Study*, p. 239.

[204] *Artha.* II.25.

Wine distilled from green grapes in N. Afghanistan was called Kapisayana and wine from black grapes, found on the banks of Harhvaiti river in S. Afghanistan is called Harahura. (Shelly, *Food & Drinks*, p. 220).

O.P., *Food and Drinks*, p. 96.

[205] *Appolonius Travels*, p. 6 and ft. n. 16.

[206] Ibid., p. 6.

Wine & Sculpture

Mathura Museum No. ooc. 2 depicts a woman and Kubera holding wine bowl in their hands and a lady standing behind with a bunch of grapes. Both the ladies are seen in a dress which clearly depicts foreign influence. The scene seems to represent foreign wine made of grapes, which was imported (hence available) in our country.

This is a Bacchanalian Group Sculpture. The female is clad in long-sleeved jacket, skirt falling down to feet which are shod with plump shoes. The head dress is that found in the Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture of Gandhara.[207]

Aśvaghoṣa has not named any other intoxicant, except Soma-rasa and 'āsva', but has however made several references to excessive drinking by men and women. "Finest intoxicating liquids" were sometimes taken by men, for "many nights and dawns".[208] Women also took (some of them and sometimes) excessive liquid. They swayed under its influence and lost all self-control.[209] In such a state, they smelt of liquor (āsva) and had copper-coloured lips.[210]

All these references allude to free use of wine by men and women of our poet's time. On the basis of Indian, foreign and sculptured evidences, it can safely be said that Indian and foreign wine was in use, according to tradition.

Sugar-cane Juice

Mahāvagga refers to molasses.[211] Arthaśāstra[212] tells of sugar-cane productss such as sugar-cane juice, granulated and unrefined sugar. Sugar-cane juice, mixed with fermented fruit-juices, was also available as a drink.

Our poet has not referred to any sugar-cane juice preparation, but has referred to sugarcane being pressed and juice being extracted (S. IX.31).

Honey

According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, honey is the supreme essence of plants.[213]

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[207] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue Mathura Museum*, p. 84.
N.P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculpture*, p. 83. (ref. Plate XII).

[208] S. IX.30—निषेव्य पानं मदनीयमुत्तमं निशाविवासेषु चिराद्विमाद्यति ।
B. II.37.

[209] B. XIV.90—मत्तेव कामिनी ।
(R.C. Dasa ed. Johnston has not given the Sanskrit but Tr. only XIV.87).
B. IV.29—मदेनावर्जिता ।

[210] B. IV.31—काचित्ताम्राधरोष्ठेन मुखेनासवगन्धिना ।

[211] M. Vagga. VI.34.21.

[212] *Artha.* (*TSS*) II.15, p. 233—इक्षुरसगुलमधु ।

[213] Ś.B. (*SBE*. XLIV), p. 90.

Arthaśastra[214] mentions of honey, prepared by bees and made by grapes.

Medical books mention eight varieties of honey.[215] Caraka has given preference to the honey collected by small bees (Bhramara) as heavy to digest.[216]

Our poet has referred to honey and honey-comb at a height.[217] Mahāvastu (III, p. 130) tells of honey prepared from pollen-laden flowers.

Salt

It is very important and indispensable for human existence. Its importance is clear in the Mathura Stone Inscription, which tells that while free food and vegetable were distributed to the poor, one prasthana measurement of salt was also given in charity.[218]

Our poet's reference[219] to it also alludes to its importance in use.

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214. *Artha.* (*TSS*), II.15.
215. Suśrut Su. 45.133.
216. Caraka. Sū. 27.242.
217. S. XI.29. (This simili of honey and honey-comb is found nine times in Mahābhārata. Johnston, ft. n. 29.)
218. E.I., Vol. XXI (1931-32), p. 58.
219. V. S. 10—लवणेन ।

8

Education

Vidhyā and Avidhyā

The term 'Vidhyā', applied by different philosophers and commentators ot Upaniṣads, signifies the knowledge pertaining to the 'Supreme Being'. In fact, the knowledge of Upaniṣads is known as 'Brahma Vidhyā'.[1] Śankara, in his Bhāṣya of Kaṭhopaniṣad (14), applies the term 'Vidhyā' for 'Ātma jñāna', and 'Avidhyā' for ignorance of this supreme knowledge.

In Buddhism, the knowledge of Buddha's teachings of four Truths (and also eight-fold path) and of 'No I' is Vidhyā and ignorance of this knowledge is Avidhyā.

In the ancient Law Books, the subjects of study are named as 'Vidhyā'. Kautalya refers to :

(a) Manu[2], who advocates three kinds of learning (Vidhyā) : Treyī , Vārtā and Dandaniti;

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[1] Iś. Up. (Gita Press), Intro., p. 6.
Kaṭha Up. (Ibid.) Sankarabhāṣya (Sambandha Bhāṣya) :
ब्रह्मविधाचार्याय नचिकेतसे ।
Kaṭha. Up. Śankarabhāṣya-14—अनाद्य विद्याप्रसुप्ता लोकादिर्ब्रह्मजज्ञो योऽग्निस्तद्विषयाया विद्याया...
(Śankarabhāṣya, Kaṭha. Up.)
For Vidhyā and Avidhyā in Buddhism, Infra, Nirvāṇa, Ch. XIII.

[2] *Manu*. VII. 16,43,61-65—
त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनितिश्चेति मानवा:, त्रयी विशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षिकीति ।
(*Artha*. (*TSS*) I.2, p. 26. Anvikṣiki consists of Treyi).

(b) Bṛhaspati, who believes only in Vārtā and Dandaniti;

(c) Śukrachārya, who says that there is only one Vidhyā 'Dandaniti' and all other Vidhyās are allied to it. According to his view, 'Vidhyā' consists of (four courses of study) : Anvīkṣikī, Treyi. Vārtā and Dandanīti.[3] He justifies his view-point, saying that the main aim of sound Vidhyā is the knowledge of Dharma and Adharma.[4]

Anvīkṣikī Vidhyā includes Sāṁkhya system of philosophy, Yoga and Lokāyata (atheism), Treyī includes Dharma and Adharma. Vārtā comprises of Naya and apanaya (agriculture, trade and commerce etc.), and Dandaniti, according to Kautalya, is statecraft of Sandhi and Vigrah (treaty and war) with enemies etc.[5] Thus—Anvīkṣikī Vidhyā is most important and prominent. In it rest all the Dharmas and Adharmas.[6]

Treyī Vidhyā comprises of three Vedas : Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda and Yajuraveda, their sections, sub-sactions and appendages.[7] Its angas (lit. limbs : parts) include

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वार्त्ता दण्डनितिश्चेति वार्हस्पत्याः,
संवरणमात्रं हि त्रयी लोकयात्राविद इति ।
दण्डनितिरेकाविद्येत्यौशनसाः, तस्यां हि सर्व
विद्यारम्भाः प्रतिबद्धा इति ।

Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[3] *Artha.* (*TSS*) I.2, p. 27—चतस्र एवं विद्या इति कौटिल्यः ।

Though Kautalya has assigned the above mentioned three kinds of learning to Manu, but Manu seems to have expounded five kinds of learning and adds 'Ātma Vidhyā' (Skt. Shabdārtha-Kaustubh—cf. Vidhyā, p. 1022) to Anivikṣiki, Treyī, Vārtā and Dandaniti. *Manu* VII. 43.

[4] *Artha.* (*TSS.* I.2, p. 27—धर्मा धर्मो त्रय्याम् ।

Artha, (H. Tr.), p. 95.

[5] *Artha* (*TSS.*) I.2, p. 27—

सांख्योगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षिकी । धर्माधर्मो त्रय्याम् ।
अर्थानर्थो वार्त्तायाम् । नयापनयौ दण्डनीत्याम् ।

Artha (H. Tr.), p. 95.
Treyī Vidhyā comprises of three Vedas : Ṛgveda, Sāmveda, Yajurveda, their sections and sub-sections and appendages. The Vidhyā binds all values in their respective stages of life.
(Fleet CII, No. 39, Kal-Treyi, three Vedas).

[6] *Artha* (*TSS*) I.2, p. 28—

प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानमुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणांशश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ।।

[7] *Artha.* (*TSS*) I.3, p. 29—

सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी अथर्ववेदतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः ।
शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुवतं छन्दोविचितिर्ज्योतिषमिति चाङ्गानि ।
एष त्रयीधर्मश्चतुर्णा वर्णनामा श्रमाणां च स्वधर्मस्थापना दौपकारिकः ।

Artha. (H. Tr.), pp. 96-97.
Fleet. CII. No. 39 uses Treyī (word) for three Vidhyās.

Vyākarṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chandas (prosody), Jyotiṣa (astrology) and astronomy) and Śikṣa (pronunciation or oral). Thus 'Vidyā' binds all values in the respective stages of life of different Varṇas.

The term 'Vidhyā', as used by Kautalya, represents the whole of Hindu philosophy, sciences, fine arts and state-craft.

Aśvaghoṣa and Vidhyā add Avidhyā

Aśvaghoṣa refers to the god of knowledge, Bṛhaspati,[8] the goddess of knowledge, Sarasvati,[9] the subjects of study 'Vidhyā',[10] the knowledge of various subjects and kinds (including psychological) as 'jñāna'[11] and the learned as 'jñe'[12] and 'Viduṣa'.[13]

While referring to the subjects of study as 'Vidhyā', our poet has mentioned only 'Dandaniti'.[14] Perhaps like Śukrāchārya he also believed that there is only this 'Vidhyā' and others are allied to it.[15]

Śuddhodana did not learn 'Vidhyā'[16] to cause suffering to others. Presumably here the poet uses the term 'Vidhyā' to denote magic and other forms of knowledge, depricated by Buddhists.[17] Siddhārtha took very little time, as compared with others, to learn the sciences (Vidhyā) suitable for his clan.[18] Here the term seems to be applied according to Kautalya's definition. Vidhyā, united with Samādhi, (mentaconcentration) bears fruits[19] and Avidhyā[20] suppresses the factors. Here the term is used for the supreme knowledge in religion and philosophy. Avidhyā (or ignor

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[8] B. IX.12, I.41, II.36—Bṛhaspati the Puṣya's divinity (Johnston ft. n.). IV.12.

[9] B. I.42.

[10] S. II.63., V.20.
B. II.24,35.

[11] B. XII.19, I.69,70; IV.12.

[12] S. I.39.

[13] S. I.14.

[14] S. II.28.

[15] Supra—ft. n. 2.

[16] B. II.35—नाध्येष्ट दुःखाय परस्य विद्यां ज्ञानं शिवं दत्तु तद्ध्यगीष्ट ।

[17] Johnston, ft. n. B. II.35.

[18] B. II.24—···जग्राह विद्या: स्वकुलानुरुपा: ।

[19] B. I.3—विद्येव समाधियुक्ता ।

[20] B. XIV.83 (Johnston)—
अविद्यापगमे सम्यक् संसारः क्षीयते खिलः
इति ज्ञेयं विदित्वाऽसौ बुद्धो भूत्वा विनिर्ययौ ।
(This is verse 86 in R.C. Dasa ed.)

State Museum Library Lucknow C893

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय (प्रो० बी एन० पुरी संग्रह) लखनऊ

ance), propounded by sage Arāḍa to Buddha, is five-fold, namely torpor, delusion, great delusion, and the two kinds (anger and blindness) of darkness.[21]

Thus the term 'Vidhyā' used by Aśvaghoṣa agrees with Arthaśāstra or tradition.

Jñāna (Knowledge)

The word 'jñāna' has special significance in scriptures, though it also implies to worldly knowledge and even statecraft in literature. In fact the word has different interpretations according to the context in which it is used.

In Īśopniṣad's commentary by Śankar, the word 'jñāna' signifies the celestial knowledge, compulsory for a renouncer (Sanyāsī)[22] of the world. In Kane Upaniṣad, 'jñāna'[23] implies to self-training in selective intensive work of the mind, a procedure to induce higher celestial power.

In Gita, the word " 'jñāna' is not used in the sense of Jñānayoga alone, it also signifies, self-realisation, i.e. the culmination of all spiritual practices—of the path of knowledge, as well as, the path of Yoga—and which is also called real knowledge or the realization of Truth."[24]

Dhammapada assigns the highest place to jñāna (knowledge). It tells "without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge, he who has meditation and knowledge is near upto Nirvāṇa."[25]

In Lalitavistara, the same importance is attached to jñāna. Here Buddha says, "Tṛṣna-nadi tivega praśoshita me jñāna sūryena" (the wild river of thirst is dried up by the sun of my knowledge).[26]

Jñāna and Aśvaghoṣa

The sage Āsita forecast that the child Siddhārtha, with the boat of his 'jñāna' (knowledge), will bring the world up, which is being carried away in affliction, from

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21. B. XII.33—तमो मोहं महामोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च ।
22. Iś. Up. (Gita Press), I, pp. 14,16—सन्यासिनो ज्ञाननिष्ठोक्ता ।
23. Kane Up. (Ibid.), 13—
    यच्छेद्वाङ्मनसि प्राज्ञस्तद्यच्छेज्ज्ञान आत्मनि
    ज्ञानमात्मनि महति नियच्छेत्तयच्छेच्छान्त आत्मनि ।
24. Gita. IV.21,25 speak of Jñāna Yoga or the Yoga of knowledge, verses 36-39 refers to Jñāna as self-realisation which is the culmination of all spiritual practices.
    (Gita Press ed. Jayadayal Goyandka, Intro., p. 6).
25. *SBE.* X. *Dhmp.* verse 372. (p. 88)—
    नत्थि ज्ञानं अपञ्ञस्स पञ्ञा नत्थि अज्झायिनो ।
    यम्हि ज्ञानञ्च पञ्ञा च स वे निब्बानसन्तिके ॥
    (*Dhm.* 372 Bombay ed.).
26. *LV.* (Calc ed., p. 482) quoted vide *SBE* X ft. n. 251 verse.

the ocean of suffering.[27] He will shine forth, as a sun of knowledge.[28] In a similar expression, when Siddhārtha met sage Araḍa (the sāṁkhya philosopher), he was advised "to go up in the boat of jñāna (knowledge) and pass over the boat of suffering."[29]

The poet, in his enthusiasm to exalt his Teacher, even though Siddhārtha had not been enlightened, addresses him as "Jñāninām Varam", perhaps to indicate that Siddhārtha, with his intuitive wisdom penetrating the Truth to its core, had realised by this time that birth is the cause of suffering and brings old age and death.[30]

Purohita's son Udayin, addressing the women in city-grove, appreciates their Jñāna (knowledge) of sentiments, wealth of charm and beauty.[31]

Referring to the knowledge (Jñāna) of different subjects the poet mentions "…all branches of Jñāna (knowledge) such as Vedas, Vyākaraṇas, Mimāṁsa, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, the science of the Jains (Nagna), the science of Ajivakas (founded by Gośāla Makkhali-putta) etc." and says that the knowledge (jñāna) because of its diversity and various branches cannot make one a Brāhmaṇa.[32]

Thus the use of 'Jñāna' by our poet indicates celestial, scriptural and the knowledge of various subjects of study.

In fact the poet has given exalted place to intelligence (Buddhi)[33] intuitive wisdom (Prajñā)[34] and knowledge (Jñāna).[35] Learning without intelligence, one is unable to reach the highest good. A man with intuitive wisdom alone has the sight. Thus Buddha spoke to Nanda, saying "Suffering to which you have put an end today, is by knowledge (Jñāna).

Centres of Learning

The Buddhist Vihāras were modelled on the style of Maṭhas or Aśramas of

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[27] B. I.70—जगज्ज्ञानमहाप्लवेन ।

[28] B. I.69—ज्ञानमयो हिसूर्यः ।

[29] B. XII.9—ज्ञानप्लमधिष्ठाय शीघ्रं दुःखार्णवं तर ।

[30] B. XIV.53—ज्ञानिनां वरः (R.C. Dasa ed. Johnston has not given Sanskrit but Translation only. R.C. Dasa Shastri has retranslated XIV. 32-112 ślokas in Sanskrit from Hindi verses of Surya Narayana Chowdhary (R.C. Dasa, B. Intro., pp. 7,8).

[31] B. IV.12—भावज्ञानेन हावेन ।

[32] *VS.* (V. Bharati ed.) M, p. 4—ज्ञानबाहुल्याद् . . . , ज्ञानमपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति ।

[33] S. XVIII.35—श्रुतोन्नतस्यापि हि नास्ति बुद्धिर्नोत्पद्यते श्रेयसि यस्य बुद्धिः ।

[34] S. XVIII.36—प्रज्ञामयं यस्य हि नास्ति चक्षुश्चक्षुर्न तस्यास्ति स च क्षुषोऽपि ॥

[35] S. XVIII.37—ज्ञानेन यास्याद्य कृतस्वयान्तः ।

Brāhmanical Sanyāsins.[36] The terms Vihāras, ārāmas, saṅghārāmas and āśramas denote the similar idea of a hermitage or a monastery.[37]

These Vihāras or Maṭhas or Āśramas of the sages were the centres where 'Vidhyā' was taught.

Brāhmanical Āśramas

These hermits practised Yoga and dhyana and mastered as many as eight Sampattis. Rāmāyaṇa mentions a large number of hermitages from Ayodhya, on the Sarayu, to the Pancavati, on the Godavari. Sometimes a large number of hermits lived in one and the same hermitage e.g. hermitage of Sarbhanga in the Kaviṭṭha forest on the Godāvari.[38] Such big hermitages were the representations of congregational life of the hermits.

Aśvaghoṣa and Āśramas

Our poet has mentioned the Aśramas of sage Kapila (S. I. 5), Bhṛgu (B. VI. 1), Arāḍa (B. VII. 54) and Udraka (B. XII. 85).[39]

Ikṣvāku princes learnt 'Vidhyā' in the hermitage of sage Kapila, including the use of arms, archery etc. (S. I. 22-25).

Siddhārtha in the quest of getting the knowledge of Dharma (B. VII. 12) went to the Āśramas or hermitages of the documents of Bhṛgu, Arāḍa and Udraka.[40]

The mention of Brāhmaṇas in 'Bhṛgu's Ārama' with flowers and 'Kuṣa' grass in their hands along with wood for sacrificial (Homa)[41] purpose, alludes to the 'Maṭha' being centres of learning, where students assisted their Gurus and did live with them according to tradition.[41]

In the Tapovana of Bhṛgu's decendants, Siddhārtha found different types of ascetics, engaged in different types of austerities, and was impressed by the atmosphere, which gave the impression of a workshop of Dharma.[42] He discussed the philosophical points with the ascetics and being unsatisfied proceeded further to the Āśrama of sage Arāḍa, who was a sāṁkhya philosopher. Here the beggar-prince

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36. *SBE.* XXII. Intro. The indebtedness of the Buddhists to the Brāhmaṇa for the inheritance of Monastic order is dealt with in details by Jacobi.

37. B.C. Law, E.I. Monasteries, p. 1.
'Āvāsa' and Ārāma were two different types of residences for Bhikṣus. Āvāsa was in the countryside built and organised by the monks themselves. Ārāma was situated in a private enclosure in or near towns and maintained by the donor.
(S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, p. 59).

38. B.C. Law, E.I. *Monasteries*, p. 2.

39. For details supra—Social Life Ch.

40. B. VI.1; VII.54, XII.1; XII.84-85.

41. B. XII.4.
Infra—*Pupil and Teacher relations.*

42. B. VII.32 ff.

learnt the path of Sāṁkhya-yoga. But Sage Arāḍa's philosophy believed in the existence of soul and a persons' rebirth after the exhaustion of merit. This did not satisfy Siddhārtha whose target was liberation from birth. He went further to take his abode on the banks of river Nairanjana and attained enlightenment.[43]

In these hermitages, "Gautama Buddha, the unique and dynamic personality in the religious world, was trained in Vedic lore, including the knowledge of Upanịṣads. But this 'rebel child of Hinduism' as Swami Vivekananda calls him, rebelled against Brahmaṇic Hinduism, specially regarding ritualistic institutions, including the sacrifices of various kinds".[44] Had these sages Ārāḍa, Udraka or even the ascetics in the Bhṛgu's Āśrama satisfied his quest, the History of the world would have been different.[45]

Vihāras

Veluvana was the first Ārāma donated by king Bimbasāra of Magadha to Buddha for the residence of Bhikṣus. In accordance with the conditions laid down by the Teacher, it filled the requirements of the wandering monks, who could stay here, could meditate, as it was away from the den of the town, as well as easily accessible to the people of villages and towns.[46] Herein lies the main difference between Brahmaṇic hermitage and Buddhist Vihara. The former is mostly away from the human habitation, as the Brāhmaṇic sages lived on whatever they could get in the forest itself and meditated, undisturbed. While the Buddhists lived nearer habitation for the purposes of begging food and preaching their faith.

The Monastery of Ghoṣita

A Banker, named Ghoṣita, built a monastery for the Buddhist on the outskirts of Kausambi. Here two Brāhmaṇas, named Maṇdissa and Jaliya, interviewed the Buddha.[47] In first century B.C., nearly 30,000 monks of this monastery, headed by Thera Urudhammarakkhita, visited Ceylon.[48]

Aśokārāma

It was built by king Aśoka at Pātliputra, who appointed Indugutta to look after its establishment. He convened his Buddhist Council in this monastery and got the 'True Dhamma' compiled here 'Kathāvatthu' was written after this assembly.[49]

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[43] Infra—Ch. Religion.

[44] R. Basak, *Lectures*, p. 78.

[45] Had Buddha been spared for more years, even then 'Caste system' which is the cancer of modern society would not have developed.

[46] M. Vagga (*SBE*. XIII) I.22.
Mahāvaṁśa (H) ft. n. 1, p. 72.
In Aurangabad, behind the 'Maqbara' the chapels and Monasteries of the caves, belonging to Buddhist era, have been excavated of between 3rd and 11th c. A.D.
(Carvan (Magazine), Nov. 1978, p. 40).

[47] *DN*. I.157, 159-60; Sumangalvilāsini, p. 317—Ghoṣitārameti Ghoṣita Settina kāta-ārāṃa,
Fa-hein tells that Buddha resided here (Legge, p. 96).

[48] B.C. Law, *E.I. Monasteries*, p. 7.
Mahavaṁśa (*PTS*), p. 228.

Sumangalavilāsini (III, p. 95) refers to a long terraced mansion of the Śākyas in a mango-grove, which served like modern institution of learning. Here various arts and crafts, including archery were taught.

Lalitavistara[50] refers to a 'Lipiśāla', where various sciences and arts, beginning with 'Lipi' (the art of writing) were taught to Siddhārtha. It also refers to Kapilavastu full of gardens and Vihāras.

It is just possible that there were some institutions for learning various arts in or adjoining the towns. This is alluded to in Rāmāyaṇa as well.[51] Moreover, Yuan Chwang tells of a Tope on the left side of the road at Kapilavastu, where Siddhārtha practiced various accomplishments. Watters interprets it to be perhaps a school, in which the young prince "learnt archery and other manly accomplishments".[52]

Cullavagga (VI. 1) tells of many monasteries donated to the Saṁgha. One merchant of Rājagṛha, donated sixty dwelling places to Buddha ; for this, Buddha thanked him saying :

"To give Vihāras to the Saṁgha,
    wherein in safety and in peace
To meditate and think at ease,
    the Buddha calls the best of gift.
Let then the able man,
    regarding his own weal,
Have pleasant monasteries built,
    and lodge there learned men.
Let him with cheerful mind
    give food to them, and drink,
Raiment, and dwelling places, to the
    upright in heart.
Then shall they preach to him the Truth
    The Truth dispelling every grief—
Which Truth when here that man perceives
    He sins no more and dies away."

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[49] Mahavaṁśa (H.), p. 36.
B.C. Law, E.I., *Monasteries*, pp. 8-9.

[50] L.V. (Lefmann), pp. 123-29.
बोद्धिसत्वो लिपिशालामुपागच्छति स्म । (p. 128)
शिक्षितः सर्वशास्त्रेषु लिपिशालमुपगतः । (p. 126)
उद्यान आराम विहार मण्डिता । (p. 28)

[51] R. Sharma, *Rā. Study*, p. 121 ff.

[52] Watters, *Yuan-Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 13.

It tells Vihāras, which in the beginning were temporary abodes of Bhikṣus, became permanent residences. The learned teachers were appointed to teach Buddhist Philosophy.[53]

Subsequently, these Vihāras or monasteries, became great centres of learning. A student of Buddhist monastery "no longer confined only to the Navāṅga (nine arts) but included other Śāstras and Vidhyās, which comprised the four Vedas, six aṅgas, ten granthas, fourteen Vidhyās, eighteen śilpas...most of the Vihāras gradually turned into great universities, in the early centuries of the Christian era".[54]

Mānikiala[55] inscription refers to architects of Vihāras (Vihārakara Vhaena), which shows the increased interest in the construction of Vihāras in the Kuṣāna period.

Aśvaghoṣa and Vihāra

Our poet has not elaborated on the life in Buddhist Vihāra but has recorded, Nanda was taken by the seer to a Vihāra, in the Himalayas, for training in the path of sanctity[56] or to learn Vidhyā.

Foreign Evidence

The Buddhist literature mentions a large number of monasteries donated to the Saṁgha by different kings and individuals.[57] Fa-hein (4th c. A.D.) mentions 20 monasteries on both the banks of river Yamuna, where lived 3000 monks.

Yuan-Chwang (6th c. A.D.) mentions twenty monasteries and the number of students decreased to 2000 monks. Yuan-Chwang himself stayed in the monasteries of Kashmir and central India and studied Buddhist literature. Ou-King another Chinese pilgrim, stayed in Huṣkapura Vihāra (in Kashmir) for four years and studied Buddhism.

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[53] Deepak Kumar Barua, in his *Viharas in Ancient India*, has traced the history of the development of Vihāras, as centres of learning from 5 B.C. onwards.

[54] Deepak Kumar Barua, *Viharas in A.I.*, p. 15.

[55] Sircar, *Select Insc.*, pp. 138-39.

[56] S.V. 20—निनायमग्नप्रमदाविहारं
विद्याविहारभिमते विहारं ।
Vihāras were built in Kashmir by king Aśoka.
(Rajat. I.101-3).
A number of Taxilian monasteries, some of which as early as of first Century A.D. have been discovered.
(*Buddhism in Pakistan*, pp. 27-35).
Caves Nos. 8, 9 and 10 are as old as 100 B.C.
(Barua, *Viharas*, p. 16)
Originally the Vihāras were made of wood, but later on, out of rock in the form of artificial caves.
(J.P. Guha, Intro. Ind. Art., p. 16).

[57] B.C. Law, in his book *Early Indian Monasteries*, has described many important Vihāras, Please refer—S. Khosla *H. of B. in Kashmir* for Monasteries in Kashmir.

Inscriptions

In Mathura, according to the inscription on the body of two lions discovered in Sitala Temple, there existed a Stupa, a cave monastery and a Saṅghārāma.

Buddha's image A. 2 Kuṣāna period in Mathura Museum, mentions a monastery named 'Uttara of Harusha' "... Uttarasya H. rusha (m) (2) Vihāre Sahā matapitihi...".

Sculpture

Mathura Museum M.I. Toraṇa (gateway), on its reverse, depicts a scene of a refectory in a monastery, where some monks have assembled for good, which is depicted being distributed.

Delhi Agra highway digging has yielded architectural fragments Nos. 51, 57.5448 to 4448 particularly of doorjams and coping of a big gateway of a stupa or big monastery of Kuṣāna period (R.C. Sharma, Mathura Museum, p. 7).

Conclusion

In Pre-Buddha period, the houses of the learned teachers, some of the Āśramas of great scholarly, philosophical and spiritual Ṛsis and some institutions in the town, served as the centres of learning. When Buddha sent his disciples to propagate his teachings, these wandering monks served as philosophical teachers and dispensers of medical-aids.[58] In the later stage, when Vihāras or places for the living of monks in rainy season came into existence, they became the centres of learning and spread education (including Buddhist teachings) in far-off lands.

Student and Teacher

A student was initiated to education by the traditional rite called Upnayana (S. II. 62, B. II. 24). A teacher was called Upādhyāya (S. I. 22) and Guru. He was held in high reverence by the pupil, public and the king (S. I. 14, 27, XII. 12, XVII. 73, XVIII. 5, 20).

Very learned scholars (Pandits) of different arts imparted education (S. I. 39).

Rāmāyaṇa (II. 124.3) and Mahābhārata[59] attach great importance to Guru. Mahābhārata lays that a Śiṣya can cross the ocean of ignorance only with the boat of Guru jñāna. In short Guru in the epics is the master who opens the eyes of the disciples blinded by darkness and ignorance.

The same expression is found in *Saund.ırananda* (XVIII. 22, 39-41, 53 ; XI. 33).

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[58] Infra—Medical Education.
Infra—Pravrājaka Teachers.

[59] *Mbh.* Śānti Parva (Satara ed.), p. 1782.

Gotra

In Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma and Vasubhadra adopted the Gotras of 'Gargye' and 'Gautama' of their respective Gurus. Aśvaghoṣa, maintaining the tradition, records Ikṣvāku princes, who came to settle in sage Kapila's hermitage and were the ancestors of Buddha. They adopted their Guru's 'Gautama Gotra' (S. I. 22, 23).

Thus this custom of Rāmāyaṇa's days continued upto the time of Aśvaghoṣa (1. c. A.D.).

The education of common man and kings, princes, warriors, technicians and the like seem to differ. Siddhārtha was imparted education suitable for his race (B. II. 24). The intelligent students were quick in learning and gave credit to the teachers. They learnt the sciences of years within few days.[60]

Śiṣya (Student)

A student is called 'Śiṣya' (S. I. 23). There is reference to learning as 'Adhyayana' and to imparting learning as 'Adhyāpana'.[61]

Śiṣya Dharma

Āpstamba Dharma Sūtra (I. 17) advocates a student, who studies the sacred sciences to dwell with his teacher. The same DS[62] adds that the pupil shall go begging with a bowl (a vessel) in the morning and evening and whatever he obtains will handover to the teacher.

Manu (II. 75-86), Rāmāyaṇa (I. 21.4, 27.23, 25.2) and Patanjali (II, p. 36) also tell that students used to serve their teacher, so that being satisfied he may teach them more carefully (IHQ, 1926, p. 20).

Our poet refers to the students living with their teachers, in the hermitages. Ikṣvākus lived with sage Kapila.[63] Their rites were celebrated by the sage and they adopted even the Gotra of their Guru.[64] The poet himself has referred to epics, where such customs are exampled to exist.[65] The students served their teachers and gathered fruits and roots for their sustenance.[66] They went to the village also for alms.[67]

Basically a preacher of Buddhism as our poet is, he refers to certain 'dharma' to be observed by a Śiṣya.[68] May be it is a reference to 'Sukha Sutta' in Majjhima

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[60] B. II.24.

[61] V.S. 12, 13, 15.

[62] A. I.3,25.31.

[63] S. I.18,22.

[64] S. I.25.

[65] S. I.26.

[66] B,VII.4.

[67] R. Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 141.

[68] S. XVIII.22—उतिष्ट धर्मे स्थित शिष्यजुष्टे ।

Nikāya, which is a disciplinary code for the learners.[69] Nanda passed through all the stages of 'Śiṣya Dharma' and attained Arhatship.[70]

Devoted Faith in the Law is mentioned as the essential quality in a Śiṣya to acquire knowledge (S. XVIII.2,34).

Pravrājaka Teachers

Besides regular teachers, 'pravrājakas' also worked as Teachers. In the words of Rhys Davids "They spent eight or nine months of every year, wandering about precisely with the object of engaging in controversial discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature lore and mysticism." Sometimes special halls were put for their accommodation, and for the discussions. These wandering monks often met each other on the road side or at places meant of the travellers. They were also in the habit of calling on other wanderers or the learned Brāhmaṇas and exchange views. Digha-nakha and Vekkanassa called on Buddha, and Buddha is described to have gone to see Sakuludyi.[71]

Aśvaghoṣa tells, when Nanda accepted the Law and had mastered himself, he went to see Buddha. The sage was pleased to say 'Supravrājito' and hence onwards it became fruitful for him to adopt a wanderer's life. But anyone with unsubdued and unstable senses was never permitted to adopt a wanderer's life.[72]

Gurudikṣa

In accordance with the practice or tradition, Nanda, when gained self-control and Arhatship, went to see his Guru (Buddha) for Gurudikṣa. Buddha asked Nanda to preach the law and liberate those in difficulty. Nanda, indifferent to loss and gain, free from the yearning of senses, went to Kapilavastu and preached the faith to the masses.[73]

Buddha himself is described by Aśvaghoṣa as a wanderer. When he adopted this lite he went out to preach. As a result, his parents, and many princes adopted a Pravrājaka's life (S. III.26-28).

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[69] M.N. (*PTS*) II, pp. 18-21.
A collection of Buddhist texts called 'Pitakas' existed sometimes before 2nd c. B.C. They were divided into Nikāyas, which include Suttas in which, the religion of Buddha is preached.
(Winternitz—*HSL*, II, p. 17)

[70] S. XVIII.22.

[71] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 141-43.
MN. I.497.
MN. II.40.

[72] S. XVIII.23—अद्यासि सुप्रव्रजितो जितात्मन्नैश्वर्यमप्यात्मनि येन लब्धं ।

[73] B. XVIII.54-62.

Subjects of Study

Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[74] gives ample evidences of the knowledge of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Arthaśāstra, Dandaniti or Rājniti, Vārtā, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Kalapasūtras, practical sciences like medicine, anatomy, astrology and astronomy. It also depicts the knowledge of fine arts, e.g. music, dance, drama, painting, architecture and poetry, useful arts like carpentry, spinning, weaving, tailoring etc.

Education

Subjects

Śākyas in Mahāvāstu (II.74-77),[75] are described skilled in the art of archery and Siddhārtha had to display his skill in "archery, fighting, boxing, cutting, stabbing, in speed, in feets of strength, to win the hand of Yaśodhara. Lalitavistara tells about various sciences and arts, beginning with 'Lipi' which the young prince had learnt. Moreover it talks of the Siddhārtha and Śākyas as expert in archery and Śāstras. Siddhārtha had to satisfy Yaśodharā's (Gopa's) father, displaying all this skill (Lipis) before getting her hand, including 'Śāstra Vidhyā', which he had learnt from Āchārya Vishvamitra.

Aśvaghoṣa and Subjects of Study

The mention of different subjects of study in Vajrasūcī, stray references to different arts and our poet's multi-fold knowledge all tell us about the (promulgation of different subjects of study) widespread education in the era.

Vedic

Brāhmaṇas were learned (were supposed to be) in Vedas, Vedāṅgas and six systems of philosophy.[76] Honouring Vedas, he calls them 'Brahma'[77] and advocates,

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74. R. Sharma, *Rā. Study*, pp. 116-17.

75. *LV.* (Lefmann), pp. 123-29, 142.
शिक्षितः सर्वशास्त्रेषु (p. 126)
इष्वः स्त्रशिष्येषु च पारमिगता । (p. 28)
LV. (Ibid.), pp. 142-43—
य तत्रादित एव ये शाक्यकुमारा लिप्यां
षटुविधिज्ञास्ते बोद्धिसत्वैन लिपिं विशेषयन्ति स्म ।
. . . . . . तत्र तै शाक्यै विश्वामित्र आचार्यः
साक्षी स्थापितोऽभूत । (p. 145).

76. S. I.44—वेदवेदाङ्गविदुषस्तस्थुषः षट्सु कर्मसु ।
VS. (V. Bharati ed.) M, p. 4.

77. S. II.12—यः परं ब्रह्म न व्यैष्ट सततं धृतेः ।

"That liberation is for him only, who strives in accordance with Vedic injunctions."[78] He thinks that a man can discharge his debt to the seers only 'by the Vedas and to the gods by sacrifices'.[79] Lauding the effect of Vedic-recitation in sacrifices he tells that they are purifying. (B. VIII.63)

Authorities on Vedas

Sārasvata, the son of Aṅgiras (Brahma's son) and Sārasvati, promulgated the lost Vedas.[80] Vyāsa arranged them in different sections, which Vaśiṣtha could not do.[81] Dvaipāyana, the son of seer Parāśara (master of the weapons of curse) and Kāli (the daughter of a fish), classified them.[82]

Śruti and Smṛti

In addition to Dandaniti, to complete the definition of Vidhyā, our poet has referred to Śruti and Smṛti,[83] which include the whole knowledge of tradition and History. The beautiful expression 'Jñāna-Druma'[84] is worth noting which hints at the aim of education of the era. "For the tree of knowledge (Jñāna Druma), when flourishing, should not be cut down, the tree whose fibres are forbearance, which is rooted deep in resolution, whose flowers are good conduct and whose boughs awareness and wisdom and which yields the fruit of dharma."

Our poet has given more of Brahmaṇical colouring to the life in the hermitages, than to the Buddhist way of living in the Vihāras. Munis, in the forests, practised austerities, according to various Āgmas or Śāstras, under varying Niyamas (rules).[85]

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78. B. IX.66—विधि क्रमेण मोक्षं सयत्नस्य वदन्ति तज्ज्ञाः ।

79. B. IX.65—वेदैर्ऋषीणां क्रतुभिः सुराणाम् ।

80. S. VII.31—तथाङ्गिरा रागपरीतचेताः सरस्वतां ब्रह्मसुतः सिषेवे ।
सारस्वतोपत्र सुतोऽस्य जज्ञे नष्टस्य वेदस्य पुनः प्रवक्ता ।।

B. I.42.

81. B. I.42—व्यासस्तथैनं वहुधा चकार न यं वसिष्टः कृतवानशक्ति ।

82. S. VII.29—द्वेपायनो वेदविभागकर्ता ।

83. B. IX.48—या च श्रुतिमोक्षमवाप्तवन्तो ।
Treyī includes Śruti or the revealed literature comprising of four Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣadas (*India in Kalidasa*, p. 273).

84. B. XIII.65—क्षमाशिफो. . . . स्मृति बुद्धिशाखः ।
ज्ञानद्रुमो धर्मफलाप्रदाता. . . . . ।।
Smṛti, Śāstra or Dharmaśāstra includes the code of Manu and alike. (*India in Kalidasa*, pp. 273-74).

85. S. III.2—विविधागममांस्तपसि ताश्चं विविधनियमाश्रयान्मुनीन् ।

The reference to various Āgmas, perhaps includes all the ten Śāstras and Niyamas to therules and regulations dealt in the sacred books.[86]

Niti (Politics)

The poet has referred to Rājasāstra, Niti, Nitiśāstra and Dandaniti[87] which alludes to his knowledge of Arthaśāstra and Rajaśāstra, or books on politics.

In this field (of politics) the standard works of authority, named are of Śukra and Bṛhaspati (the sons of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras).[88] Both are mentioned by Kautalya as his fore-runners,[89] and are regularly coupled together as the authors of the first treatises on political science.[90]

Śāstra and Śastra Vidhyā

In the end of Arthaśāstra, Kautalya concludes that he has compiled the 'Śāstra' consulting many commentaries on 'Sāstras and Śastras'[91] (library books on polity and warfare).

Aśvaghoṣa's reference to "Astra and Śastra"[92] perhaps alludes to the allied works which give elaborate account of polity of warfare and administration including Arthaśāstra.

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86. There are ten founders of the school of Arthaśāstra referred to by Kautlaya (1) Manu; (2) Bṛhaspati; (3) Śukra; (4) Droṇāchārya; (5) Parāśara; (6) Viśālāksha; (7) Piṣuṇa (Nārada); (8) Kauṇapadanta (Bhīṣhma); (9) Vatavyādhi; (Uddhava) and (10) Bahudantipura (Indra). Nothing particular is known about Viśālākṣha.
(T. Ganpati : *Artha* (*TSS*. I) Intro., p. 10.)

87. B. IV.62—नितिशास्त्रज्ञ ।
S. II.28—दण्डनीति ।
S. II.16—(This is a part of perhaps Vidhyā).
B. I.41—यद्राजशास्त्रं ।

88. B. I.41—शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्चा ।
In the science of royal-policy, Śukra and Bṛhaspati created which Bṛgu and Aṅgiras did not or could not create.

89. Supra—ft. n. 86.

90. Johnston—ft. n. B. I.41.

91. *Artha.* (*TSS*) III, p. 247—
येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं दृष्टवा विप्रतिपत्ति बहुधा शास्त्रेषु ।
भाष्याकारणाम् स्व्यमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च ।

92. S. II.8—कृतशास्त्र कृतास्त्रो ।
Supra ft. n. 45.
B. IX.17—शास्त्र दृष्टे । Siddhārtha is advised to go to the forest at the time approved by Śāstras.
B. V.40—शास्त्रपूर्वम् ।

Vastu Śāstra

The city of Kapilvastu was planned by architects (Vastujña).[93] It hints at the developed engineering science or the existence of 'Vastu Śāstra', which was studied and put into practice.

Kāma Śāstra

Vātsyāyana's 'Kāma Sūtra' describes sixty-four arts of Love.[94] Brahma, in the beginning of creation, is said to have constituted one thousand chapters, with regard to Dharma, Artha and Kāma. Manu edited the Dharma (Law), Bṛhaspati Artha, and Nandi, the disciple of Mahādeva, Kāma (or sexual life).[95] The exact date of the compilation of such a Śāstra is still to be ascertained, but one thing is certain that it must have been written at a very early stage.

Mahāvagga[96] refers to a story of King Bimbasāra and Salavati and courtezan, who after her establishment by the king of Magadha soon became expert at dancing, singing and lute playing and her night fee went upto one hundred (Patisatena). Horner is of the opinion, that since she (Salavati) became expert in no time, the art was taught to her and there existed some 'Śāstras' also on the subject.

Aśvaghoṣa, in *Buddhacarita* alludes to the existence of some Kāmaśāstra, telling that, Udain, incharge of the women in city grove, was expert in "worldly conduct and Śāstra",[97] and special arrangement for 'Viṣyaprachār' (application or propagation ? Sensual attraction) for Siddhārtha was made by king Śuddhodana.[98]

The poet's own expressions, in both the Kāvyas, allude to his knowledge of some Kāma Śāstra.

In *Saundarananda* (IV) the description of amorous amusements of Nanda and Sundari, the powerful expressions of love-making and love-influence e.g. "the twain dallied blindly together as if they were a target for the God of Love and Rati or nest to hold delight and joy or vessels for pleasure and satisfaction"[99] and "Sundari's expression, "should you delay longer, I shall inflict a grievous punishment on you, as you lie asleep, I shall repeatedly awaken you by beating you with my breasts (B. IV.35) etc ; "···Sundari's hand languid with passion" ;[100] "She freed him from her arms which were covered with sandalwood paste from her breasts, but she did not let him go in her mind" (B. IV.38), "She spoke to him with unsteady voice and embraced him." (B. IV.37) and the powerful effect of Love on Nanda : "Held back by the passion of his love and drawn forward by his inclination for the Law, he went on reluctantly half turned round like a boat on a river going against the stream";[101] references to the god of love : Manmatha, Madana, Kandarpa and Rati and God of fish banner,[102] whom he calls Māra[103] also are examples worth noting.

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[93] S. I.41—तस्मिन्वास्तुनि वास्तुज्ञा: पुरं श्रीमन्न्यवेशयन् ।

[94] Vātsyāyana Kāma (H), p. 30.

[95] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[96] M. Vagga. (Tr. Horner) VIII.2 (p. 380).
Patisatena does not mean coinage or currency. It probably means 'For a hundred in return' against a hundred. (Ibid., ft. n. 3).

[97] B. VI.62—उदायी नितिशास्त्रज्ञ ।

[98] B. III.50—विशेषयुक्तं विषयप्रचारम् ।
It tells that the art was taught and there must have existed some 'Śāstra'.
There is close affinity in Vātsyāyana Mallanāga's Kāmasutra and Arthaśāstra. The former is the imitation of Arthaśāstra (A.B. Keith, *HSL.*, p. 467).

[99] S. IV. 8 & 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 23, 35, 36, 38, 42, 44; X.49, 52, 55, 56; XI.54.

Kāmasutra, which is divided into seven parts, the second part deals with the modes of enjoying love and part IV discusses relations with married women.[104]

In *Buddhacarita*, after the marriage and before visiting 'Pramadavan', Siddhārtha was so much fascinated in the palace by women, who were expert in the accessories of love, that he did not decend from the palace to the ground.[105] (Plate VI)

The par excellence description of women in the Pramadvana, who were courteous, charming and adept in captivating the feelings, even of the lustfree seers,[106] the poet's reference to Vārmukhya[107] and their gestucations; display-bosoms like golden jars,[108] letting blue garments slip under the pretext of intoxication; [109] the power of intoxication of love[110] and their knowledge of the sentiments of love,[111], all are sufficient examples to the existence of some Kāmaśāstra is those days.

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100. B. IV.16.

101. S. IV.44—

स कामरागेण निगृह्यमाणो धर्मानुरागेण च कृष्यमाणः ।
जगाम दुःखेन विवर्त्यमानः प्लवः प्रतिस्रोत इवापगायाः ।।

102. S. X.55—मन्मथ । cf. B. IV.3.
S. IV.8—कन्दर्प रत्यौ ।
S. IV.39—मदन ।
S. X.53 (Johnston's Tr.) S.N. Chow. does not translate.
(इवाब्जशत्रु)

103. S. IV.8.

104. Keith, *HSL*, pp. 468-69.

105. B. II.32—कामाश्रयपण्डिताभि स्त्रिभिर्गुहीतो रतिकर्कशाभि ।
National Museum 50.18 penal one from a stupa depicts Śiddhārtha amidst pleasure. (ref. Plate VI).

106. B. IV.10-13, IV.70. Beauty without courtesy is a grove without flowers.

107. B. IV.17, III.52.

108. B. IV.35.

109. B. IV.33.

110. B. IV.25—मदेन मदनेन ।

111. B. IV.12—भावज्ञानेन हावेन रूपचातुर्य संपदा । IV.25.

Our poet's above expressions about guiles and wiles of women agree with 'Arthaśāstra's[112] Gaṇikas and Vātsyāyana's Kāmasutra. His reference to five objects of senses in which Kāma is felt, is found in Vātsyāyana.[113] The description of passionate man (Kāmi) wearing or decorating themselves with ornaments[114] are art-numbers fourteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen in Kāmasūtra.[115] In brief the giles and wiles of women in the grove, such as gestures with brows, looks, blandishments, laughter, frolicking and movements to cause rapture and captivate the prince,[116] all (the cogettish habits) are the arts described in Kāmaśāstra.

Our poet has included all these love-scenes and stray romantic references to complete his Kāvya, according to Kāvyadharma. This was the method adopted by him to make the tough philosophy interesting. Otherwise he has never forgotten his theme. He says "Dharma, Artha and Kāma are not the supreme end as they are transitory and hence not worth satisfying".[117] Siddhārtha is made to say, "Therefore I who have set on the suspicious peaceful road, am not to be led away towards the passions".[118]

Kāmadeva and Sculpture

The love scenes had been the theme of sculptures, even before Aśvaghoṣa. Kāmadeva is depicted as the god of love with flowers as his arrows. No wonder if the artists had also made use of 'Kāmaśāstra' like later poets and writers to depict love-scenes.

Mathura Museum No. 34.2552 displays the headless figure of this deity (Kāmadeva), holding a cluster of arrows and crouching a male figure under his feet. This perhaps illustrates the epithet 'Pushpa-dhanva' or Kusumāyudha (one equipped with a bow of flowers). It belongs to late Śunga or early Kuṣāna period.[119]

Terracotta 39.2849 (Mathura Museum) displays the winged burst of Kāmadeva (cupid) holding a bow. The background displays different flowers which suggest the season of Kāmadeva's attack.

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112. *Artha*. II.27,28,30.
113. Vātsyāyana, Kāma (H), p. 30.
     कामगुणेषु (Hearing, touch, taste, sight and smell).
114. B. IV.4.
115. Vatsyāyana, Kāma (H), p. 36.
116. B. IV.
     Vātsyānana, Kāma (H).
117. B. XI.58.
     The prince was advised by Bimbasāra to devote himself to 'Dharma Artha (wealth) and pleasure (Kāma) धर्मर्थकामान्विधिवद्मजस्व । B. X.28.
118. XI. 50—तन्नास्मि कामान् प्रति संप्रतार्यः क्षेमंशि मार्गं मनुप्रपन्नः ।
119. It belongs to late Śunga or early Kuṣāna period.
     (R.C. Sharma, *Mathura Museum*, p. 24)

No. 18.1448 displays Kāmadeva holding a cluster of bud shaped arrows.[120] (Plate X).

Thus there are ample evidences to believe the existence of some Kāmaśāstra in Pre-Aśvaghoṣa era.

Yogaśāstra

Numerous references in the works of our poet allude to his knowledge about Yogasūtras. He regards Janaka as an expert teacher in the methods of Yoga, who instructed even the twice-born in the science.[121] The poet has used the word 'Yoga' and 'Yogi' many a times[122] and hermits are told to be practising austerities to the extent of self-oblivition, which gave them self-satisfaction.[123]

Yoga-Saṁkhya and Aśvaghoṣa

Buddhacarita's canto XII and *Saundarananda's* canto XVI deal with Yoga and Dhyāna.

Yogasutras are basad on Sāṁkhya philosophy. "In B. XII Jñānamāgra of the Sāṁkhya is appended as an alternative method of action by Yoga. The system set out is said to be, that which was followed by Pancaśikhā, which is treated as the great authority on the philosophic side of Yoga in Vyāsa's Bhāṣya together with Jaigiṣavya (also known teacher of Yoga) and Janaka. "But actually it is a description of the first seven 'Dhyānas' of Buddhist dogma, substituting 'ātman' for 'Vijñāna' in the second arupya."[124] Dhyānas and Prajña do not belong to original Buddhism. Many scholars have observed a close parallelism between Yogasūtras and the Buddhist doctrine of trance. The affinity is so great that Johnston observes that the two must have had a common origin. In Buddhism, each trance is connected with certain divine spheres and Aśvaghoṣa mentions the same spheres as gained by his Yoga system. "The corresponding scheme for the classical Yoga is set forth by Vyasa on Y.S III 25. ...no parallel to Vyāsa's cosmology are to be found in Brāhmaṇical sources outside the Yoga school." There are two points of analogy in B. canto XII to the older Yoga teaching (a) In verses 46 and 47 the description of Śila required for an aspirant, might be the summary of the teaching of Jaigiṣavya in Mahābhārata XII.8431 ff.

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120. Ref. Plate X.

121. B. I.45.
Infra—Ch. Yoga for details.

122. S. XIII.29—योगिनां ; V.32,49 योग ।
XIV.19 योगाचार, 32 प्रयोगेन ।
XIV.34— भूयो योगं मन: , 46 योगानुलोभं ।
XV.68 योगाचार ; XVI.1 योगी ।

123. S. I.16—यत्नेन तापसास्तेपिरे तप: ।
H.R. Shastri gives different reading यत्तेन and not यत्नेन of Johnston.

124. Johnston, Intro. B., pp. LX-LXI.

"Secondly the expression Nigrhnann indriyagramam in 48 is significant ; for the Bhaṣya on Y.S. II.55 quotes a Sutra of Jaigiṣavya to the effect that in Yoga the functions of the senses is altogether suppressed." This doctrine is to be read in Gītā, Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva) and Majjhima Nikāya III.208. In the Buddhist Nikāya (M.N.), a Parāśariya Brāhmaṇa is refuted by Buddha for a similar view. In Hinayāna, at least the accepted view is, that in Yoga, the senses need control (Indriyasaṁvara) and not suppression. So our poet's description of the Yoga system is of his day and need be treated, like the preceding account of Sāṁkhya, as fully authoritative.[125]

Historically viewed, Aśvoghoṣa's description of Siddhārtha's meeting with sage Arāḍa and the exposition of the Sāṁkhya philosophy by the sage, rejection of the same by Siddhārtha,[126] tells us not only the Sāṁkhya system of the day, but also the influence and interpretation of Sāṁkhya by Buddha, its influence on Buddhist literature—and exhalts his (Buddha's) philosophic thinking.

To conclude Aśvaghoṣa had deep knowledge of Yoga and Sāṁkhya which tells the importance of the philosophy during our poet's era.

Nyāya Philosophy and Aśvaghoṣa

The study of *Saundarananda* tells Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of Nyāyasūtras.

Johnston comments[127] : "The first adhyāya of Nyāyasūtras is free from interpolations and is unaffected by Vaiśeṣika tenets. This was the Sūtra known to Aśvaghoṣa. *Saundarananda* (1.14) is a clear reference to Nyāya principles. "S. XVI.18 Lokasya doṣebha iti pravṛtth is deliberately taken from Nyāyasūtra (II.18), pravartanālakṣaṇa doṣāh, all the more so that the preceding verses 14 and 15 suggest an early Anumana."

Medical Education

Diseases and Cures

Vedic period has ample evidence of 'magic' as a cure which preceded the medical art. The demon (Asura) of disease dominates in Arthaśāstra and ritual Text-books. This tradition is preserved through medical books, because the treatment of disease is derived from this source.[128]

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[129] refers to Sarpa Vidhyā (science to cure serpent bite), Devjan Vidhyā (demonology) and Māyā Vidhyā (Asur Vidhyā or magic tricks).

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[125] Johnston, Intro. B., pp. LXI-LXII.

[126] B. Ch. XII.

[127] Johnston, Intro. B., pp. LV-LVI.

[128] Keith, *HSL.*, p. 505.

[129] Śat. Br. XIII.4.3.—सर्पविद्या वेदः, देवजनविद्या वेदः, माया वेदः ।

Atharvaveda (X.2) deals with human anatomy. In the later tradition Ayurveda or Vaidhyaśāstra (science of medicine and the doctors) is recognised as an Upānga of Atharvaveda. It is ascribed eightfold knowledge : "major surgery, minor surgery, healing of disease, demonology, children's diseases, toxicology, elixirs and aphrodisiaca." The names of many sages are connected with the medical science, but Atreya is declared to be the founder of this science. Caraka, Suśrut and Chāṇakya are credited for writing on medicines.[130]

Medical profession has been referred in Āpstamba DS (I.18.21) and Baudhāyana DS. (II.2.5).

In Buddhist literature, Majjhima Nikāya and Vinaya Texts (Mahāvagga) tell about various diseases and their cures. Bhikṣus in Vanpattha sutta are advised to be equipped with medicines along with robe-material, alms food..."These are to be got (only) with difficulty."[131]

Buddhist tradition speaks of an efficient physician and surgeon Jivaka, who is told to be Buddha's contemporary. Mahavagga[132] records : he learnt the art at Takṣaśila for seven years. He cured seven years' chronic headache with Nathukamma. He performed head operation by strapping the person to a couch and extracted two tiny creatures (paṅkas) from his head (which otherwise would have caused the death of the merchant). He cured the fiscula of king Bimbasāra of Magadha just with one anointing. He cured Buddha of severe stomach trouble and ultimately exchanged his new robe with the rag-robe of the Teacher.

This tells that Takṣaśila was the centre of medical learning. The Ayuraveda or the knowledge of the use of various herbs, oils etc. was much advanced. There were itinerant physicians who performed such major operations as of head in the houses of the diseased. The use of anesthesea was unknown.

In Buddhist literature Buddha is known as 'Bhiṣakko' (physician), who cured the diseases of mind and body. In Aṅguttara Nikāya,[133] 'Bhiṣakka' is among the achievements of Tathagata. Itivutta Sūtta 100 calls him 'Anuttaro Bhiṣakko'. Lalitavistara[134] calls him 'Vaidya Rāja' who was born to cure all the diseases. He is

[130] Keith, *HSL.*, pp. 505-6.

[131] *MN.* I.104,105 (p. 136 ff).
M. Vagga (*SBE.* XVII) VI.1-14.

[132] M. Vagga. (*SBE.* XVII), VIII.1-36.
M. Vagga (Tr. Horner), pp. 380-88.
Nathukamma is a treatment through nose.

[133] *AN.* IV.8.9.35 (p. 340).

[134] *LV.* (P.L. Vaidya) 5 (p. 3)—वैद्यराजोऽमृतभेषप्रदः,
448 (p. 254)— उत्पन्नो वैद्यराजः ; 458 (p. 259).
वैद्यराट् त्वम् समुत्पन्नः सर्वव्याधिप्रमोचकः,
275 (p. 162)—ध्यायित्व सर्वक्लेष्णं मौचेष्यिसत्वकोटि ।

considered as the best physician (Bhiṣagvar and Bhiṣak pradhān) as he cured the diseases (Dukkha) of body and mind.

Aśvaghoṣa calls him (Buddha) Bhiṣak Pradhan and Mahabhiṣak[135] as no one excelled him in this art.

Not only India is proud of its ancient Doctors (physician) but Ionian (Yavana) physicians are also mentioned in earliest Greek prose.[136]

Charms as Cure

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[137] mentions 'Sarpa Vidhyā' which alludes to some charms or Ayurvedic medicines to cure snake bite.

The last chapter of the Gilgit Mss.[138] in Gupta Script, unearthed from Gilgit 200 miles S. of Central Asia, tells about a mantra which was a charm against snake bite.

In Jātakas various diseases are cured by Āyurvedic medicines. But Jātaka No. 293 tells of a man of Sāvatthi who was tormented by jaundice. He was given up by the physicians as a hopeless case, but he being disgusted adopted Buddhism and got cured—is a miracle or 'charm' element in the Buddhist knowledge of the science of healing.

In addition to various diseases and their cures by medicines, our poet has also mentioned about some charms to ward of the effect of snake-bite.[139] Agni purāṇa[140] mentions some herbs etc. of strange potency to activate mantras. It tells of various processes for acquiring skill in snake-charming, safe delivery of children, acquisitions of a son etc.

Aśvaghoṣa and Āyurveda

The study of Aśvaghoṣa's works reveal his sound knowledge of Āyurvedic treatment of various diseases. Incidentally he has mentioned Ṛsi Atreya as the propounder of healing.[141] It seems the poet had Atharvaveda and perhaps Suśrut and Caraka Saṁhitās also in view.

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106 (p. 67)—वैद्योत्तमो ।
150 (p. 91)—भिषग्वर ; 458 (p. 259)—वैद्यराट् , त्वम् समुत्पन्न: सर्वव्याधि प्रमोचक:—he is the curer of all kinds of diseases.

[135] S. X.55, XIII.61; XVII.73.

[136] L. EA., p. 125.

[137] Supra—ft. n. 132.

[138] Gill. Mss. (ed. N. Dutt).

[139] S. IX.13, V.31—सविधो न दश्यते कश्चन पन्नसेन ।

[140] I. 40 ff. vide Bulletin Purāṇam, Vol. XXII, Jan. 1981.

[141] B, I.43.

Physicians

The general terms used for the physicians are 'Vaidhya'[142] and 'Bhiṣak'.[143] The science of medicine seems to have developed much by the time of our poet. In addition to physicians who cured the diseases of the body (Dehi), psychotrists who cured the diseases of the mind (chitto) also lived in the age.[144] So there were two kinds of physicians for two kinds of pain.

The general term used for diseases are 'roga'[145] and 'vyādhi'.[146] The diseases of the mind are alluded difficult to master, while minor illnesses are averted or cured with little effort.[147] The patients are advised not to conceal ailment from the Vaidhya to avoid complications,[148] for there is no calamity in the world which equals a disease.[149]

Causes (Body diseases)

In *Saundarananda* the three causes of diseases are named as 'Vāta, Pitta and cough'. A physician prescribes the treatment for the cure of disease finding one of these causes, as the cause of derangement. This agrees with Caraka's formulae.[150]

Symptoms and Causes of Diseases

Symptoms

The disease develops in full force due to the disorder of the causes. The diseased, though competent, looses mastery over himself and becomes dependent.[151]

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142. S. IX.12.

143. S. VIII.3,4,5, X.43.

144. S. VIII.3—द्विविधा समुदेति वेदना नियतं चेतसि देह एव च ।
श्रुतिविध्युपचार कोविधा द्विविद्या एवं तयोश्चिकित्सका ।

145. B. III.46,47, XIII.61, XI.11,12.
S. XVIII.13, XI.28, IX.6, V.27.

146. B. XI.11,12.
S. V.27, XI.11, XV.15, XVIII.13.

147. B. XI.12—दुर्हरो मानसो व्याधिर्बलवांश्च तवाभवत् ।
B. XI.11—व्याधिरल्पेन यत्नेन मृदुः प्रतिनिवार्यंते ।

148. S. VIII.4—विनिगुह्य हि रोगमातुरो नाचिरातीव्रमनर्थमृच्छति ।

149. S. V.27—व्याधेः समो नास्ति जगत्यनर्थः ।

150. S. XVI.69.
Caraka. (Ed. Vaman Shastri) ; I.56 (p. 15).
वायू पित कफश्चोक्त: शारीरो दोष संग्रहः ।
The Chinese Saṁyukta-ratna Pitaka Sūtra (No. 1329, Vol. VI, A.D. 472) makes Aśvaghoṣa and Caraka the contemporaries of Kaniṣka (I-Tsing, p. LIX, Suzuki, *AF*, p. 10).

151. B. III.42.— धातु प्रकोप प्रभवः प्रवृद्धः । रोगभिंदानः समुह । ननर्थः
शाक्तोऽपि यैनेष कृतो स्वतन्त्रः च ।

The man seen by Siddhārtha, who was described by the charioteer as diseased had a swollen belly, body heaving with panting, falling shoulders and arms, emaciated limbs, pale colour and pitious voice.[152]

In Mahāvastu,[153] seeing the diseased, Buddha says, "Disease means the loss of beauty, the crushing of strength, the destruction of the faculties, the rise of sorrows, the end of joy, concentration on the senses, the cessation of dharma and pre-occupation with things concerning body."

Diseases

Body

Serious as well as ordinary diseases, are mentioned alongwith their cures.[154] The diseases of the body mentioned are fever,[155] headache,[156] blood-vomiting,[157] food vomiting,[158] maimed limbs (due to afflictions or diseases),[159] blindness[160] and leprosy.[161]

Mental

About the mental diseases, defective senses[162] and madness or maniac[163] is mentioned. Here madness referred is of two kinds : (1) mental shocks, such as death punishment which leaves a man mentally retarded, and the man due to unbalanced mind sometimes laughs and babbles,[164] (2) unbalanced mind, due to attachment with the objects of senses. Here the powerful expression is worth quoting : "Just eating a kimpaka fruit leads to death not to nourishment, though its taste, colour and fragrance is good, so application to the objects of senses leads a man to unbalanced mind, to disaster, not to prosperity."[165] "To find delight in the body, that vessel of much suffering, out of delusion and desire for the objects of the senses would be like (purposely) becoming ill and avoiding the medical treatment capable of curing it out of desire for the pleasure of physic."[166] Passions are described as the fever of the mind[167] because they disturb the mind.

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[152] B. III.41—स्थूलोदर:, श्वासचलच्छरीर: स्रस्तांसबाहू:,
कृषपाण्डुगात्र, अभ्येति वाचं करुणं ब्रुवाण:, पर समाश्रित्य नर: एष ।
B. III.40—व्याधि परीत देहं ।
B. III.46—रोगव्यसनं ।

[153] *Mhv*. (J.J. Jones), II, p. 148.

[154] S. IX.6, XI.11,28, XII.6, XVI. 40,41.
XVII.9—व्यधिप्राणाशाय, XVIII.12,13.
B. I.25—रुजो नराणां, III.44—रोगै: परिपीडचमानो रुजातुरो, XI.11,12.

[155] B. XI.40.
S. XV.3—ज्वर: ।

[156] B. XIV.54—शिर: पीड़: ।

[157] B. XIV.20—वमेयुरुष्ण रुधिरं ।

[158] B. IX.46—वान्तमन्नं ।

[159] B. III.4—संपातमार्थस्य ।
B. III.5—प्रत्यङ्गहीनान्विकलेन्द्रीयांश्च जीर्णातुरादीन कृपणांश्च दिक्षु ।

[160] B. XIV.67, XI.53—अन्धाय ।

[161] S. IX.44.

[162] B. III.5—विकलेन्द्रियांश्च ।

[163] S. V.42—मत्तो हसेच्च प्रलपेच्च वध्य: ।

Treatment (mental disease)

The liberation from the second kind of disorder can be achieved by binding one with the Law of salvation with sinless soul.[168] The first step to the path of cure of this disease is freedom from passions. Buddha advocates Nanda : "To abandon the delusion, namely your mistress, if it is your intention to cut through the snare of suffering."[169] Mundane knowledge (jñāna) tranquility and Niti are needed to cure the diseases of mind.[170]

Patient treatment

Our poet has however hinted towards some traditional patient medicines for the cure of mind and body ailments. He says, "...Holy men, desirous of salvation, hearing how another one has come to salvation, strive blissfully by the same path, as sick men strive for health by the treatment that has already cured another of disease."[171]

The treatment for two kinds of mentally retarded is (a) The Law of salvation for the sinless soul and (b) medicines for body diseases.[172]

Treatments (Body ailments)

Vinaya text (VII. 1-14), Saṁyutta Nikāya and other Buddhist texts refer to various diseases and their cures, e.g. when Buddha fell ill with internal wind, he was cured with hot water, mixed with molasses or according to commentary, with a sweet mixture.[173] Vinaya Text[174] prescribes ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses, as medicines for the diseases of hot season. The sick Bhikṣus are advised : to use the roots such as turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris-roots, ativisa, black hellebore, uśira, bhaddamuttaka and other roots, as medicines. Fruits, leaves, gums (hiṅga, hiṅga-lac etc.), meat etc. are recorded to be used as medicines. Jivaka cured the headache (seven years old) by administering ghee through nostrils. He cured the disturbance of humors of Buddha by rubbing his body with fat for a few days and making him smell handful of lotuses.[175]

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[164] B. XI.53—उन्मत्त चित्ताय (maniac).

[165] S. IX.48.

[166] S. IX.45.

[167] S. XV.3.—कामवितर्कस्त्वां, मानसो ज्वरः ।
XVII.5.9.

[168] S. IX.49—विमोक्ष धर्माद्युपसंहितं हितं ।
S. XVI.45—सम्यग्विमुक्तिर्मनसश्च ताम्यां न चास्य भूयः करणीयमस्ति ।

[169] S. V.45—प्रियामिधानं त्यजं मोहजालं छेत्तुं मति स्ते यदि दुःखजालं ।

[170] B. XIII.61—ज्ञानौषधार्थं; S. XVII.5,11.

[171] S. XVIII.13—मुक्तस्य रोगादिव रोगवन्तस्तेनैव मार्गेण सुखं घटन्ते ।

[172] S. XVI.93, IX.45.

Jātaka (127)[176] tells of cold treatment : milk mixed with pungent drug given to a patient cured him of his disease.

Aśvaghoṣa and Treatments

Aśvaghoṣa has given philosophic definition of diseases and cures, as well as, has referred to Āyurvedic medicines. His first definition is : "In the first truth, think of suffering as disease, in the second, of the faults as the cause of disease, in the third, the destruction of suffering as good health and in the fourth of the path as medicine."[177]

Again, giving double meaning, he says "Moreover who understands disease correctly as disease, its cause and its cure, quickly regains sound health, being treated by skillful friends."[178] The path to be followed by the mentally sick or passionately wreck may be difficult or the food and medicines to be administered (and needed) may not be agreeable, but one, desirous of gaining 'Liberation' or leading a healthy life, must "Give up agreeable but unwholesome food" (or sweet medicines) and become well.[179]

Displaying his sound knowledge of Āyurveda and philosophy, he adds "Just as a substance may be hot in taste and yet when eaten, be easy to digest so energy may

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173. *SN.* I. (*PTS.* 1971, Mrs. R. Davids), pp. 220-21.

174. M. Vagga, VI. 1-14.

175. M. Vagga (*SBE*) VIII, 1,9-13,31.

176. Cowell's ed. 1897.

177. S. XVI.41.
For details Infra. Medical Science and four Truths. (Ch. Religion)
"Buddha is said to be a physician. As a physician strives to restore to health a sickman, the Buddha tries to restore to us our normal condition." (*Dhammasaṅgini*, Pref., p. iii).

178. S. XVI.40.

179. S. XII.6—
...सद्य: स्वस्थ इवाभवत् ।
मृषादपथ्याद्विरतो जिजीविषुरिवातुर: ।।

be painful through the toil it involves and yet be pleasant in its result through the accomplishment of the objects in hand".[180]

Here, philosophically, the difficult practice of Yoga and its results are explained by Buddha to Nanda. On the other hand the difference between 'hot juice' of a substance and 'Vipāka' (coated) is indicated by the poet in a very striking way. Caraka has also written about the hot taste of chillies and sweet taste of Vipāka (dressed or coated).[181]

Since every effective medicine cannot be 'dressed' or coated (even in the modern days), it is added, that medicine which was effective and sweet to taste was difficult to obtain.[182] So sour or hot medicines were administered by the physicians to the patients forcibly, as they were disagreeable to taste.[183]

Telling about the treatments, our poet says Leprosy cannot be cured by applying heat or hot cures.[184] Billous fever or one burning with billous fever requires cold treatment.[185]

Remedies for the deadly poisoned persons and antidotes of medicines were also known[186] in the age.

Allusions to lapses in mental and physical treatments are also recorded. A yogi, though set on the path of salvation, "with zeal of his mind and resolution of his soul" is perturbed by evil thoughts of love, due to his constant habit (S. XVII. 7). This is called a fearful symptom and is compared to a man "whose mind is set on the destruction of his illness".[187] (S. XVII. 9)

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[180] S. XVI.93 –
द्रव्यं यथा स्यात्कटुकं रसेन यच्चोपयुक्तं मधुरं विपाके ।
तथैव वीर्यं कटुकं श्रमेण तस्यार्थसिद्धयै मधुरी विपाकः ।।
cf. H. Tr. S.N. Chowdhary.

[181] Caraka (J. Vidhya Sagar ed.), p. 264 ff.
रसवीर्यं विपाक प्रभावानि ।

[182] S. XII.16—
दुर्लभं तु प्रियहितं स्वादु पथ्यमिवौषधं ।

[183] S. V.48—
अनिष्टमप्यौषध मातुराय दक्षति वैद्यश्च यथा निगुह्य ।

[184] S. IX.44—
कुष्टव्यसनेन दुखितः प्रतापनानैवं शमं निगच्छति ।

[185] B. XI.40—
पित्तदाहेन विदह्यमानः शीतक्रिया भोग इति व्यवस्येत् ।

[186] S. XVIII.9—विषं विनाशीवमहागदेन ।

[187] S. XVIII.9.

Foreign Evidence

Appolonius,[188] the Traveller, was introduced to a blind and lame, who were cured by Indian doctors. In Sutralaṁkara[189] Aśvaghoṣa has mentioned 'Eye doctors'. It alludes to an advanced science of medical aid in those days.

Food as Cure

Suśrat and Caraka Saṁhitas recommend control of diet to maintain good health.[190] Aśvaghoṣa advises a Yogi to eat exact measure of food for the sake of mystic meditation and freedom from disease.[191] "Food taken in excessive quantities impedes the intake and outflow of the breath, induce lassitude and drowsiness and destroys enterprise".[192] But nourishing and balanced food is necessary for the body-energy and strength.[193]

According to Caraka, out of six elements. earth, water, fire in their general and specific characteristics, constitute a 'Puruṣa'.[194] Aśvaghoṣa agrees with him and advocates, of the complete understanding of six elements, as there is nothing beyond these elements. He who understands this gets complete liberation from them.[195]

Surgery

'Jivaka' has been mentioned as a renowned surgeon and physician. He, according to tradition, was a contemporary of Buddha. But this art in medical science seems to have well developed by the time of our poet. He has mentioned surgical instruments, 'forceps and jaws' and surgeons.[196]

'Jivaka' performed the operation of merchant's wife by tying her to the cot and it must have been very painful. But Aśvaghoṣa refers to the struggle of a woman with labour pain as dangerous to life and compares it to the clash with armies.[197] At the same time, he tells that "they were delivered in due time, safely, easily and without disease. Siddhārtha was born to Māyādevi from the side, without her suffering pain and illness."[198] A painless delivery from the side is impossible, and is abnormal. She seems o have undergone some operation and something to kill pain (like modern anesthea or pain-killing injections) must have been administered. But poor lady died soon, this must have been a serious lapse, though she must have been under proper cure.

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[188] *A. Travels*, p. 50.

[189] *LEA*, p. 125.

[190] Caraka (Ed. Vaman Shastri) V. 1.—
स्वस्थ्य परिपालन हेतुषु मात्रा वदन्नं प्रधानम ।

[191] S. XIV.1—भोजने भव मात्राज्ञो ध्यानायानामयाय च ।

[192] S. XIV.2.

[193] S. XIV.4,5.

[194] Caraka. II.1.18.

[195] S. XVI.48.

[196] S. XVIII.7—त्वद्वाक्य संदेशमुखेन मे ए समुद्धृतः शल्यहृतव शल्यः ।

[197] B. II.9.

Conclusion

In the first century when lived our poet, the science of medicine seems to have well developed. Āyurvedic medicines and nature-cure methods were employed to cure various diseases. Surgical operations were also performed and some medicines to kill pain were also known. There lived efficient surgeons and physicians in those days.

Astronomy and Astrology

Aśvaghoṣa's works give a fair glimpse of Astronomy. The names furnished by him allude to the developed science. Puṣya Nakṣatra (planet) is mentioned many a times. Siddhārtha was born when its influence was auspicious.[199] The Prithvī, Bhūmi (earth),[200] Chandra (moon),[201] Sūrya (the sun)[202] and Bṛhaspati[203] planets are specifically named. Stars, in general,[204] which become discoloured with the dawn, constellation of seven stars[205] (Saptarṣi), and falling meteors[206] are also mentioned.

The above terms are still in use in the books of Indian astronomy.

Astrology

On the basis of these constellations or knowledge of stars, auspicious and inauspicious days and time were calculated.[207] The art or science of astrology was

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198. B. I.9—पार्श्वात्सुतो लोकहिताय जज्ञे निर्वेदनं चैव निरामयं च ।
Cooma Koṛösi refers to a belief that Māyā was a virgin.
(As. Res. XX. 299)

St. Jeromi says, (Contra Jovian Bk. I) "It is handed down as a tradition among the Gymnosophists of India, that Buddha the founder of their system was brought forth by virgin from her side." (Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, ft. 1, p. 183). This is medically impossible and the tradition also does not speak of it. In India uptil today, for a virgin to have a child is considered sin.

199. B. I.9.
200. B. XIII.58.
201. B. I.4—चन्द्रमिवभ्रममध्ये; S. II.14.
202. B. VII.8.
203. B. IV.75.
204. B. V.87.
205. B. I. 14—सप्तर्षितारा सदृषो ।
206. B. II.7—शनिपात दोषैः ।
207. B. I.85—शिवे महुर्त्ते ।

developed to the point of exact accuracy and there lived professional astrologers and astronomers,[208] in addition to Mahāṛsis like sage Asita. But our poet has condemned 'Jyotiṣa' or astrology as the destroyer of good conduct (S. XIII. 14) though Kautalya has styled this Vidhyā as 'Vedāṅga'. (Artha. I. 3).

Seasons

Our poet has referred to six seasons[209]—śuklapakṣa (bright fort-night), Kriṣnapakṣa (dark fortnight), sun and moon's eclipse, Earth's orb (Dhuri), Sun's orb (Hari-mandala), earth quakes,[210] and storms etc.

Regarding the calculation of a month's period Q. Curtius Rufus writes (1. c. A.D.) in India "the month they make to consist each of fifteen days, but they nevertheless assign to the year its full duration. They mark the divisions of time by the course of the moon, not like most nations when the planet shows a full face, but when she begins to appear horned, and hence, by fixing the duration of a month to correspond with this phase of the moon, they have their months, one half shorther than the months of other people".[211]

Curtius means that Indians mark this, not by taking a month to be the period from full moon to next full moon, but from new moon to full moon.[212]

In addition to the above mentioned sciences and arts, the fine arts such as painting, dancing and acting was also practised, studied and hence popular with the masses.[213]

Above are the subjects studied in the days of Aśvaghoṣa, which agree with Kautalya and his Vidhyā, which includes all the sciences of knowledge. The poet imself has alluded to it in *Saundarananda* saying, Ikṣvākus were imparted the great treasure of knowledge, "consisting of many kinds and abundant, ample for the complete attainment of the objects of religion, wealth and pleasure and not subject to loss at the hands of foes".[214]

Literature :

The Development of Buddhist Literature and Language

From the lower valley of Ganga to the table land of upper Asia the Buddhist literature developed into three main phases :

208. S. XIII.14.
Supra—Astrologers.
209. Supra—Ch. Geography.
210. S. VII.—शैलो मही कम्पइवोच्चशृङ्गः ।
211. J.W. M'crindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 191.
212. Ibid., p. 359.
213. Supra—Social Life—Ch.
214. S.I.39, 40.

Within Magadha's limit and its neighbourhood, the Buddhist literature is composed in rythmic verse and is in Magadhan dialect.[215] It reproduces generally the sayings of Śakyamuni or his contemporaries, for the purpose of being remembered.

Within the plain watered by Ganga and Yamuna, the language used is Sanskrit and the works allude to the period that followed the death of Buddha.

In the days of Aśoka, who popularised Buddhism in 3rd century B.C., an unlimited expansion of Buddhism was carried out towards Central Asia. The writers in the country as well as in the neighbouring countries, have used Sanskrit, Sharda, Ladakhi, Tibetan and Chinese etc. the respective languages of their regions and countries. They did embellish, recast, comment, develop and collect ancient texts.[216] Moreover Kaniṣka got Mahāvibhāṣas compiled in Sanskrit with the help of Aśvaghoṣa in Kashmir.[216]

Buddhist Nikāyas, Sūttānta literature and Pitakas, which existed even before Aśoka, are found in Pāli literature. This was the language understood by the masses.[217]

The use of Sanskrit by Aśvaghoṣa shows that this was the time when the language in vogue was not Pāli but Sanskrit. This use of Sanskrit as the lingua-franca, is a turning-point in the History of Buddhist Literature. The reasons were (1) Vedic forms were no longer proper, (2) the vernacular speech, if it was not according to the grammatical rules and their proper applications, was considered as vulgar and fell into disuse, (3) the important, though subsidiary cause, was the influence of the intercourse with foreigners, specially with the socially powerful, Greeks, Scythians and Tartars. The learned Brahmaṇa felt that the application of grammar was essential to make them understand the linguistic forms.[218]

Rhys Davids[219] holds that according to the tradition preserved by the priests, in India of the 6th and 7th century B.C. "From Takṣaśila down to Champa, no one spoke Sanskrit. The living language everywhere was Pāli. Many of the old Vedic words were retained in more easily pronounceable forms. Many new words had been adopted from non-Aryan forms of speech. Many Arayan words, which do not happen to occur in the Vedic text, had nevertheless survived in popular use. And meanwhile, in the schools of the priests, and there only, a knowledge of the Vedic language (which we often call Sanskrit) was kept up. But even this Sanskrit of the schools had progressed, as some would say or had degenerated, as others would say, from the Vedic standard. And the Sanskrit in actual use in the schools was as far removed from the Vedic dialect, as it is from the so-called classical Sanskrit of the post-Buddhistic poems and plays."

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[215] Buddhism had first struck its roots in Magadha and its neighbouring regions. (L. E.A. p. 9) Supra—Ch. 1—Aśvaghoṣa as a writer preacher, Śraddotpada and Historical View.

[216] For details please see—Dr. S. Khosla, H. of B., pp. 34, 126.

[217] Aśoka's Bhabra Edict refers to the passages found in Nikāyas. Burnouf, in his work 'Lotus', suggests that Pāli may have been popular among the inferior classes and the great mass of people in Magadha and Oudh.
(R. Davids, *B. India*, pp. 169, 171)

[218] R. Davids, *B. India*, pp. 316-18.

[219] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

Aśvaghoṣa and the Language

Saundarananda

Sukumar Sen,[220] giving examples of forms and usages which do not ordinarily occur in classical (Paṇinian) Sanskrit alone, concludes "*Saundarananda* stands between the epic Sanskrit, as in Mahābhārata, and the 'classical' Sanskrit, of the Grammarians. Except a very few stock words and phrases it has no affinities with Buddhistic Sanskrit. It has greater affinities with epic Sanskrit".

In his article 'language of Aśvaghoṣa in Saundarananda', Shri Sen has discussed some peculiar forms in the use of cases, moods, verbs, nouns, metres and vocabulary.

Buddhacarita

The language of *Buddhacarita* has been a matter of great concern and criticism amongst the scholars since E.B. Cowell brought out the 'edito princeps of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita'. E.H. Johnston has indulged elaborately in his preface of the work. The suggestive changes are found in JASB. XXII. 1926 (pp. 1-5) and Johnston's edition. This has already been discussed.

Whatever the corrections may have been suggested or would in future be suggested : "The parallelism existing between Aśvaghoṣa and the epic literature on the one hand and Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa on the other hand, may be regarded as a period of transition in the development of classical literature".[221]

Before the compilation of Aśokāvadāna, when the monks penetrated in the western part of the Gangetic basin, they found the region to be the home of philosophic speculations of the Upaniṣads. The early converts (B) here naturally became more learned and made use of their knowledge and experiences as rhetoricians and dialectician, "one now needed a religious literature, written in a literary language, as rich and noble as possible. It was no longer sufficient merely to affirm, it was necessary to argue and to pursuade, to cambat the errors of the opponents, to exalt the New Law, to glorify its saints and lay protectors. . . ."[222] It had become necessary, to compete with other sects.

No wonder, our poet, who was a resident of Sāketa, made use of Sanskrit and wrote *Vajrasūcī*. His Kāvyas (*Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita*) are influenced by the trend and need, of the time.[223] One thing is noteworthy in our poet i.e. in both the Kāvyas, he has used highly reverential language about Gautama and at the same time has not depricated any religious philosophy. In order to give a tough fight to the existing Hindu-Brāhmaṇic philosophy, he in *Vajrasūcī*, has argued and upheld his point of the definition of a true Brāhmaṇa. He has accepted him as an Arhat, the follower of the true path, or the possessor of the qualities of Śīla.[224]

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[220] *JABS*. (*NS*) XXVI 1930, pp. 181-206.

[221] B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 36.

[222] *L.E.A.*, p. 11.

Grammar

Aśvaghoṣa has used Sanskrit in his descriptions which does not always comply with the rules of Pāṇini.[225] His knowledge and mastery of grammar is depicted in the use of 'Lit Lakar'[226] in its twelve forms in one verse. The use of only one 'Lung Lakar' in second canto and the use of 'avivapat' in four different meanings in *Sarudarananda* is worth praise.[227]

The display of metres, similies and words used by the poet, explain not only his sound knowledge of grammar—Nirukta (etymology) and alaṁkara śāstra but the fully developed prosody used in the time. In *Saundarananda*, in addition to many easy metres Udgata is also adopted in Canto III.[228] In Arthaśāstra Śikṣa (pronunciation) Kalpa, grammar, Nirūkta, Chanda (prosody) and Jyotiṣa are described as limbs (angas) of Vedas.[229]

In *Saundarananda* 'Asti'[230] is used as a particle of all three times and root 'Adh'[231] as told by the grammarians takes Vridhi in the verbal form.

All the above examples are sufficient to point clearly that our poet had sound knowledge of grammar, though he is censored for not strictly adhering to the rules of Pāṇini. Our poet has made some common references in *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita*.

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223. "Aśvaghoṣa was probably the greatest master of Sanskrit of his day and become a model for his own and future generations."
(CHS Ward, *Buddhism II*, p. 56).

224. Supra—Ch. 1, Vajrasūcī.

5. Winternitz, *HSL*. II, p. 260.

226. S. VI.24. Twelve forms of लिट् लकार ।

227. S. II.28— - - - निखिलां गामवीवपत् - - - रात्रि सत्रानवीवपत् ।
S. II.29— - - - यशोगन्धमवीवपत् - - - इवादित्य: तेजसारीनवीववत् ।।
Baldev Upadhyaya, *Skt. Sahitya ka Itihas* (1958), p. 197.

228. Keith, *HSL*, p. 64.
The early process of alaṁkāra's development is found in Aśokāvadāna and then in Aśvaghoṣa and then in Kashmirian writers. (*LEA*, p. 11).
S. I.19—पात्रं शव्दस्य महत: श्रियं च विनयस्य च ।

229. *Artha.* (*TSS*) I.3 (p. 29)—शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दोविचितिज्योतिषमति चाङ्गानि ।

230. S. XII.10.

231. S. XII.9.

The words तर्ष, धर्म्मन्, प्रविद्ध are uncommon in classical Sanskrit but are common in both the Kāvyas. "The incorrect form of गृह्य is used in both the works. The collection प्रस्साद सौपान तल प्रसादं and वहुविधिमार्ग गामिना are common to both, उप+पद in the sense of birth, परि+णाम in the sense of spending time and स्था in the sense of standing still are peculiar to both".[232]

Dramatic Language

Aśvaghoṣa has used dramatic language in his Kāvyas (S & B) and has written a drama Śāriputraprakaraṇa which closely corresponds to "the classical type as laid down in Nātyaśāstra."[233] He has used theatre-terms several times in *Buddha-carita* e.g. Rasāntara (B. III.51) and dramatic form of address āyuṣmat (B. III.33), tatrabhavat (B. IX.37) and ārya (XIII.63)."[234]

Poetics

In *Saundarananda*, Aśvaghoṣa has referred to 'Kavyadharma'. It shows he is well acquainted with poetics and has tried to follow the rules in his Kāvyas.[235]

A Poet of Pathos

Aśvaghoṣa was master of simple pathos. His expression "with deep longing and many a pain did she bear me in her womb, all her effort hath come to nought; why was she mother, why was I her son."[236] "though prototype of Rāmāyana, has heightened by his delicate touch, the effect of the whole."

Comic

In *Saundarananda* Nanda's rejection of Sundari seems to be heartless. But the transference of his fickle affection to the Apsarās has its comic side. In the end like Buddha, he seeks the welfare of others. Rāma on the contrary, in his rejection of Sītā, after the long agony of separation, has no warmer motive than obedience to the doctrine that 'Ceaser's wife must be above suspicion'.[237]

This is in accordance with Kāvyadharma' which the poet happens to know.

Style

Aśvaghoṣa's style is "unmistakably of early Vaidharbha type. As Baṇa later says of the western poets; it aims at sense rather than mere ornament...it is his aim to narrate, to describe, to preach his curious but not unattractive philosophy of renunciation of selfish desire and universal active benevolence and effort for the good. By the clarity, vividness and elegance of his diction he wants to attract the minds of those to whom blunt truths and pedestrian statements would not appeal. This aim left no room for mere elegance or for deliberate straining after-effect. Its natural result is that Aśvaghoṣa's works attain a high measure of attractiveness, especially when we make the necessary allowance for the decidedly bad condition of the text tradition of both the epics."[238] Aśvaghoṣa's style if compared to later standard, of even Kalidasa is simple. His "picture of love is marked by the wealth of intimate detail, which appeals to all Indian poets. But still more sincere is the burning enthusiasm of the poet for his own ideal, not the Arhat, contented to seek his own freedom from rebirth in this world of misery, but the Bodhisattva, the Buddha to be, who delays however, his entering into Nirvāṇa, until he has accomplished his view of freeing all other creatures from the delusion which makes them cling throughout the ages to mortal life and its woes. This is a new note in Sanskrit poetry. Vālmīki has majesty and calm seriousness, but he is free from passion like his hero, who though experience vicissitudes yet stands apart from them and about whose ultimate success we never doubt."[239]

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[232] H.P. Shastri, S. (Bib. Indica. No. 192), pp. III-IV.

[233] A.B. Keith, *HSD*, pp. 81-82.

[234] Johnston, Intro. B, p. LXII.

[235] S. XVIII.63—तत्काव्यधर्मात्कृतं ।

[236] The idea is prototype of Rāmāyaṇa II.53.20.
A.B. Keith, HSL, pp. 62-63.

[237] A.B. Keith, *HSL*, p. 61.

Similies

Aśvaghoṣa has drawn his similies from such a 'wide range' that a volume is required to narrate them. Uptill now Kalidasa has been famous in this field (Upamā Kalidasasya). But the study of our poet tells that he prepared the ground for Kalidasa and our poet certainly excels him. H.P. Shastri has given detailed comparison and similarities of ideas of both the poets in Biblothica Indica,[240] and C.W. Gūrner has discussed the 'Psychological similies in Aśvaghoṣa'[241] in JASB.

As the motive of our poet was to make the common man understand the difficult Buddhist philosophy, he, in his very simple language, has taken shelter to express most abstruse ideas of the philosophy. Some of his ideas have become tradition and are still known to us. (20th century) e.g.

Closed or shut eyes of women are similar to the lotus buds with their flower-buds closed at the setting of the sun.[242] Emaciated Siddhārtha, "with his glory and majesty unimpaired, was a source of joy to the eyes of others, as the moon in the autumn at the beginning of the bright fortnight is to the night of lotuses."[243]

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238. A.B. Keith, p. 60.
239. Ibid., p. 61.
240. Bibl. Indica, No. 190.
241. *JASB (NS)*, 1930.
242. B. V.57—अधरा बभूर्निमीलिताक्ष्यो . . . . .
प्रतिसंकुचितारविन्दकोशाः सवितर्यस्तमिते यथा नलिन्यः ॥
243. B. XII.98—कुमुदानामिव शरच्छुक्लपक्षादिचन्द्रमा ।

The traditional simili of Chakravāka's (sheldrake's) attachment with its mate is used by him to express the devotion of Nanda to Sundari. Though the language is simple, its effect is marvellous.[244]

Similarly when Sundari is informed by the women in waiting about Nanda's initiation, she is consoled : (by these women) "... He never looks at any woman except you, like the ruddy sheldrake with its mate."[245] Nanda, though initiated to Buddhism was restless for Sundari and expresses himself : "... in no circumstance like a sheldrake separated from its mate, can I obtain peace."[246]

Philosophical Similies

"As sugarcane stalk is thrown on the ground to be dried for burning after all the juice was extracted by pressing, so the body, pressed in the mill of old age and with its vital force drained away, awaits the funeral pyre."[247]

See here how the poet using a very ordinary type of fuel article, has expressed so very easily the philosophy of old age and death.

Similarly in another beautiful expression, "Seeing that the world is subject to attack from calamities, such as cold, heat, disease, old age, hunger etc. like the water in the hot season from the rays of the sun, what are you thinking about you who are so proud of your strength, as you pass to decay."[248]

The traditional Buddhist simili about the philosophy of soul is expressed in most homely metaphor in *Buddhacarita*.[249]

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[244] S. IV.2—स चक्रवाक्येव हि चक्रवाकस्तया समेत: प्रिययाप्रियहि: ।
"Worthy of love, he lived with his mistress like a sheldrake with its mate . . ."

[245] S. VI.22—न सत्वदन्यां प्रमदामवैति स्वचक्रवाक्या इव चक्रवाक: ।

[246] S. VII.17—सर्वास्ववस्थासु लभे न शान्तिं प्रियावियोगादिक चक्रवाक: ।

[247] S. IX.31—यथेक्षुरत्यन्तर सप्रीडितो भुवि प्रविद्धोदहनाय शुष्यते ।
यथा जरायन्त्रनिपिड़िता तनुर्निपीतसारा मरणाय तिष्टति ।

[248] S. IX.8—जलं शुचौ मास इवार्करश्मिभि: क्षयं व्रजन् किंवलदृष्त मन्यसे ।।

[249] दीपो यथा निर्वृतिमम्युपेतो ।
नेवावानि गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।।
दिशं न काश्चिद विदिशं न काश्चित् ।
स्नेक्षयात् केवलमैति शान्तिम् ।
यथा कृतौ निवृतिमम्युपेतो ।
नैवावर्नि गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चित् विदिशं न काञ्चित् ।
क्लेशक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ।।
(S. XVI.28,29)

Bib. Indica 192, pref., p. v.
Sutta-Nipāta (*SBE*. X) II, p. xvi.

Similarly :

"The birds collect on the roosting tree and then go their separate ways again, so inevitably the union of beings ends in their partings."[250]

and :

As "the clouds come together and depart asunder again, so I deem the meeting and severance of creatures that draw breadth."[251]

In these two verses, in a very simple language, the poet has explained the philosophy of existence, birth and death (or transmigration).

Psychological Similies

Dukha

Aśvaghoṣa can be called a poet of psychology, as the plots and effects of his stories in the Kāvyas, move with the thoughts and effects on the personalities.

Expressing the grief of Śuddhodana, when Siddhārtha did not return from the forest in spite of best efforts, "Smitten by the distressed wail of his people (the king) trembled like an elephant at the roar of a thunderbolt."[252] This simili and the wailings of all in the palace at Siddhārtha's renunciation are in accordance with the rules of poetics.[253]

Description of Nanda's state of mind, when Buddha returned from his house without due respect (alms), the beautiful simili[254] not only gives a glimpse of psychological effect on Nanda's mind but also alludes to sage's supernatural (moral) powers and their effect even on a passionate man—Nanda : "He started to resemble in the agitation of his beautiful ornaments clothes and garlands, like a tree of paradise shaken by the wind."

Grammar and Psychology

In *Saundarananda* there are two conspicuous examples where the knowledge of grammar is used in the similies :

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[250] वासवृक्षे समागम्य विगच्छन्ति यथाण्डजाः ।
नियतं विप्रयोगान्तस्तथा भूतसमागमः ।
(B. VI.46)

[251] समेत्य च यथा मूथो व्यपयन्ति बलाहकाः ।
संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च तथा मे प्राणिनां मतः ।
(B. VI.47)

[252] B. VIII.72—जनस्य तेनार्तरवेण चाहतश्चाल वज्रध्वनिमेव वारणः ।

[253] Baldev Upadhyaya, *Skt. S. Ka Itihas* (H), p. 198.
B. VIII.61-69, 71-86 similies are औचत्यपूर्ण ।

[254] S. VI.13—चचाल चित्राभरणारम्बस्रक्कल्पद्रुमो धूतइवानिलेन ।

Root

Describing the agitation of Nanda's mind over the impermanence of pleasures, it is said :

"For the agitation enured to increasing his tendency towards the highest good, just as the root 'adh' (अद्) is said by Grammarians to take 'Vṛddhi' in its verbal form."[255]

Particle and Tense

Similarly "But the past, present and future did not grip his mind in anyway because of passion, just as 'asti' is said to be used as a particle of all three times."[256]

Indecision and Psychology

A striking instance of psychological details is the picture of indecision, "Reverence of Buddha drew him (Nanda) forward, love for his wife drew him back again; from irresolution he neither went away nor stood still, like a royal goose, pressing forwards on the wave."[257]

Kalidasa has borrowed this idea from Aśvaghoṣa in Kumārasambhava (V. 85). However the language and expression of our poet excels Kalidasa.

Philosophy and Psychology

The five mendicants "desiring liberation approached him (Siddhārtha) as the objects of sense come to a lordly man, whose good merit has earned him wealth and freedom from disease."[258] They served him "just as the restless senses serve the mind".[259] They "left him as the five elements leave the thinking soul when it is liberated."[260] The five sensual faculties are not unconnected with the soul, says the man in the street when the charioteer returns without Siddhārtha, "we have no wish to live without him, like embodied being when the senses have decayed."[261]

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[255] S. XII.9—धातुरेधिरिवाख्याते पटितोऽक्षरचिन्तकैः ।

[256] S. XII.10—त्रिषु कालेषु सर्वेषु निपातोऽस्तिरितरिव स्मृतः ।

[257] S. IV.42—तं गौरवं बुद्धगतं चकर्ष भार्यानुरागः पुनराचकर्ष ।
सोऽनिश्चयान्नापि ययौ न तस्थौ तुरंस्तङ्गेस्तष्विव राजहंसः ।।
मार्गा चलत्ययि कराकुलितेव सिन्धुः
शैलाधिराज तनया न ययौ न तस्यौ ।
(Kum. V.85)

[258] B. XII.92.

[259] B. XII.93.

[260] B. XII.114—निर्मुक्तं पञ्चधातवा here means five sensual faculties. (*JASB*. 1930, p. 179).

[261] B. VIII.12.

In another passage "life goes from the body as a departing guest. More definitely psychological is the transference of the ideas from the grief of a man's own dying to that of the Hedonist relapsed from Heaven on exhaustion of merit."[262] (S. XI.50)

Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of 'heaven' or of earthly royalty is displayed, when he says Siddhārtha "was carried off by force to that grove, crowded with troops of beautiful women, and was afraid of obstacles to the religious life like some anchorite novice conveyed by force to the palace of the monarch of Alaka, filled with glorious Apsaras."[263]

C.W. Gūrner[264] quotes various examples to prove that Aśvaghoṣa has "sacrificed his descriptive power to his psychological and didactic interest e.g.

"One wishing to burn him up like a venomous snake with the fire of his glance, levelled a blazing eye on the seer, but failed to see him, as he sat still in the same place, just as a man absorbed in the passions fail to see the true good, when it is pointed out to him." (B. XIII.50)

"Another lifting a ponderous rock, toiled in vain, with his efforts baffled, like one who desires to obtain by affliction of the body the *dharma*, which is the ultimate good and which is only to be reached by knowledge and concentration of mind." (B. XIII.51)

C.W. Gūrner comments "... the laboured simili from mistaken spiritual endeavour to the Sisyphus effort with the rock serves no genuine purpose of a simili, but it is introduced primarily for its didactic value in a favourable Buddhist theme."[265]

Kavya

There are two *similies* worth mentioning which "come in one of Aśvaghoṣa's more highly developed passage of Kāvya writing, in which, as in so many of these, coincidence with the later Kāvya can be traced."[266]

"On the slopes of the mountain, with its waving Kadamba trees a Yak was entangled in a hanging tree and could not cut off his tail, which was caught in it, just as a man of noble conduct cannot give up a hereditary friendship." (S. X.11) (whether affection be personal or of high ideals). And again—"Monkeys wandered along the mountains, keeping the 'deodars' in perpetual commotion, and finding they bore no fruit departed from them as from rich man whose favour is empty of gifts."[267]

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[262] C.W. Gūrner, *JASB.* 1930, p. 179.

[263] B. III.65.

[264] *JASB.* 1930, p. 177.

[265] Ibid.

[266] *JASB.* 1930, p. 177.

[267] S. X.14—तेभ्य फलं ना पुरतोऽपजग्मुर्मोघप्रसादेभ्य इवश्वरेभ्य्; ।

Buddha and Equanimity (Simili)

Describing the equanimity of the sage at the face of Māra's army of demons which were arrayed against him, the poet conveys the weight of Dharma. "Beholding the army as a menace to the method of Dharma, like a lion seated amidst kine he did neither quail nor was he at all perturbed."[268]

Aśvaghoṣa's introspective or "Psychological simili, the simili from consciousness and conduct, used either to illustrate a purely external object described or more frequently, is to illustrate one process of consciousness or conduct for another.

"Now this is something distinctive in literature. It is not uncommon for a poet to draw a simili from natural objects for mental experience, from moving water to indecision for instance. And the reverse process of using the mental experience as the source of simili is not unknown even in the Sanskrit epic. The frequency with which it occurs in Aśvaghoṣa's works gives quite a special beauty to his Kāvya, and as such may fairly suggest that it is largely through Aśvaghoṣa's influence that this type of simili got established, though by no means a prominent a place, in later Kāvyas, including of course that of Kalidasa."[269]

Āgmas and Simili

Aśvaghoṣa in B. (XIII. 49),[270] mentions of a woman in Māra's army "Black as cloud with a skull in her hand, wandering about there unrestrainedly and did not remain still, with the intentions of deluding the great seer's heart, and resembling the intelligence of a man of inconstant wandering uncertainly among the various sacred traditions."

This simili is a reference to various Āgmas which the poet considered mutually contradictory and uncertain (B. 76 and S. I.14, III. 2). Chinese Tr. takes 'Meghakāli' as a proper noun and describes her as an elder sister of Māra, but otherwise she is unknown. Or the verse may refer to Hindu goddess 'Mahakāli' or a Śaiva ascetic.[271]

Constellations and Similies

To describe the growth of Siddhārtha from childhood our poet has taken advantage of his knowledge of the science of Astronomy.

"The prince gradually grew up in all due perfection like the young sun on the eastern mountain, or the flames fanned by the wind or the lord of stars in the bright fortnight."[272]

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[268] B. XIII.33—उपप्लवं धर्मविधेस्तु तस्य दृष्ट्वा स्थितं मारबलं महर्षिः ।
न चुक्षुमे नापि ययौ विकारं मध्ये गवां सिंह इवोपविष्टः ।।

[269] C.W. Gūrner, *JASB* (*N.S.*), 1930, p. 176.

[270] स्त्री मेघकाली तु कपालहस्ता कर्तुं महर्षेः किल चितमोहम् ।
वभ्राम तत्रानियतं न तस्थौ चलात्मनो बुद्धि रिवागमेषु ।
(B. XIII. 49)

[271] Johnston, ft. note verse XIII.49.

Similarly "with his lustre and steadfastness he appeared like the young sun, come down to earth, when gazed he held all eyes like the moon."[273] "With the glowing radiance of limbs he eclipsed like the sun, the radiance of the lamps, and beauteous with hue of precious gold, he illumined all the quarters of the space."[274] "He who was like the constellation of the seven seers walked seven steps with firmness."[275]

Medical Science and Similies

Aśvaghoṣa has taken shelter of Āyurvedic medicines and knowledge to make the expressions more explicit. It is in confirmity with Buddhist tradition, where Buddha is recorded as the chief physician for the mental and physical ailments :

"As the physician prescribes the treatment for the cure of disease according to which one of the three humours, it is that has become deranged, so the Buddha prescribed the treatment for the faults."[276]

Similarly displaying his knowledge of coated and bitter medicines and the toils a Yogi has to undergo, he says, "Just as a substance may be hot in taste, yet when eaten, may be easy to digest, so energy may be painful through the toil it involves and yet be pleasant in its results through the accomplishments of the objects in hand."[277]

Talking about the care of a patient and medicine, he tells of Śuddhodana's mind, who laments, "...For without him (Siddhārtha) no more is there life for me than for a man fallen ill who lacks the right medicine."[278]

Passions and Similies

Passion is the fever of mind according to our poet. He has given numerous similies of this feeling in simple and yet forceful expressions.

Passions are cheaters, after their action "they depart again as though they were

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272. B. II.20.
273. B. I.12.
274. B. I.13—स हि स्वगात्र प्रभयोज्वलन्त्या दीपप्रभां भास्करवन्मुमोष ।
275. B. I.14—तथैव धीराणि पदानि सप्त सप्तवितारा सहपूरि जगाम ।
276. S. XVI.69—यथा भिषक् पित्तकफनिलानां य एव कोपं समुपैतिदोषः ।
    शमाय तस्यैव विधिं विधते व्यधत दौषेषु तथव बुद्धः ।
277. S. XVI.93—द्रव्यं यथा स्यात्कटुकं रसेन, तच्चोपयुक्तं मधुंरविपाके
    तथैव वीर्यं कटुकं श्रमेण तस्यार्थं सिद्धयै मधुरो विपाकः ।
278. B. VIII.76.

loans borrowed for a time."[279] "When men seek and hold them they excite desire, and if they do not let them go, they undergo suffering."[280] Passions are like "fruit hanging on the topmost boughs of a tree...men precipitate themselves after them and thereby come to ruin."[281] Then the poet says, "What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like skeletons of dry bones! Even if they enjoy them, like famished dogs eating a bone, men are not satisfied."[282]

Depicting the knowledge of Mahābhārata and making use of such ordinary things as knives and fuel, the poet depicts his Buddhist thinking about passions :

"What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like the knives and fuel-wood of slaughter houses ? For their sake Kurus, the Vṛṣni-Andhkas and the Mekhala-Dandakas went to destruction."[283]

Picturesque Similies

Aśvaghoṣa's Kāvyas are full of such beautiful similies which sketch a picture before the eyes of the reader, e.g.

"Had Nanda not gained Sundari or had she of the arched eye-brows not been united to him, the two of them would certainly have failed to reach the perfection of beauty, like the night and the moon deprived of each other."[284]

A similar picturesque simili is :

"Her face seemed like a lotus with the Tamāla leaf for its water-weed, her dark red lips for its flamming tips and her long flashing eyes for the bees settled on it."[285]

Philosopher as our poet is, the picture of a lamp has excited a philosophic thought and he brings forth a simili "He who taking the beggar's bowl in his hand, shaving his head laying aside his pride and wearing the sad coloured robes, is prone to excitement and devoid of self-restraint and tranquility is a mendicant in appearance only and not a reality, like a lamp in the picture."[286]

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[279] B. XI.22.

[280] B. XI.23.

[281] B. XI.28.

[282] B. XI.25—अस्ति क्षुधार्ता इव सारमेया भुक्त्वापि यान्नैव भवन्ति तृप्ता: ।
जीर्णास्थिङ्कालसमेषु तेषु कामेषु कास्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात् ।।

[283] S. IX.31—विनाशमीयु: कुरुवो यदर्थं वृष्ण्यन्धका मेखलदण्डकाश्च ।
सूनासिकाष्टप्रतिमेषु तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात् ।

[284] S. IV.7—तां सुन्दरीं चेन्न लमेत नन्द: सावा निषेवेत न तं नतभ्रूः ।
द्वन्द्वं ध्रुवं तद्विकलं न शोभेतान्योहीनाविव रात्रि चन्द्रौ ।

[285] S. IV.21—तस्या मुखं तत्सतमालपत्रं ताम्राधरौष्टं चिकुरायताक्षं ।
रक्ताधिकाग्रं पतितद्विरेफं सशैवलं पद्मिवाबभासे ।।

This simili, where our poet has used 'Chitrapradeep' is similar to Caraka, who has used the same expression for a sonless man.

Nature and Mind Similies

Both the Kāvyas are full of nature's beautiful descriptions. But on certain occasions he has used soft language, worthy of softness of the heart, and has bound the same with nature's blessings, e g.

"Nanda's face, covered with tears and bowed down while his hair was being banished, resembled a lotus in a pond with the top of its stalk bent, when it is being soaked with rainwater."[287] "Then Nanda dressed in clothes of the mournful colour of ochre-yellow tree-bark and despondent as a freshly captured elephant, appeared like the full moon entering the dark fortnight at night's close and bathe in the rays of the rising sun."[288]

To conclude, Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Sānkhya philosophy, Epics, Upaniṣads, Gita, Nātyaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Śastra and Astra Vidhyā, Smṛtis, Śrutis, Grammar and Poetics, Astrology, Astronomy; in Buddhist literature of Nikāyas, Pitakas, Suttānta-literature, Divyāvadāna, Aśokāvadāna, Jātakas Lalitvistara Mahavastu, Milindapanho, and medical works of Caraka and Suśrut (Saṁhita) etc., is a sufficient testimony to the prevalent literature and education of the era.

[286] S. VII.48—पाणौ कपालमवधाय विधाय मौण्ड्यं
मानं निधाय विकृतं परिधाय वासः ।
यस्योद्धवो न धृतिरस्ति न शान्तिरस्ति
चित्रप्रदीपं इव सोऽस्ति न नास्ति चैव ।।

[287] S. V.52—वक्राग्रनालं नलिनं तडागे वर्षोदकक्लिन्नभिवावभासे ।

[288] S. V.53—नन्दस्ततस्त एकषाय विरक्त वासाश्चिन्तावशो
नवगृहीत इव द्विपेन्द्रः
पूर्वः शशी बहुलपक्षगतः क्षपान्ते बालातपेन
परिषिक्त इवाबभासे ।

9

Religion

The School of Buddhism

Schism in Buddhism

During Buddha's Life Time

The doctrine of renunciation, taught by Buddha was not free from criticism. Even during the lifetime of Buddha the people of Magadha murmured, "The Samaṇa Buddha causes father to beget no sons, the Samaṇa Gautama causes wives to become widows, the Samaṇa Gautama causes the families to become extinct...."[1] When the matter was brought to the notice of Buddha, he silenced them by advising the Bhikṣus to reply the revellers that the Tathagatas lead men by power of truth.[2]

In another reference, Mahāvagga records Buddha saying, "It is said that several monks, in a certain monastery, are striving for schism in the order . . . now these monks are not friends of mine. ..." This schism in the order was called serious by Buddha.[3]

Devadatta and Five Points

As the time passed, schism appears to have developed more and more. Cullavagga relates the traditional story of Devadatta's aspirations to become the leader of Bhikku-Saṁgha.[4] He approached Buddha and requested him thrice, repeatedly, to

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1. M. Vagga (*SBE.* XIII), I.24.5.
2. Ibid., I.24,6,7.
3. Mahāvagga (Tr. Horner, p. 199), III.7.
4. *SBE.* XX, VII.2.

give the Saṁgha to him, so that he becomes its leader. But, since Buddha did not want to give up the Saṁgha, even to Śāriputta and Moggalana, he did not concede to evil-minded Devadatta's request. Thus this was for the first time that Devadatta bore malice against the Teacher.[5]

Devadatta, according to the source,[6] tried to kill Buddha and for this, he took the help of Ajātsattu (Bimbasāra's son) also. When he was unsuccesful in his designs, he approached Buddha and made five-point demand. This demand was against the standing religious discourse of Buddha and hence against Buddha's teachings. Devadatta said, "The blessed one has declared in many a ways the advantages of the man (1) who wishes for little, (2) who is easy to be satisfied in the matter of support and nourishment, (3) who has eradicated evil from his mind, (4) has quelled his passions and is full of faith of reverence and (5) of the exercise of zeal. ..." But Buddha refused any deriation from his teachings, thinking that it would cause rift in the Saṁgha.

At this, Devadatta departed with his followers to Rājagṛha and urged his standpoint upon the people. Thus he stirred up the division in the Saṁgha and was able to change the mind of 500 Veśālians of Vajjian clan to his stand.[7] But soon thereafter the people, who had accepted Devadatta stand, thinking of to be Buddha's view-point, were reconverted by Śāriputta and Moggala. They were brought to Buddha, who expounded them the philosophy of Dukkha.[8]

Though this somehow quelled, the seed or germs of discontentment, still it continued simmering. It was Vajjians of Vaiśali, who, one hundred years after Buddha, again raised a disserting voice (with ten points), which resulted in the Vaiśāli Conference.[9]

Division in Buddhism after Buddha

At the announcement of Buddha's death at Pava, Mahāmahākāṣyapa heard Subhadda's words, who had joined the order in old age, "they were glad to get rid of great Samaṇa and could now do as they liked". At this, Mahāmahākāṣyapa announced the assembled monks his decision to hold the assembly to recite the teachings of Buddha. At this, 500 selected monks met under the presidentship of Mahāmahākāṣyapa and recited the Vinaya and Dhamma.[10]

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[5] *SBE*. XX. VIII.3.

[6] C. Vagga (*SBE*. XX), VIII.3,14,15.

[7] Ibid., VII.4.

[8] Ibid., VIII.4.4.

[9] Ibid., ft. n. 2, p. 256.

[10] *DPPN*, p. 479.
Cullavagga (*SBE*. XX), XI, p. 379ff.
Buddha had once exchanged robes with him. It tells of the unity of feelings between them.
(R. Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 213)

This can be called the first Buddhist Council.

Vajjian Monks and Ten Points

Though the Vajjian monks were brought around, during the lifetime of Buddha by Moggalana and Śāriputta, they violated the ten prohibitions[11] within one hundred years, after the death of Buddha. This violation was un-Vinayic.

The list of ten points (daṣavatthi) which were contrary to the teachings of Buddha is a matter of controversy. It is a little different in Vinaya-Kṣudraka (quoted by Bu-Ston II.91) and is another in the Chinese translation of the Vinaya of Mahi Śasakas.[12]

But whatever the actual lists' controversy may be, one thing is certain that Vaiśāli monks were the first to violate the orthodox teachings of Buddha and give importance to materialistic values. These ten-violations or un-Vinayic points resulted in the Vaiśali Conference.

Vaisali Conference and Division

According to Cullavagga of Vinaya Text,[13] Yaṣa was the first to raise his voice against the Vajjians of Vaiśāli, whom he found deviating in ten points from the original teachings of Buddha. He invited the monks of Avanti of west (Pātheyyeka) and south (Dakkhinapātha). An assembly was convened and a committee was appointed (to settle the matter by an Ubbāhika) of four from the east (Sabbākami, Sālha, Khujjasobhita and Vāsabhagāmika) and four from the west (Raveta, Sambhutta, Saṇavasi, Yaṣa and Sumana). The matter was debated at Vālikārama. At the end, the decision was taken against the ten points of the Vajjian monks and the assembly was informed accordingly. Then the recital of the Vinaya was held in which 700 monks participated.[14]

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[11] According to Cullavagga XII.1.1. (*SBE.* XX 336ff). they are : (1) storing the salt in a horn,
(2) taking mid-day meals, when the sun's shadow is two fingers broad, (3) going to another
village and taking second meal there, (4) holding of Upasatha separately by Bhikkus residing
within the same boundary, (5) obtaining sanction for a deed after it is done, (6) a Bhikku
permitted to do anything adopted as a practice by his Upagghaya, (7) taking curds after
midday meals, (8) drinking toddy, (9) using a rug or mat without limited size prescribed if it
had no fringe and (10) accepting gold and silver.
The Vinaka-Kṣudraka—the Tibetan Translation of Mul Sarvastivada, Bu-Ston and Taranatha,
all maintain the tradition that Schism in Buddhism was due to ten un-Vainyic points of
Vajjian clan of Vaiśāli.
(Tārānātha, *H. of B. in India*, p. 367f)

[12] Tārānātha, *H. of B. in India*, p. 367.
The Mahāsaṁghika version of Vinaya was taken by Fa-hein from Pātliputra and was translated
in Chinese. "We read (K 40. fol. 23b) after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha the great Kāṣyapa, collect-
ing the Vinaya Pitaka was the great Master (Mahāsthavira) and his collection of Dharmapitaka
was in 80,000 divisions. . . . The next master was Ananda . . . .
(S. Beal, Intro. Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King, p. xi)

[13] *SBE.* XX, XII.

Yuan-Chwang has mentioned five pupils of Ānanda, from different centres, who took part in the Vaiśāli Conference (Yaśodā of Kośala, Sambhoga of Mathura, Raveta of Kanauj ?, Shela of Veśāli and Pujasumeru of Pātliputta). (Watters, II, pp. 73-74).

Those who refused to accept the findings of the committee, held another convocation at Kausambi and condemned the ten Vaiśālian points in the Mahāśangiti. They came to be known as Mahāsaṁghikas.[15] As the Vaiśāli Buddhists were very old they came to be known as Sthaviras.[16]

Results of Vaiśāli Conference

The account of Vaiśāli Conference reveals that the Vinayic differences were accompanied with more or less clear geographical demarcations between the two groups i.e. Easterners (Vaiśālians) and Westerners (their antagonists).

Mrs. Rhys Davids holds that this division was "due to the assertion of the rights of the individuals as well as those of provincial committees, as against the prescriptions of centralised hierarchy" (Sakya, p. 355).

As a result of Vaiśāli Conference, the difference of opinion, which seems to have existed between Vaiśāli, Kausambi and Mathura monks,[17] became wider, Mahasaṁghikas became important in Kausambi, Sthavirvadins became important to its south-west and Sarvastivadins came to be the principal sect to its north-west.[18]

"The earlier Mahāsaṁghika school had opened the way towards the eventual development, and indeed they are claimed as fore-runners of the Mahāyāna."[19]

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14. *SBE*. XX, XII; *DPPN*, pp. 687-89.
It was called Satta-Sati (seven hundred).
Vinaya, Mahāvaṁśa and Dipvaṁśa give the account of this Council, which differs in numerous details.
(*DPPN*, p. 755 ft. n. 2)

15. *DPPN*, p. 755 ft. n. 2.
Rahulji, *Buddhacharya*, Intro., p. 2.
Dipvaṁśa (4th-5th c. A.D.) also records this tradition.

16. Rahulji, *Buddhacharya*, Intro., p. 2.
The present name of Vaiśāli is Tirhut (Tirabhakti in a 12th c. Ms). Tirhut is ancient Videha (N. Dutta, *Buddhists Sects in India*, p. 273).

17. cf. Przyluski
Quoted by N. Dutt, *EMB* II, p. 29ff.

18. cf. N. Dutt, *EMB.*, II, p. 29f.
With the rise to Śungas in 2nd c. B.C., Brahmaṇas started hating Buddhists. So they shifted to Mathura i.e. Arya Sthaviravada to Sanchi and Sarvastivada to Mathura. Reaching Mathura, Sarvastivada were changed a little and were known as Arya Sarvastivada (Rahulji, Intro. *Buddhacharya*, p. 3).

19. See e.g. Demieville, L'origine des sects bauddhiques dapre's Parmartha, *MCB.* I, 15ff (quoted by A.K. Warder vide—*Indian Buddhism*, p. 328 ft. n. 4).

Schism and the Two Traditions

In addition to the above ten-unvinayic acts of the monks of Vaiśāli, there is yet another second tradition, recorded, as another cause of schism within the Buddhist Saṁgha, i.e. the five points of Mahādeva.[20]

Yuan Chwang[21] has mentioned these five dogmas of Mahadeva. They are related to Arhat (1) "An Arhat may commit a sin, under unconscious temptation, (2) one may be an Arhat and not know it, (3) An arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine, (4) one cannot attain Arhatship without the aid of a teacher, (5) the "noble-ways" may begin by a shout, that is one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as "How ad". These five propositions, are called as Buddha's teachings by Mahādeva. But according to senior Brethren they were opposed to the orthodox teachings and were Mahadeva's own inventions.

According to N. Dutt, the difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of ten Vinaya rules, had begun among the monks, much before the appearance of Mahādeva. Mahādeva propounded his five points, near about half a century after this event, in the reign of king Nanda, and his disciple, Sthirmati, propounded it further.[22]

Whatever the difference of time may be, the Vaiśālian ten points indicate the development of a seed of demoralisation among the monks and a variation from Buddha's original teachings. Dr. N. Dutt, supporting Mrs. Rhys Davids, says that Vajjians were thoroughly democratic and it is reasonable to believe that as such they could not submit to the exclusive powers and privileges, which the Arhats claimed.[23]

The above two branches of Mahasaṁghikas and Sthaviravadins were further sub-divided into 18 sects.[24] This division was based upon Vinaya and Abhidharma principles.[25]

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20. *EMB.* II, p. 41.
The tradition of the breach of ten Vinaya rules is also found in Cylonese chronicles in addition to its appearance in Vasumitra's Chinese version and Tibetan Texts.
(N. Dutt, *EMB.* II, p. 43)

21. Y-Ch. (*Watters I*, p. 268).
Y-Ch. has mentioned ten-unvinayic acts and also the council of 700 at a little distance to the S-E of Vaiśāli.
(*Watters, II*, p. 73)

22. N. Dutt, *EMB.* II, p. 42.

23. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

24. S. Khosla, *History of B.*, Ch. II.
Aṣṭadaṣnikaya also called 'Samayabhedoparcnacakaro' gives an account of the separation of 18 sects (*JPTS*, 1905, p. 68).
Kathāvatthu (3 c. B.C.) discusses the points of controversy between different sects.
(Mrs. Rhys Davids, Pts. of Controversy, p. xxx ff).
Mahāsaṁghika views are recorded in Kathāvatthu and Milindapanho.

25. Rahul Ji, Intro., *Buddhacharya*, p. 67.
"Buddhism, which was originally orthodox, later on departed radically from its early ideas, by the development of mythology, institutionalism, metaphysics, ritualism, worship and magic.
(*The Encyclopaedia of Amercana* (1929-1924), p. 675).

Thus the germs of schism in Buddhism are found even during the lifetime of Buddha himself, which sprouted after his Nirvāṇa and ultimately developed in the Vaiśāli Conference. Its various branches became prominent by the time of Aśoka.

The School of Buddhism by the time of Aśvaghoṣa

The schism, which began with the assertion of the rights of the certain individuals (due to rivalry) and provincial committees' assertions, against the centralised orthodox hierarchy, further developed with the passage of time. Now the difference of opinion developed over Vinaya and Abhidharma rules and their further created a wide gulf. Thus Buddhism had divided into many sects (18) by the time of Aśoka. It has already been explained earlier, how, due to the Vaiśāli Conference, three different centres Kausambi, Vaiśāli and Mathura had become prominent.[26]

Schisms and Geography

According to Vasumitra, certain Mahādeva, in the middle of first century B.C., broke away from Buddhist Saṁgha. He was the leader of a section of Mahāsaṁghika. He parted on the legalistic interpretation of Vinaya point ('enterance' to the community) in the Andhara country and formed Caitika School.[27]

If this school is also counted, then the number of schools comes to nineteen. But if the roll of recorded schools is taken into consideration, then, by the time of our poet, the number further increases. Otherwise, according to tradition, the 'Tripitakas' of 18 schools were written either in the Ist c. A.D. or even earlier.[28]

In the north, Buddhism developed in three stages. In the first stage, immediate followers of Buddha took their books or tradition to north. This is called the 'Little vehicle' (Hinayāna) or imperfect means of conveyance (across the sea of senses).

In the second stage, Mahāyāna or the 'great-vehicle' was accepted as the radical idea. Here the teaching of Buddha provides 'universal salvation' for the world.

In the third period, 'the distinctive belief of Buddhism' merged into late Brāhmaṇism. This is a form of pure Pantheism.

In fact "Northern Buddhism" is the system developed after the contact with northern tribes, settled on the Indus, while southern school is the primi-

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26. Supra—Schism in B.
27. Lamotte, *HBI*, 309 f. (quoted by A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 289, ft. n. 4).
28. Bu-Ston. II. 101. (Tibetan Tradition, A.K. Warder, *I. Buddhism*, p. 294 ft. n. 1).
    A.K. Warder has given details of the schools the points of difference and their spread. These 18 schools did not include Mahāyāna schools.
    (A.K. Warder, *I. Buddhism*, p. 288).

tive faith, as it came (presumably) from the hands of its founder and his immediate successors.[29]

The northern school envelopes the Buddhism of Nepal, Kashmir, Tibet, China, Japan and Mangolia and is distinguished from the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burmah and Siam.[30]

In *Buddhacharita*,[31] Siddhārtha has advised "to pursue only the northern direction for the sake of the highest Dharma" and told "it would not be fitting for the wise to move even a single step towards the south."

Here is a clear indication that Aśvaghoṣa was against the southern school and in favour of northern school. Not only this, but it also tells the changing trend of the society of the time.

What school of philosophy flourished in the north when Aśvaghoṣa wrote ?

Aśoka (3rd c. B.C.), after the Buddhist Council, sent Majjhāntika to propagate Buddhism in Northern India. This mission of Majjhāntika is recorded in Buddhist literature,[32] and receives confirmation in the inscription (Bhilsa Tope 2) discovered by Cunningham.[33] The "Sarvāstivāda' belonging to the Hinayāna group (by 3rd c. B.C.) became popular in Kashmir Khotan and Ladakh.[34]

Sarvāstivāda mostly flourished in the north. Its earliest centre was Mathura. It was held in great esteem from Mathura to Nagara (hara) and from Takṣaśila to Kashmir from where it was propagated to central Aśia, Tibet and China.[35] It is said that in order to maintain their own views, in struggle with other rival sects, the Buddhists retired to Kashmir, which became the principal seat of the school. Here its doctrine was taught in purity and developed into an elaborate system, known as Vaibhāsikās.

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[29] S. Beal, Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King (*SBE*. XIX), Intro., pp. X-XI.
The dispute between N. and S. is referred as early as BDS. (I. 2,3,4). The point of
difference is based over certain social customs, such as marriage customs, eating, drinking,
wine, wearing wool and following the trade of arms.
The councils at Vaiśāli resulted in serious dissensions in N. India between (400-300 B.C.).
It inaugurated the Theravada community which established itself first in N. India and in later
centuries in Tibet, China and elsewhere, thereby inaugurated in Mahāyāna community.
(J.M. Way, Feb. 1988, p. 189).

[30] S. Beal, *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, pp. X-XI.

[31] B. VII.41.

[32] Aśokāvadāna (*LEN*, p. 35 & Intro., p. 2). This tradition is followed in :
Dipvaṃśa (4th c. A.D.), Ch. VIII.
Mahavaṃśa (5th c. A.D.), Ch. XII.
Thupvaṃśa (13th c. A.D.), p. 42.
Sasnāvaṃśa, Ch.VII&
Sthavir-vād-parampara vide Buddhacharya, p. 576.
Dulva, vol. XI, vide Asit Rao, Vol. XX, 1939, p. 92.

[33] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 287, 3186.

[34] Please see—author's *History of B. in Kashmir*, Ch. I, II & IV for details.

[35] Between 350 B.C. and 100 B.C. it spread in N. India and a portion of S. India.
(N.N. Law, *IHQ*, XIV, 1938, p. 114 ; Winternitz, *HIL*, II, 231-3-,
N. Dutt. *Hina & Maha*, p. 32).

Mahāvibhāṣas were compiled in the days of Kaniṣka, who convened a Buddhist Council in Kashmir. Aśvaghoṣa, according to tradition, was the third president of this Council. He compiled the Vibhāṣas in 100,000 verses and gave them literary form in twelve years.[36] It remained guarded in Kashmir, till Vasubhadra of Ayodhya, with his sternous efforts, committed them to memory, and took them out of Kashmir, posing as a mad man.[37]

The Sarvāstivāda possessed seven Abhidharma Texts — (1) Abhidharma jñānaprasthāna-śāstra, (2) Sangiti prayayapāda (śāstra), (3) Abhidharma Prakaraṇa-pāda (śāstra), (4) Abhidharma-Vijñānakayapāda (Śāstra), (5) Abhidharma-Dhatukā-yapāda (śāstra), (6) Abhidharma-(dharma) Skandhapāda-Śāstra and (7) Praguptipāda (śāstra).[38] The thought of the Mahāyāna and Sautrantika developed as a reaction to Abhidharma of Sarvāstivāda by 50 A.D.[39] Bahuśrutiyas who probably had their centre at Kośala also settled in Gandhara and Andhara.[40]

Thus by the time of our poet, Sarvāstivāda, with its branch Sauntrantikas and Bahuśrutiyas, flourished in the north.

Aśvaghoṣa and his School

Mahāyāna and Aśvaghoṣa's Works

An Arhan or Arhat is the ideal of Hinayāna and the Bodhisattva is the ideal of Mahāyāna. The difference between the ideals of the two is very well reflected

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36. *Toung Poa*, Vol. V, pp. 278-79.
H.P. Shastri, Adv. V. Sangh, Intro., pp. XV, XXI.
For details—please see *H. of B. in Kashmir*, Ch.II.

37. *Toung Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 279-81.
JRAS. 1905, p. 52.
JRAS. 1905, p. 119.

38. For details please see *H. of B. in Kashmir*, pp. 20-26.
Abhidharma School arose after Aśoka's Council (240 B.C.) because its seven texts were recognised as one of the Tripitakas (three-baskets) at this Council.
(Takakusu, *Essentials of B. Philo*., p. 56).

39. E. Conze, *Buddhism*, p. 92.
A.K. Warder, *Buddhism*, p. 290.
By 1. c. A.D. this school produced the greatest Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa. Johnston, Intro. B.

40. A.K. Warder, *Buddhism*, p. 338.
Sarvāstivāda is related to Sthviravāda (Masuda J., *Origin and Doctrine of Early Indian Buddhist Schools*, pp. 15-16. Quoted by Pandey, vide the Origin of B., ft. n. 12, p. 561).
Sarvastivada is closely related to Theravāda, from which it separated probably before Aśoka's conference.
(Takakusu, *Ess. of B. Phil*., p. 57)

in Nidānkathā. Here Sumedha Brāhmaṇa, an Arhat, is satisfied with his own emancipation, while on the other hand, a Bodhisattva does not rest with solving his own personal problems, and out of immeasurable compassion for others, tries to extend the benefit of his realisation to others.[41]

The circumstances responsible for this change in the rigid rules of philosophy have been already discussed. If scrutinised deeply, the seed of change in the rigid Vinaya rules is found recorded in Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta. (SBE. XI)

According to Vinaya regulations, at least four months as probation period is required to decide the grade of promotion of a convert. Discriminating knowledge of all the scriptures is essential for him. But Subbaddha (the last convert, immediately after his initiation to Buddhism, was received in the higher grade of order by Buddha. In no time he became an Arhat.[42]

According to this Sutta, relaxation had come in the rules of Vinaya, in the last days of Buddha.

The same idea is found in Taranatha's History. During the days of King Sudhanu, Upgupta the son of an incense seller Gupta, attained salvation in the form of Arhathood (Ubhay atobhoga-vimukta) within seven days.[43]

This changing trend is recorded in both the Kavyas of the poet. At the same time, social and political trend of the era could not be neglected, which has made our poet to include Mahāyāna ideas in his Kavyas and write 'Śraddhartapāda-śāstra' a purely Mahāyānist work.

Historically viewed, the social causes are :

(1) A sort of reaction to Buddhist philosophy of renunciation, which converted so many young princes and masses, set during the lifetime of Buddha, seems to have gained tempo. In revolt the society appears to have reacted sharply in favour of a prosperous married and family life. The increased number of lay disciples on the other side, required easy Vinaya and Dharma rules.

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[41] Nidānakathā (JA), Prof. N.K. Bhagat, pp. 1 ff.
'A Bodhisattva, out of the abundance of his love, engages himself to the task of teaching every sentient being. Nirvâṇa, for Mahāyāna, is not annihilation but attainment' (R. Krishnan, *Ind. Phil.*, p. 273).
"At least at first sight these two views of the ideal 'saint' will appear to be in conflict, but after due reflection, it can surely be seen that the Arhant to become self-perfected, must in fact be fully compassionate. Likewise the Budhisattva would certainly flounder at very early stage in his life, were not of the highest moral quality allied to deep spiritual wisdom. In fact the Mahāyāna basis the whole of its philosophy on Prajñā/Karuṇā, wisdom/compassion. This combination is said to comprise the twin legs or pillars of the Māāhyana which are utterly interdependent." (Peter Sharp, J.M. Way, Feb. 1982, p. 189).

[42] M.P.N. Sutta (*SBE*, XI) 67-69 (pp. 109-11).
Kapphina (S. XVI.90) in his first discourse, converted one thousand recluses to Arthatship.
(supra—Kapphina, Ch. I)

[43] Taranatha (Tr. Lama Champu), p. 32.

(2) The main work of propaganda of the faith was done by the Buddhist wandering monks. Not only that they themselves were not sometimes masters of Buddhist Philosophy, but the masses with whom they dealt with were also, not so intelligent and capable to understand the difficult philosophical points. Mostly these monks had to adopt the method of narrating the Life of their Teacher. The philosophical points either seem to have been neglected or not explained in their purity and not followed by the masses.

Foreign Contacts and Change in Attitude

Between Aśoka and Kaniṣka's time Buddhism had spread far and wide and was more or less a world religion. As its Northern gates opened to Central Asia, the society became cosmopolitan. Buddhism was adopted by a circle of people who had wider outlook and were outside the circle of philosophers.

Thus reaching north-western regions the doctrine became flexible as the population was a mixed one.[44]

Moreover side by side, Art and other philosophical influences crept in. "For example the concept of 'Prajña (intuition), as expounded in the leading Mahāyāna scriptures 'Prajñaparamita', has undoubtedly a distinct 'neo-platonic Air' and Keith calls this Buddhist concept "the twin sister of Sophia or Gnosis of Asiatic Greece".[45]

The rich archaeological finds of the era are enough evidences, which speak of the influences on art and sculpture.

It seems, the struggle of existence against other creeds and the changing social and political environments, made Aśvaghoṣa adopt easy Kāvya style. He himself admits in *Saundarananda*, that his aim was "to capture the hearers, devoted to other creeds" and has adopted a style which made the difficult philosophy easy to understand"...palatable, as sweet is put into a bitter medicine to make it drinkable".[46]

Aśvaghoṣa does not seem to have started writing with a motive to preach any special branch of Buddhism. But clear Hinayāna and Mahāyāna tendencies are visible in his works.

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44. For details please see Author's *H. of* B. *in Kashmir*, Ch. II.
In 4th c. B.C. Afghanistan (Herat, Kandhar, Mākrana, Kabul), originally a Bactrian devotion, was ceded by the Syrian king Seleuko to Chandra Gupta by a treaty. The Kalinga edict of Aśoka includes Kabul valley within the Mauryan empire. (P.H.A.I. p. 273). During and after Aśoka's a large number of Buddhists seem to have migrated there. Archaeological remains of the area are the evidence.

45. Keith, *Buddhist Phil.* p. 216.

46. S. XVIII.63.

Saundarananda

Hinayāna

In *Saundarananda*,[47] Nanda goes to the forest to eliminate the vices. He practices four meditations and with four-fold path realises the transitoriness of everything. He finds the world subject to transitoriness, suffering, without self and empty (Śunyam). Tripitaka often teaches us that everything is 'Transitory, without self and full of suffering''.[48] In addition to this, Hinayāna tendency is clear, when in canto XVIII, Nanda, after becoming 'Arhat', goes to Buddha, and due to his gratefulness and devotion, falls upon his Guru's feet. Here Buddha restrains him, saying that worship is due to Dharma and not to him. In addition to this, our poet extols the joys of solitude and meditations in this poem, just as is done in other Hinayāna work.[49]

Mahāyāna

As soon as Nanda is emancipated, Buddha orders him to take the life of a wanderer and emancipate others.[50] He propounds, "Therefore abandoning all concern with your own affairs in this world, work with steadfast soul for others and hold up this torch of revelation for the beings, who, with souls clouded with mental darkness, are wandering in the night''.[51] He obeys the Guru and goes with a begging bowl to Kapilavastu.[52] But he is a changed man.

The idea of saving others and not being contented with the saving of one's own soul, differentiates Aśvaghoṣa's doctrine from the older Śravakayana, who remains content with one's own salvation only.[53]

As has already been said, this is the chief Mahāyānist idea, where, to save others or 'Bodhisattvahood' replaces 'Arhathood' or to be stisfied with the emancipation of self. "For Nirvāṇa, for Mahāyānists is emancipation and not annihilation."[54]

Lokottara Qualities

According to unanimous opinion, Mahāsaṁghikas were the earliest schismatics. They were further sub-divided into many sections. Its one section is known as

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[47] S. XVII.16-22.

[48] Winternitz, *HIL*. II, p. 264.

[49] Ibid., p. 264 and ft. n. 1.

[50] S. XVIII.23.

[51] S. XVIII.56 & 57—

विहाय तस्मादिह कार्यमात्मनः कुरु स्थिरात्मनपर कार्यमप्यथो ।
भ्रमत्सु सत्त्वेषु तमोवृतत्मसु श्रुतप्रदीपो निशि घार्यतामय । (५७)

[52] S. XVIII.62.

[53] H.P. Shastri (B. Indica 92, 1939), p. XXI.

[54] R. Krishnan, *A Source Book of Ind. Phil.*, p. 237.

'Lokottaravāda', according to its doctrine, the Buddhas are "exalted above the world" 'Lokottara' and adopt themselves to wordly life only externally.

In fact, to glorify the qualities of their leader, led to the growth of investing superhuman qualities to Buddha—a natural instinct.

Dīgha Nikāya Suttas (14-16) and in Aṅguttara Nikāya (IV.36) Buddha is told undefiled by the world (Loka). Kern, in his manual of Buddhism, deals with the traditional life of Buddha and indicates clearly the nature of this mythological growth.

Mahāvastu[56] and Lalitavistara assign unlimited Lokottara qualities to Buddha. No doubts our poet has used restrain, but has not completely ignored this aspect of the traditional legendary life of Buddha.

In *Saundarananda*, "Buddha flew up into the air, to convert the people of Kapilavastu."[57] "He walked in the air, as if on the earth, then he stopped and sat down, then he lay down unhesitatingly; he divided himself into many forms and then became one again."[58]

This miraculous display of Buddha's division into many forms, is found in a developed form in Mahāyāna.[59]

The idea of Tri-Kāyā is not found in Mahāvastu, but Aśvaghoṣa has given a glimpse of three Kāyāys—Dharam Kāyā, Sambhoga Kāyā and Nirmāṇa Kāyā,[60] in his Kāvyas, as well as, in the Awakening of the Faith. In Śraddhotapada Śāstra he broadcasts the three treasures of Buddhism (Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha) (The Buddhist Bible, p. 358).

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55. Winternitz, II, *HIL*, II, p. 240, cf. to ft. n. 1 for details.

56. Mahāvastu belongs to Lokottaravada School.
(Winternitz, *HIL*, II, p. 246).

57. S. III.21.

58. S. III.22.
These are called Nirmitas (exactly like Buddha) in *Mhv.* which were perhaps in later times called Nirmanakaya.
(Adv. U. Singh, pp. XVIII-XIX).

59. In Mahābhārata aud Gītā, Lord Krishna plays Rāslila and divides himself into as many forms as Gopis.

60. A.F. (Wai Tao vide Buddhist Bible), pp. 381-86.
In Mahāyāna, "Buddha is the absolute he is the joy of all these people who follow the Bodhisattvapath". Peter Sharp illustrates the three Kaya conception with a *simili* with the sun. "The sun corresponds to the Dharmakaya (the body of Buddha Law) which generates all heat, light, energy and power. The sun's rays correspond to the Sambhogkāyā (the body of bliss), which transmits all these benefits from the sun to the earth's surface. Lastly all phenomena upon this planet (including ourselves) which are sustained and are utterly dependent upon the life giving benefits of the sun, brought through the medium of its rays, correspond to the Nirmāṇkāyā (the body seen on the earth). The teaching is that the Trikaya is the true nature of all phenomena. ... All is one...Totality, Nothingness and Reality are the terms for the absolute."
(Peter Sharp, J.M. Way, Feb. 1982, p. 190)

Buddhacarita

Mahāyāna

The identical idea (of Mahāyāna) is found in *Buddhacarita*, when Buddha, after his enlightenment, leaves for Kāśi, to convert the world. Here he is coaxed by two heavenly beings, "to rescue the world which was drowning in suffering", because he has a compassionate heart." Here the poet justifies himself by making the heavenly beings say, "That there are some people here, who knowing what is to their advantage in this world and the hereafter, act only for their own good. But it is hard to find in this world or in heaven one who will be active for the good of the world."[61]

Similar idea is expressed by Siddhārtha to his steed Kanthaka (B. V.78) where he says that his departure to the forest was connected with Dharma, for the benefit of the world.

Moreover a glimpse of wider attitude of the era can be had, when Siddhārtha leaves the Tapovana, not because he is dissatisfied with the seers, but because their stand on dharma was in confirmity with primeval ages.[62]

In *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* our poet has deified Buddha which is a Mahāyānist tendency.[63]

In *Buddhacarita* translated by Cowell, Buddha, after expanding his philosophy, says,[64] ". . .Sirs, this is the Mahāyāna, the instrument of Law of the perfect Buddha, which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas."

In B. XVI.128, "He who worships constantly the lords of saints, the Pratyeka-Buddhas and the Arhats, let him resolutely produce in his mind the idea of true wisdom and proclaim these good words and Law."

This is a pure Mahāyānic idea.

Śraddhotpada Śāstra

Śraddhotpada Śāstra, written by Aśvaghoṣa, is essentially a Mahāyāna work. As the very aim of the author has been to preach Mahāyāna, he, in this great work, has discussed all the points where Mahāyāna excelled Hinayāna, along with the philosophy of Mahāyāna 'The Great Path'.

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[61] B. XIV.100-102,108.
Not in B. XIV but the seed is found in the I Canto (B.I.15), where as soon as Siddhārtha is born he says "I am born for the Enlightenment for the good of the world ; this is my last birth in the world of phenomena."

In Lalitavistara (Ch IV) also Bodhisattva takes a review of his past lives, in which he prepared himself for Buddhahood in his last birth. (P.L. Vaidya, Intro., p. xii).

[62] B. VII.49.

[63] B. I. 29 ; XIII.43, X.3, X.6, etc.
S. II. 52-55, XVII. 73 etc.

[64] *SBE* (XLIV), verse 85 (p. 184), ch. XVI.

The twenty sects of Aśoka's time are also dealt with and are called Hinayāna. Milindapanha is the only work of second century B.C. which shows some points as an advance from Mahāsaṅghikās view.[65] But Śraddhotpada Śā stra according to Winternitz, is an attempt of synthesis of the teachings of Madhyamika and Vijñānavāda schools.[66]

Coomarswamy is of the opinion that 'Awakening of the Faith in Mahāyāna' is a philosophical and mystical work dealing with the doctrine of the Tathāgata-Garbha and Ālaya-Vijñāna after the manner of the Yogāvacaras and Asanga.'[67]

Aśvaghoṣa and His School

Different Opinions

According to E.H. Johnston, Aśvaghoṣa took his stand on the older dogmatism and was very little affected by the development of full blown Abhidharma. To him, the kernal of Buddhism lay in personal devotion to the Buddha and in the practice of Yoga.[68] And the writer is of the opinion that Aśvaghoṣa was a Bahuśrutika or the adherent of the school (The Gaukulika) from which the Bahuśrutika issued.[69] It was a branch of Mahasaṅghikas[70] or he belonged to some such school of eastern origin, as Mahasaṅghikas or Bahuśrutikās.[71]

According to B.C. Law, Aśvaghoṣa's Kavyas are influenced by the tradition of Theravada, the Sarvastivada and Mahasaṅghika school.[72]

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65. H.P. Shastri, Adv. S., p. XXI.
"Mahasaṅghikas were liberal and advanced Buddhists. They always had conflict of opinion with Sthaviras or conservatives who loyally stuck to the original doctrine of Buddhism preached by the master himself."
—R. Kimura, *H. & M.*, p. 11.
66. Winternitz, *HIL.*, II, p. 361.
67. Gospel of B., p. 310.
68. E.H. Johnston, B. (1978), Intro., p. XLIV. (It was first published in 1936).
69. Ibid., p. XXXV.
70. "According to Kathāvatthu A. the Mahāsaṅghikas split up into the Gokulikas and Ekabbohārikas. From the Gokulikas arose the Pannattivadins and the Bahulikas or the Bahussutikas out of whom sprang the Cetiyavadins"—Pandey.
The Origin of Buddhism, p. 560.
Masuda J., *Origin and Doctrine of Early Indian Buddhist School*, pp. 15-16. (quoted by Pandey, *The Origins of Buddhism*, p. 561 ft. n. 12).
71. E.H. Johnston, Intro., p. XXXI.
72. B.C. Law—Aśvaghoṣa, (1946), p. 55.
Sthaviravāda divided itself into Sarvāstivāda or Hetuvādins and Mulsarvāstivādins which changed its name into Haimavata school (Masuda, J., Origin & Doctrine of Early Indian Buddhist Schools, pp. 15-16 (quoted by Pandey, *The Origin of Buddhism*, p. 561, ft. n. 12).
Sarvāstivāda is closely related to Theravāda from which it separated probably before Aśoka's conference.
(Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 57)

S.K. Dey opines, that the doctrine of Sarvāstivādins cannot be definitely traced in his unquestioned works. But undoubtedly he was a Hinayānist and took his stand on earlier dogmatism. "But he was less of a scholastic philosopher than an earnest believer, and his personal love and devotion to Buddha perhaps prepared the way of Mahāyāna Bhakti, of which he is enumerated as one of the patriarchs."[73]

A.B. Keith is of the opinion, that Aśvaghoṣa, who according to Tradition, was a Brahmaṇa first adhered to Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism and later on, "being attracted by saving grace of faith in Buddha, become one of the fore-runners of Mahāyāna school."[74]

R. Kimura[75] is of the opinion that "Aśvaghoṣa's religious and philosophical ideas stand midway between Hinayāna on the one hand and Mahāyāna on the other. They contain in them much of Hinayāna Doctrine and at the same time they smack of Mahāyānic ideas nonetheless. It is rather proper to say that this stage is one of transformation of the Hinayāna school into that of Mahāyāna......but he is one of the predecessor of Mahāyāna Buddhism."

Conclusion

Philosophically viewed, the four Arayan Truths and the chain of causation appear to have been adopted by Mahāyāna. "Several Mahāyāna doctrines like Śunaya (nothingness), Pāramitas (perfections) and Dharamakāyā (the lord's body made manifest in the religion), seem foreshadowed in many canonical passages of Hinayāna ; some of the Hinayāna schools, again, e.g. Ṣautrantikas show on their doctrinal side a near approach to the Mahāyāna."[76]

To which branch of Mahāyāna system, Aśvaghoṣa belongs, it is very difficult to ascertain till the foreign "thought so probable in the cultural milieu like Gandhāra, is not evaluated. Its influence is so completely assimilated in Mahāyānist system of thought that it is nearly impossible to distinguish it as extraneous."[77]

Hinayāna works have been preserved in Pāli language but Mahāyāna works are still lying scattered in the valleys of Asia and in different languages. A large number of original works have been destroyed, but their translations in Tibetan, Mangolian and Chinese language have not, uptill now, been studied. Till some scholars take interest in this intricate and abstruse system, no systematic study of its philosophy can be undertaken.

In view of the study of Aśvaghoṣa's works and divergent opinions of different writers, it is very difficult to assign any particular branch of Buddhism to Aśvaghoṣa. Broadly speaking, Aśvaghoṣa, who was a master of Brāhmaṇic Philosophy, Buddhist

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73. S.K. Dey, *HSL*, (1947), p. 70.
74. A.B. Keith, *HSL*, (1953), p. 55.
75. R. Kimura, *H & M*, p. 159.
76. S. Dutt, *The Buddha*, p. 243.
77, *Ibid*,

Philosophy, was influenced by the 'changing trend' of the time,[78] and can at this stage be called belonging to the early Mahāyāna school. Mahāyāna Faith, propounded by him. in his 'Śraddhotpada śāstra' had its seeds in his Kāvyas. Nagārjuna later on developed and paved the way for the full-bloomed Mahāyāna Faith.

SECTION B

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

Middle Path

The first sermon of Buddha at Benaras (Sarnath) to five Bhikkhus[79] at Migadaya hermitage, preaches the famous middle path (i.e. avoiding the two extremes). This path is far superior to two extreme paths (a) the life of wordly man who is devoted to lusts and pleasures and (b) the life of self mortification in renunciation. This path "opens the eyes, and bestows understanding which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment to Nirvāṇa."

This is called Dharma-Cakra-parivartana or setting the wheel of Righteousness in motion. This was done at the request of Brahma Sahampati.[80]

"Philosophically the Middle path is explained as the doctrine, which keeps clear of two extreme views about the world viz. Śasvata (eternalism) and Ucheda (annihilationism)."[81]

Aśvaghoṣa and Middle Path

The first part of the Middle path is a clear indication towards Brāhmaṇas and rich Kṣatriyas who lived the life of luxury and pleasures and sought heaven through sacrifices performed by priests in grand manner.

The second part of the path is an indication towards ascetics, who lived on scanty food, performed hard austerities to have control over their mind and body.

In Vajrasūcī, Aśvaghoṣa has condemned these sacrifices. In *Buddhacarita* he says, 'It will be wrong to practise sacrifice, in which the fruit is described as attained by killing another (B. XI.66).[82]

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[78] A.H. Walton, (Intro., A.F. by T. Richard), p. 17, says—"The emergence of Mahāyāna teachings had been evident about 200 B.C."

They were set forth by Aśvaghoṣa (first c. A.D.) and developed by Nagārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubhandhu.

(Ibid.)

[79] D.C.P. Sutta (*SBE*. XIII, 1900), 1,2,3,4.

Mahāvagga (*SBE*. XII, 1974), I. 6.17.

D.N. II. 35. (Re-existence is desired by the externalists (Sassata-vadins) and self-annihilation is sought by annihilationists (Ucchedavadins), *EMB*., p. 138).

These Pancavaggiyo Bhikkus are Kodanna, vapa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji. (M. Vagga (Tr. Horner) I. 6, ff.)

[80] M. Vagga (*SBE*. XIII), I. 5,6 (p. 86).

[81] N. Dutt, *EMB*. (1960), p. 136.

Buddhacarita (Ch. VII) gives a vivid picture of various types of Ascetics undergoing severe penances, living on scanty food etc. Buddha himself, before his enlightenment, underwent hard austerities, subsisted on scanty food and became a skeleton. Ultimately he realised that strong and healthy body was needed to have a balanced mind. Only balanced and serene mind was needed to develop concentrated meditation. (B. XII.102-105)

According to Buddha's teachings, which reject the two extremes and recommend the Middle path, our poet also condemns the two extremes and recommends moderate eating (S. XIV.1-19) to maintain strength and be contented with scanty cloths (Bhikkhus dress).[83]

Historical View

The extreme mortification practised by Buddha, before enlightenment, gives a glimpse of the prevailing or contemporary asceticism before Buddha found out his own path. He invented his own way, which shunned extreme type of mortifications. As soon as he got the opportunity, in his very first sermon, he announced their futility.

The Four Truths

The second part of Dhamma-kakka-Ppavattana-Sutta contains the four Truths, expounded by Buddha. "The fundamental aim and object of his teaching is how to arrest the dynamic flow of the constituents of a living being."[84] The ways and means which can lead to it, as realised by him are the four Truths.

They are then Noble Truth of suffering or four Ariyasaccani[85] or axioms. That there is Dukkha (or suffering) it has a Samudāya (cause), it can be suppressed (Nirodha), and that there is a way to accomplish it (Magga or Pratipada i.e. eight-fold path or Ariyo Ataṅgiko Magga) which leads to the destruction of sorrow.

The 'Four-Fold Truth' is explained by the Master several times in various sermons. It is found in many Pāli and other Buddhist works, and is handed down as an heritage by many a known schools of Buddhism.[86]

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[82] Uruvela Kassapa along with 500 disciples was ordained (being defeated by Buddha). All cut off their hair "and threw it with their sacrificial utensils into the river and were all ordained." (*DPPN*, I, pp. 433-4)

[83] Please see Chapters on Food & Drinks and Dress (in Social Life chapter) of this work for details.

[84] N. Dutt, *EMB.*, p. 134.

[85] D.C.P. Sutta, (*SBE* XI, PTS. 1900), 5-8, pp. 148-49 and ft. notes.

Four Truths and the Scheme

The present scheme of four Truths, Dukkha, Dukkhasamudaya (cause of suffering), Dukkhanirodha (cessation of suffering) and Dukkhanirodhagamini-patipad (the path leading to the cessation of suffering)[87] are not enumerated in the fourth Nipata of the AN or the Saṅgiti Sutta of DN. They are neither a part of the list of the thirty-seven Bodhipakṣhiya Dhammas (supposed to be the dying charge of the master).[88] But as they occur in the present form in the first sermon and this tradition is preserved in literature and engraved in stone (Kuṣāna period), it can be construed, that they are the original teachings of Buddha or may be a patch work.[89]

Four-Fold Truth and Origin

Manu[90] describes, Dharma as four-footed in Kritya Yuga (Satya Yoga), and so is the 'Truth'. He enumerates Veda, Smṛti, Sadāchār and the conquest of self as the four lakṣanas (symptoms) of Dharma.

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[86] Maha. P.N. Sutta, (*SBE.* XI), II, p. 23 ff. IV. 7,8 (p. 66 ff), *MN.* III. Saccavibhaṅgasutta, (pp. 294-99).
Vism. II (Ed. Rhys Davids, 1921), Cattari aryasaccani : Dukkham Ariyasaccam, dukkha samudayam ariyasaccam, dukkhanirodho ariyasaccam, dukkhanirodhagaminipaṭipada ariyasaccanti (p. 494).
Mahāvagga, (*SBE.* XIII) I. 19-22, (pp. 95-96).
Dhmp. verse, 191.
LV. (P.L. Vaidya), pp. 252-53.
Mhv. (J.J. Jones), II. 267 (Winternitz says in Mahavastu it is later interpolation of the Mahāyānists, HIL, II, p. 245). It is found in Tripitaka (A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 82).
Bigndet, Life and Legend of B., p. 144.
Wassilief (from the Chinese of Vasumitra), p. 224 (quoted by S. Beal, Vid A Catena, ft. n. 1, p. 155).
cf. Abhi.
The four noble truths are engraved on a stone umbrella in late Kuṣāna script and the same is lying in Sarnath Museum. (Pl. 11, The Way of Buddha, p. 208).

[87] Dhmp. 191-92, Maha. P.N. Sutta, Sec. 48.

[88] Pandey, Origin of B., p. 398.

[89] Mrs. Rhys Davids believes that this form of I sermon is the result of patch work. (Pandey, *Origin of B.*, p. 398).
Dr. Pandey is not ready to accept this scheme of four Truths as of earliest stage, till the above omnissions are explained satisfactorily. (Ibid., p. 398).

[90] चतुष्पातसकलो घर्म: सत्यं चेव कृते युगे ।
नाधर्मेणागम: कश्चिनमनुष्यान्प्रति वर्तेते ।।

(Manu. I. 81)

वेद: स्मृति सदाचारः स्वस्थं च प्रियमात्मन: ।
एतचतुर्विधि प्राहुः साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ।।

(Manu. II.)

Nārada describes four feet of judicial procedure virtue, judicial trial, documentary evidence and the royal edict, each superior to the all preceding.

(Nārada—verse 10)

The same idea is found in Mahābhārata.[91]

Viṣnu Dharma Sūtra (LXXXVI.15) quotes the tradition and says, "Holy Law is a bull and is declared to have four feet...."[92]

Patanjali's Yogasūtra and Four Truths

Patanjali, in his Yoga Sūtra (II.15),[93] has mentioned three kinds of Dukkhas—'Pariṇām Dukkha', 'Tapa Dukkha' and 'Saṁskār Dukkha'. In Sutra II.16, it is said that 'Dukkha which is yet to be experienced can be avoided or destroyed (by knowing) the root cause. Patanjali finds the root cause[94] as the union of 'Jada and chetana' or 'Seen and unseen'.

Buddha expounding the I Truth, says Birth is the cause of Dukkha.

Medical Science and Four Truths

The Commentator of Patanjali's Yogasūtra (II.15)[95] writes "yathā cikitśaśāstram caturvyham rogo, rogahetur, arogyam bhaiṣajam iti, evam idam api Śasram caturvyuham eva tadyatha : Saṁsārh, Saṁsārhetur, mekṣo, mokśopāyo iti. Tatrah dukkha-bahulah saṁsāro heyah, pradhana puruṣayoh saṁyogo heyahetuh, saṁyogasyatyantiki nivṛttir hānam, hānopāyah saṁvogadarśanam."

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[91] कृतेयुगे यस्तु धर्मो ब्राह्मणेषु प्रदृश्यते ।
आत्मवत्सु तपोवस्तु श्रुतवत्सु प्रतिष्टतः ।।
(Mbh. Vyas Ed., XII. 232).

कृतयुगेश्चतुष्पार्द्धम उक्तः सहदानीमपि ब्राह्मणे ।
(Commy. Mbh. (Vyas Ed.) XII.232, Leaf No. 1081, line 37).

[92] *SBE*. VII, p. 262. "This term perhaps refer to four feet of judicial proceedings. See—Nārada I. 11 ; 2.9."
(*SBE*. VII. ft. n. I, p. 262).

[93] Yoga Sutra II. 15—
परिणामतापसंस्कार दुःखैर्गुणवृत्तिविरोधाच्च
दुःखमेव सर्वं विवेकिनः ।
Ibid. II. 16—हेयं दुःखमनागतम् ।।

[94] Patanjali's Yogadarśna, Y. Sutra, II. 17—
द्रष्टदृश्ययोः संयोगो हेय हेतुः ।

Patanjali lived in 2nd c. B.C. (*PHAI*, p. 391); A.B. Keith, *HSD*, p. 31.

[95] Patanjali's Yogadarśna, Comy. II. 15, pp. 185-86, *KSS*. 100.
Kern concludes "That the activity of Buddha which is an evolution of 'pradāna' belongs the 'Prkṛti' and ceases at 'Nivṛti' of the union. Nirvrtti looks like intential substitution for Nivṛti. (Kern, *MB* , p. 47 and ft. n. I).

The four Satyas have their root in 'Four cardinal articles of Indian medical science which were known to the Buddhists. Lalitavistara also refers to them and their connection with the medicine. Most of the critics[96] are also of the same opinion.

Patanjali says that in 'Dukkha', which is yet to be experienced—can be avoided or destroyed (Buddhism has included it as 4th truth). Buddha says that (whether present or future) Dukkha can be destroyed by following the eight-fold path.

Thus the order of four Truths which has come to us becomes the same as in ancient medical sciences.

"Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on 'Pirit' calls Gautama as a 'physician' because he cures the diseases of the desire (mind) with the medicine of dhamma; and 'surgeon', because He amputates false views."[97]

Since these four Truths are specified differently in different sects, Dr. Pande agrees with the Darśtantika view which holds that "whether original or otherwise, the scheme of four Truths mainly provide convenient division, under which to consider early Buddhism. It contains less chances of overlap and distortion than would be entailed by the utilization of other possible schemes, as for example those used in later Abhidharma works or by introduction of modern rubrics."[98]

To conclude, the idea that 'Dharma is four footed' is found in Manu, Mahābhārata and Patanjali. The Buddhists enjoined it with four articles of healing the physically sick and mentally ill. As in medical sciences, disease, diagnosis, cure and medicine, are the four stages. 'Ariya-saccani' became the stages of achieving liberation from Dukkha.

Buddha, for this reason, is called Vaidyaraja[99], who first realised the pain, diagnosed, reflected on the cure, and commanded the necessary regime (medicine) to the sick to relieve him of the pain (suffering).

Aśvaghoṣa has discussed the four noble Truths (Āryasatyāni) in *Saundarananda* (Canto XVI). Referring to them he says :

"There is suffering, which is continuous and whose essence is affliction; there is cause of suffering, whose essence is the origination; there is the destruction of suffering, whose essence is escape; and there is the path to tranquilities where essence is rescuing."[100]

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[96] LV. (P.L. Vaidya) 458 (p. 259—वैद्यराद त्वं समुत्पन्नः सर्वव्याधिप्रमोचकः . . .)
For details—supra—Physicians in Edu. Ch.—of this work. The eight-fold path can be compared with—यम, नियम, आसन, ध्यान, धारणा, प्रत्याहार, समाधि और प्राणायाम ।

[97] K.J. Saunder, *Buddha*, ft. n. 1, p. 96.

[98] Pande, *Origins of B.*, p. 400.

[99] LV. (P.L. Vaidya), pp. 5, 107, 275, 448, 458.
Bhiṣakko is among the achievements of Tathāgata. *AN.* 8.9.35 (IV, p. 340).
Itv. Sutta. 100 has 'anuttaro Bhisakko'.
(*SBB*, Vol. V. 333).
Supra—Medical Edu. (Edu. Ch.).

This is the traditional four-fold exposition of *Dukkha*, mentioned by our poet.

Four Noble Truths

First Truth : *Dukkha*

Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana Sutta[101] expounds the first Truth : "Birth is attended with pain decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant, and any craving that is unsatisfied is also a painful. ..."

The Group of Grasping

As mentioned above, the second part of the Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana Sutta expounds that this feeling (Dukkha) is inseparable from the individual existence. The individual existence owes its existence to the combination of five Upādāna Khandas, which are subject to decay and transitory.[102]

The five groups of grasping are Rūpakhanda (grasping after material shape), Vedanakhanda (grasping after feeling or sensation), Saṅṅakhaṇda (after perception) and Viṅṅakhanda (after consciousness).[103]

Thus Buddha realised birth is the root cause of every kind of mental, physical and Mind born Dukkha.

The first Truth of Dukkha, with its seven kinds, is enumerated in Visuddhimagga[104] and explained of three types in Abhidharmakoṣa.[105]

Three Aspects of Dukkha

The conception of 'Dukkha', as the first Truth is viewed from three aspects in Buddhism :

(1) Dukkha-Dukkha or ordinary suffering.

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100. वाधात्मकं दुःखमिदं प्रसक्तं दुःखस्य हेतुः प्रभावात्मकोऽयं ।
दुःखक्षयो निःसरणात्मको यं त्राणात्मकोऽयं प्रशमायं मार्गः ॥
(S. XVI.4)

सम्यक्चत्वारि सत्यानि पदान्यवेति ।
(S. XVI.3)

101. D.K.P. Sutta (*SBE*. XI) 5. (p. 148).

102. Ibid.

103. *SBE*. XI. ft. n. 2, p. 148.
M.N. III. 250 (p. 267), ft. n. I, p. 297 adds Cetasikam dukkham is omitted probably due to error in chalmers text, but occurs in D.N. II. 306.

104. Vism. p. 499. dukkha dukkha. vipariṇā madukkha, Saṅkhāradukkha, paṭccaha—nnadukkha, appaticcahammadukkha, pariyāyadukkha, nippariyāyadukkha.

105. A.K. (I. 8, III. 26), Kleśa is of three types—ignorance (Avidhya), desire (Tṛṣnā) and attachment (Upādāna).

(2) Vipariṇāma-Dukkha or Dukkha as a change.

(3) Saṁkhāra-Dukkha or Dukkha as a conditioned state.[106]

Since there were conflicting views about the definition of Dukkha in different texts and schools (Kukkuta-vādins denied any pleasure in this life, Theravadins and Sarvāstivadins say how could there be attachment without pleasure ?). Nikāyas (SN. IV.216) noted the difficulty and possibly, the three-fold 'Dukkhata' was advanced, 'to effect the reconciliation of the conflicting statements about 'Dukkha'.[107]

I. *Dukkha-Dukkha*

All worldly sufferings, which are universally accepted pains, are included in the ordinary Dukkha-Dukkha. Birth, old age, sickness and "grief, sorrow, suffering, misery and despair... not getting what one desires is anguish. In brief the five group of grasping are anguish."[108]

The most ancient picture of this state is (perhaps) found in the Sūtta-Nipāta's Aṭṭhakavagga, Suttas (Kāmasutta and Guhatthakasūtta). In Kāmasutta, Kāma or desire for sensual pleasures are Dukkha and in Guhatthaka Sūtta Iccha, Sata, Kāma taṇha, māmāyita, chanda, phāssa and Saṅña are the terms which describe the cause of Dukkha.

II. *Vipariṇāma-Dukkha or Dukkha as a change*

Theravada and the Sarvastivada schools hold, a very reasonable view that there can never be any attachment without the existence of pleasure or 'unless there are pleasures how could attachment arise'.[109]

This category of Vipariṇā-ma-Dukkha includes the changing feeling or transitory state. "A happy feeling, a happy condition in our life is not permanent not everlasting. It changes sooner or later. When it changes it produces an unhappy feeling, an unhappy condition. This vicissitude is included in the Dukkha as change (Vipariṇāma-Dukkha)".[110] And according to convention, Dukkha-Dukkha and Vipariṇāma-Dukkha may be included in the I Truth.

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[106] Visuddhimagga (Nagri ed.), p. 349. "Thapetva dukkhasaccaṃ sesaṃ dukkhasaccavibhaṅga agatam jāti ādi sabbam pi tassa tassa dukkhossa Vatthubhavato pariyāyadukkham dukkhadukkhaṃ pana Nippariyāyadukkhanti vuccati."

cf. Nyayāvārtika, p. 2 (Chowkhamba ed.) where dukkha is called "Ekaviṃsatiprabhedabhinna."

W. Rahula, Dukkha-Satya vide Gautama Buddha 25th C. Vol. 1956, p. 142. The author quotes Visuddhimagga (PTS), p. 499 and Abhidharma-Samuccaya, pp. 36, 38 (Ed., Pradhan, Śāntiniketan, 1950).

[107] Dr. Pandey, *Origin of B.*, pp. 405-6 and ft.n. 45 (p. 406), adds that SN. IV.207 seems to suggest a transition in the formulation of this theory.

MN. (PTS. 1977), II. 208. "Whatever one experiences is anguish." This is explained in the ft.n. 1, (208), p. 256.

dukkhasmim, explained at M.A. V. 16 as Sabbam dukkham i.e. the anguish of rolling on, of the defilements and of Saṁkhāra.

[108] MN (PTS. 1977), III. 249 (p. 296).

[109] Pande, *Origin of B.*, pp. 405-6. (quotes in ft.n. 42, KV. & Vism. and in ft. n. 43, Ab.K., Vol. IV, p. 131), and ft. n. 43 adds. cf. Vyāsabhaṣya on Y.S. II. 16, "which points out that the painfulness of all things is apparent only to the sensitive soul of the Yogin."

III. *Saṅkhāra-Dukkha*

This is the conditioned state or Dukkha in the ultimate sense. "According to Buddhist philosophy, what we call a "being", "individual" or "I" is only a combination of everchanging physical and mental energies which may be divided into five aggregates (pancakkhanda). The Buddha says : in short these five aggregates of attachment are Dukkha. (Saṅkhittena pañcupādānakkhandā Dukkha).

So Dukkha and five Khandas are not two different things the five aggregates themselves are Dukkha.[111]

The II Part of the I Truth

The Five Elements of Existence

Historical Background :

The five aggregates or Skandhas (Kkhandhas) constitute a being. These elements of attachment are Rūpa Skandha, Vedanā Skandha, Saṅña Skandha, Saṅkkāra (Samśkāra) Skandha and Viṅṅāna (Vijñāna) Skandha.[112]

Every organised being consists of Nāma and Rūpa or name and form. The former denotes all mental or internal phenomena, and the latter all physical and external phenomena[113] (Rūpa). These two or five embrace the whole conscious experience without leaving over any activity to be explained by 'Soul'.[114]

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[110] W. Rahula, Dukkha-Satya vide—G. Buddha, p. 142.

[111] W. Rahula, Dukkha-Satya vide G. Buddha, p. 142.
Attachment to the five elements of existence Rūpa, Vedanā, Saṅṅa, Saṅkhāra, Viṅṅāna, (M. Vagga (*SBE*, XI), p. 95, ft.n. 1.
Infra five elements of Existence.

[112] Milinda (*SBE*, XXXV), II. 1.1.
A.K. (N. Dev), I. 7, pp. 12, 36.
The Meaning of Skandhas or aggregates is only symbolic and not literal (Ibid., I. 22,43, p. 36).
Milinda asserts "Just as it is by the condition precedent of the co-existence of its various parts that the word 'chariot' is used, just so is it that when the Skandhas are there, we call of a being" (Milinda (*SBE*. XXXV. II. 26), p. 42).
SN. V.10.6. (Ibid., p. 45 and ft.n. 1).
"The only realities are several components (the five Skandhas) and these though real are ever changing."
(SN. I (PTS), p. 17, ft.n.1).

Cause of Skandhas

The cause of these Skandhas i.e. birth and re-birth is Karman. Hence, it is said it is 'name' and 'form' which is born.[115]

The passage through the succession of existence and transmigration bears the usual name of Saṃsāra.

1. *Rūpa Skandha* (*Rūpa kkhandha*)

Rūpa Skandha denotes the four great elements along with their derivatives, (Cattāro) ca mahābhūta catunaṅ ca mahābhūtānam upādaya rupam—idam vuccati sabbaṃ rupam).[116] They are solidity, fluidity, energy, motion or Paṭhavi, āpo, jejo vayu and their upādaya-rūpa (derivatives).[117]

The Upādaya-Rūpa comprises of five material sense organs (Indriyas) of Cakṣu (eyes), Śrota (ears), ghṛāna (nose), jihvā (tongue), Kāyā (body) and their corresponding objects in the external world i.e. visible form sound, odour, taste and tangible things; and also some ideas or thoughts which are objects of mine.[118] Thus Rūpa Skandha includes ten internal (ādhyātmika) and five external items.

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[113] Milinda (*SBE.* XXXV), II. 2.6 (p. 71, ff).
Milindapanha explains : Nama is man's fleshy substance and Rūpa is five Skandas.

"The world of beings and inanimate objects are described as Saṁskṛta on account of their being constituted of some elements, as distinguished from Asaṁskṛta (the unconstituted). The constituent heads are put under two heads : Nāma and Rūpa. ... Name is analysed into four mental states : Vedana (feelings), Saṅṅa (perception), Saṅkhāra (resultant impressions) produced through Karma and Viṅṅāna (knowledge derived through the organs of sense). These four subdivisions of Nama with the fifth Rūpa are termed Pañcakhandha."

(N. Dutt, EMB, p. 197)

[114] The second group (synoynms of Vedanā, Saṅṅa, Saṅkhāra Viṅṅāna i.e. feeling, perception, will etc. awareness and the physical factor which is Rūpa) is not like the first borrowed from Upaniṣads but lays greater stress on the mental factor "with the idea of shutting out any loophole for the introduction of the idea of mind or soul as an unchanging unity."

(Coomarswamy, *Gospel of B.*, pp. 99-100)

[115] Mil. (*SBE.* XXV) II. 2.6. (p. 71 ff).
Infra. Ch. Karmas and the Conception of hell and heaven.

[116] Dh. S. 584 (N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 198).

[117] Dh. S. 1309 adds a fifth asṅkhata dhātu. In SN. the four Skandhas are Vedanā, Saṅṅa, phāssa and Mansikāra. The usual enumeration of five Skandhas is rūpa, vedanā, Sanjñā, Sanskāra-& Vijñāna. A scholastic enumeration of 25 rūpaskandhas occurs in Visuddhimagga. (Kern, M.B., p. 51 and ft.n.2)

W. Rahula, Dukkha-Satya vide G. Buddha, p. 143.

[118] Vism. 444. (Quoted by N. Dutt, *EMB*, ft.n. 2, p. 198. W. Rahula, Dukkha Satya, vide G. Buddha, p. 143.)

Abhiddarmakoṣavyākhyā,[119] including mind, and its items discusses 18 elements, which uphold a body. They are :

	Indriya	*Ayatana*	*Vijñāna*
1.	Cakkho Cakṣu	Rūpa and visible object	Cakkuviññāna visual perception
2.	Sota, Śrota	Sadda Śabda	Sotaviññāna Śrotavijñāna (andotory cognition)
3.	Ghāṇa (ghrāṇa) nose	Gandha odour	Ghrāṇavijñāna objectory cognition
4.	Jhivā tongue	Rasa taste	Jihvāvijñāna gustatory cognition
5.	Kāyā Body	Spraśtavya tangible	Kāyāvijñāna tactual perception
6.	Mano mind	Dhamma mental objects	Manoviññāna Mental perceptions

Five (1-5) Indriyas and five (1-5) Vijñāna are internal, and five Āyatanas (1-5) as mentioned above are external items of Rūpakhanda.[120]

2. *Vedanākkhandha* or aggregate of sensation or feelings

It includes all mental and physical sensations : Sukhavedanā dukkhavedanā, adukkha sukha vedanā (pleasant or unpleasant, neither pleasant nor unpleasant),[121] experienced through the contact of our sense organs (phassa Samudaya vedanā

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[119] A.K.V. I. 48 (NDW. 1958), A.K. I. 37-48. discusses about the Dharmas of 18 dhatus.
The controversy about their Dharmas is :

छिनक्षि छिदृते चव बाह्य चातुपतुष्टयम् ।
(Vyakhya, 69. 9)

दह्यते तुलयत्येवं विवादो दुग्ध तुल्ययो ।
(Vyakhya, 68.34)

(AKV. (N. Dev.1958), p. 55).

[120] N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 199.
Rūpa, Śabda, Gandha rasa, sprśtavya and Avijñapti constitute Rūpa Skandha (Abh. K. (N. Dev. 1958), I. 91). Sanghabhadra calls them 'Dhātus' because from them originate all the dharmas which are the cause of various Dukkhas. (Ibid., I, 12 & ft. n. 2C)

[121] S.N. (PTS. 1894), p. 232.
The feelings produced by the stimulation of the eye, the nose, the tongue, the body, the mind.
(MN. I, (PTS. 1881), p. 51)

Samudayo). They cease when the stimulation ceases. (pāssanirodha vedanā-nirodha).[122]

"The feelings are classified as six. The first five are due to five sense perceptions (Cakṣusamsparśa, śrotarasamsparśa etc.) and the sixth due to mental cognition (manovijñāna).[123]

The feelings are different from the impulsive states of rejoicing and lamenting and represent the state of feeling persisting in mind. They are also explained by some as not the growth and decay of mind and body but as products of a particular mental contact with a certain state of things.[124]

3. *Saṅṅakkhanda* (aggregate of perception)

Just as Vedanā, Saṅṅa[125] also depends upon phassa (phasso sannam nidāna sambhavo). There are six perceptions of form, sound, smell, taste, touch and ideas. From this it can be concluded that perception refers to external things also.

"The Buddhist psychology also includes an internal sense '*Mano*'. By means of stimulation, 'phassa' can perceive ideas and Dhamma. Memory images, imagination and thoughts are therefore included in the activity of Saṅṅa." So more appropriate translation of Saṅṅa would be 'ideation'. A.N. V.105 mentions ten Saṅṅas.[126]

4. *Sāṅkhārākkhandha* or aggregate of mental formations or the aspects of mental state (Cetana)

"This includes all volitional mental activities, both good and bad, which produce karmic effects such as attention (manasikāra), will (chanda), determination (adhimokkha), confidence (saddha), concentration (Samādhi), intelligence or wisdow (paṅṅa), energy (Viriya), desire (rāga), repugnance or hate (patigha), conceit (māna), idea of self (Sakkāya-diṭṭhi) etc. There are 52 such mental activities which constitute the aggregate of mental formations."[127–128]

It includes all mental states, whether associated with or dissociated from, mind (citta-samprayukta and cittaviprayukta). It is also used combination with other terms e.g. Saṃskāra-dukkhata (VI.3.125), Upekṣā Saṃskāra (A.K. II.25,129, VIII. 148), Jivita-Saṃskāra, Āyu-Saṃskāra, Vak-Samskāra (II. 10, 33, 122, 174).[129]

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122. MN. I. (PTS. 1888), p. 51.
123. N. Dutt, *EMB*, Vedanā Skanda is to be distinguished from Vedanendriya.
124. AKV. I, p. 44 (quoted by N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 200 ft. n. 1).
125. AN. III (PTS. 1896)—413.
The Psychology of Nirvāṇa, pp. 70-71.
126. The Psychology of Nirvāṇa, p. 71.
127-128. W. Rahula, Dukkha Satya vide G. Buddha, p. 143.
129. N. Dutt, *EMB*, pp. 201-2, and ft.n. I, p. 202.

5. *Viṅṅānakkhandha* or aggregate of consciousness

It is most important of all the Khhandhas as it is more actively engaged in the process of rebirth.[130]

The base of consciousness is one of the six sense faculties i.e. Cakkhu (eye), Sota (ear), ghāṇa (nose), Jivhā (tongue), Kāya (body), mind (Mana)[131] and one external phenomenon as its object e.g. the visual consciousness has eye as its basis and a visible form as its object. So it is the consciousness connected with other faculties.[132]

Clear consciousness has 89 sub-divisions and denotes what is good, bad or indifferent. The term here denotes 'spontaneous or instinctive moral discrimination.'[133]

These five aggregations are called by us as 'Being' or 'Individual' or 'I' is only a label given to the combination of these five groups.[134]

Death and birth is defined as khandhas : kkhandhanam, patubhavo patilabho (SN.II.3) i.e. acquiring of sense factors or spheres in birth and marṇam-kkhandham bhedo (MN. III, p. 249) i.e. death is the breaking of the factors.[135]

Definition of four mental Skandhas

"The Nikāya definition of the four mental Skandhas is, shortly formulated as follows: Vijñāna is clear consciousness of what is going on in our interior. From it, in combination with the Rūpaskandha, springs vedanā, feeling of what is pleasant, painful etc. Sañjñā is the distinct notion of an object, by which we are able to recognise the object. Saṁskāras are affections, temporary mental dispositions, having their motive in Vedanā. To them belong the kleśas (defiling passions) as love hatred etc., the upakleśas (secondary kleśas), as pride conceit at piety and unpiety."[136]

I Truth

Aśvaghoṣa has explained this (Truth) in a very easy expression : birth is the root of Dukkha. All the calamities are born in birth as all plants grow on earth. (S. XVI.7)

In the first part of the first truth, he expounds that birth "conjoined with faculties sense is identical with suffering in its many varieties and that which produces bodily complex (Rūpa) produces death and disease."[137] And so long 'active Being' persists among creatures, many sorts of calamities such as old age etc. are produced in them.[138] Mind and Body are Birth place of suffering.[139]

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[130] The Psycho. of Nirvāṇa, (p. 71). Viṅṅana is synonyms of Citta or Mano in Pāli texts. It is awareness of mind or consciousness of general or abstract content.
(N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 203)

[131] A.K. (N. Dev), I. 91—चक्षुरान्द्रिय:, श्रोत्र, घ्राण, जिह्वा, काय ।

[132] W. Rahula, Dukkha Satya vide G. Buddha, p. 143.

[133] Kern, M.B., p. 51.

[134] W. Rahula, Dukkha-Satya vide G. Buddha, p. 143.

[135] E.A. Johnsson, *Psy. of N.* (1969), p. 69.

[136] Kern, M.B., pp. 51-52.

In the second part of the first Truth, Aśvaghoṣa defines an organised being as consisting of Rūpa and name. And concludes where there is corporeality according to its qualities, there is suffering. Apart from it, suffering has not been and will not be nor can be seen.[140]

What is Birth ?

"It is conception, the production, the decent, the rebirth (nibbati), the coming forth of various beings in various classes of beings, the appearance of the groups (of grasping) the acquiring of the sense organs."[141]

In "short acquiring of sense factors is birth (Khandānaṃ patubhāvo patilabho)."[142]

Old Age

"It is the old age descriptude, broken teeth. greying hair, wrinkly skin, the dwindling of the life span, the collapse of the sense organs of the various beings in the various classes of being."[143]

The same expression is made by our poet, he says,[144] "old age is the murderer of beauty, the ruin of vigour, the birth place of sorrow, the grave of pleasure, the destroyer of memory and the enemy of senses."

137. S. XVI.8—यज्जन्म रूपस्य हि सेन्द्रियस्य दुःखस्य तन्नैक विधस्य जन्म ।
S. XVI.13—रूपाश्रिते चेतसि सानुबन्धेशोकरतिक्रोधभयादि दुःखं ।

138. S. XVI.9.

139. S. XVI.11,13.
S. XVI 7. Plants grow on the earth and in Birth is born Dukkha.
Milinda (*SBE*. XXV) II.2.6. p. 71 (Rupa is five Skandhas and Name is man's fleshy substance. The four mental factors Vedana, Sanjñyā, Saṁskāra and Vijñāna are synonyms.

Sammanphala Sutta also tells, "This is my body the material formed out of four elements begotten by my father and mother...but that is my conscious which clings firmly and is joined to it like a precious stone." (cf. Oldenburg—*Buddha*, p. 523 ft.n.).

140. S. XVI.16—तन्नाम रूपस्य गुणानुरूपं यत्रैव निर्वृत्तिरुदारवृत्त ।
तत्रैव दुःखं न हि तद्विमुक्तं दुःखं भविष्यत्य भवद्भावेद्वा ।।
Rūpa is called Sarira—body at MA. IV.159.
B. IX.60—भिन्नानि भूतानि शरीरसंस्थान्येवयं च गत्वा जगदद्वहन्ति ।
(The five elements separate by nature group themselves together into bodies, coalescing constitute the world).

141. *MN*. III.249 (p. 296).

142. *SN*. II.3.

143. *MN*. III.249 (p. 296).

144. B. III.30 and S. IX.33.
cf. The description of the effect of age : S. IX.29,B.III.28.

What is Dying ?

"It is the falling away, the passing away, the breaking up, the disappearance, the death and dying, the action of time, the breaking up of the groups (of grasping), the laying down of the body." In short "Death is the breaking up of the factors (maraṇaṃ . . . khandam bhedo)".[145]

Aśvaghoṣa's description of Death

The charioteer tells Siddhārtha, "This is someone or other, lying bereft of intellect, senses, breath and qualities unconscious and become like a mere log or bundle of grass. . . ."[146]

What is Grief ?

It "is sorrow, sorrowfulness, the inward grief, the inner pain of one visited by some kind of calamity or other smitten by some kind of ill or other. It is the crying, the wailing, the act of crying, the act of wailing, the state of crying, the state of wailing of one visited by some calamity or other. This your reverence is called, sorrow."[147]

What is Misery ?

"It is physical suffering, physical disagreeableness arising from an impingement on the body and experienced as suffering, as disagreeableness."[148]

What is Despair ?

"It is despondency, despair, the state of despondency, the state of despair of one visited by some calamity or other smitten by some kind of ill or other."[149]

How 'Not getting what one desires, that too is anguish' ?

"A wish like this arises in creatures liable to birth : 'O might we be not liable to birth and birth not come to us'. But this is not to be had for the wishing. So 'not getting what one desires, that too is anguish'. Your reverences a wish like this arises in creatures liable to ageing . . . to disease . . . . to drying . . . in creatures liable to grief, sorrow, suffering, misery and despair . . .; 'O might we not be liable to grief, sorrow, suffering, misery and despair; and grief, sorrow, suffering, misery and despair not come to us'. But this is not be had for wishing. So 'not getting what one desires, that too is anguish'."[150]

In both the Kāvyas, Aśvaghoṣa has given sporadic examples of grief, misery, despair and anguish, e.g. Sage Asita's forecast that Siddhārtha would renounce the world is painful (for Śuddhodana). Māyā's death brought grief to the royal family. Siddhārtha's renunciation caused wailing and crying to the royal family and citizens etc.

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[145] *MN.* III.249 (pp. 296-97).

[146] B. III.57.

[147] *MN.* III. 249-50 (pp. 296-97).

[148] *MN.* III. 250 (p. 297).

[149] *M.N.* III. 250 (p. 297).

[150] Ibid.

In short our poet has given expressions of physical and mental Dukkha.

II Truth

Dhamma-kakka-Ppavattana[151] Sutta expounds the second Truth of Dukkha as Thirst (Taṇha) which leads to re-birth. It is accompanied by sensual pleasure or the gratification of the passions. It is three-fold, "Craving for the gratification of the passions, the craving for life (or resistance) and craving for the success in this present life "or thirst for prosperity".

In this Truth, Buddha, when attained enlightenment, realised that Taṇha (desire) causes a man to be born. "His Cittam (mind) strays and a sentient being (Saṭto) undergoes rebirth. No release is found from sorrow."[152]

Enlargement of the Truth

Buddha, in his life, sought freedom from suffering or Dukkha, through the realisation of the principle underlying the origin or cause of Dukkha, which is this II noble Truth. This Truth is enlarged by the Preacher. Vinaya Text[153] describes, how during the first watch of the night (at the end of seven days after enlightenment), he fixed his mind on the chain of causation in direct and reverse order.

The Law of Causation

It is known as Paticca[154]—samuppāda and is a twelve linked formulae or twelve Nidānas. It lay-bare the root of evil and is: From Avidhyā (ignorance) springs the Saṁskāras (impressions); from Saṁskāras springs Vijñāna (clear consciousness), from consciousness springs Nāma and Rūpa (nama and form), from Nāma and Rūpa springs the six provinces (Sadayatana),[155] from six provinces springs Sparśa (contact of the senses with enterior objects), from Sparśa springs Vedanā (sensation), from Vedanā springs Tṛṣna (thirst), from Tṛṣna springs Upādāna (attachment), from Upādāna springs Bhāva (Existence), from bhāva springs Jāti (birth), from birth springs old age, death, sorrow, lamentations, pain, grief, dispondency (Jarāmaraṇam Śokaparidevaṇadukkha daurmanasyapayāsah).[156]

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[151] *DKP*. Sutta (*SBE*. XI), 6 (p. 148).
"The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life correspond very exactly to the first and third of these three Taṇhas."
(Ibid., pp. 148-49).

[152] J.J. Jennings, p. 454.

[153] Vinaya Text, Vol. I (M. Vagga (*SBE*. XIII), I.1.2 (pp. 75-84) I.23.5, p. 146.

[154] A.K. (N. Dev) III.20-24.
Avidhyā, Tṛṣnā and Upādāna (attachments) are three kinds of Kleśas while confirmation (Saṁskāra) and disposition for becoming represent Karman. (Ibid., III.26)

[155] Eye, ear, nose, tongue, body (or the body faculty of tenets) and Mind.
Mh. Vagga. (*SBE* XIII), I.1.2. (p. 77) ft.n. 1,
Udāna (verses of uplift), p. 1.

This is the origin of the whole mass of suffering.

"Again by the destruction of ignorance which consists in the complete absence of lust the Saṁkhāras are destroyed, by the destruction of the Saṁkhāras consciousness is destroyed; by the destruction of consciousness Name and Form are destroyed, by the destruction of Name and Form the six provinces are destroyed, by the destruction of six provinces contact is destroyed, by the destruction of contact sensation is destroyed, by the destruction of sensation Thirst is destroyed, by the destruction of Thirst Attachment is destroyed, by the destruction of Attachment Existence is destroyed, by the destruction of Existence Birth is destroyed, by the destruction of Birth old Age and Death, grief, lamentation, suffering, defection, and despair are destroyed. Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering."[157]

Vasubhandu in his Abhidharmakoṣa[158] expounds the second Truth or Pratītyasamutpāda. He divides the same in three parts (Pūrva, Aparānta and Madhya).

Kleśa (Dukka) here is explained of three types Avidhyā (ignorance), Desire or Tṛṣna, and attachment (Upādāna).[159] Ignorance includes Saṁskāras of Pūrva-

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[156] M. Vagga (*SBE*. XIII.I.1.2) (pp. 75-76).
LV. 442 ff.
Mhv. II (J.J. Jones), pp. 267-68.
A.K. III.20-24.

[157] M. Vagga (*SBE*. XII) I.1.2 (pp. 77-78).
M. Vagga (Tr. Horner), p. 2.
Mhv. II (J.J. Jones), p. 268.
DN. II (Nidana-Suttanta), pp. 51, 52, 56.
SBE (III) Maha Nidana-Suttanta, p. 56.
Udana, p. 2.

[158] A.K. (N. Dev) III, p. 304 ff.

स प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादो द्वादशाङ्गस्त्रिकाण्डकः
पूर्वापरान्तयोर्द्वौ द्वे मध्य ष्टौ परिपूर्णः ॥

(Abh. III.20)

The twelve-aṅgas linked together are—

अविद्या, संस्कार, विज्ञान, नामरूप, षड़ायतन, स्पर्श,
वेदना, तृष्णा, उपादान, भव, जाति, जरामरण ।

(AKV. 61 (N. Dev), p. 304)

Kern (M.B., p. 47)

[159] A.K. (N. Dev), III.21-28 (pp. 305-7).

Janma (pre-birth),[160] Tṛṣna dominates in this birth and upādāna (attachment) leads to Karman which is the resultant of rebirth,[161] old age, death etc.

Of the twelve links, "the first and second namely ignorance and confirmation, representing the cause represent the Samutpada, the second the effect (phala) namely the eleventh and twelfth (Jāti and jaramaraṇa) has come to exist having depended upon the cause, while the ten middle factors are both causes and effects."[162]

This truth is of great importance. It is found in most of the Pāli[163] works and discusssed by many scholars.

Thus Buddha, in II Truth, first traces the root cause of Dukkha in Taṇha (Thirst). He further postulates that life is a stream of becoming or causation, which are known as Law of causation of Pratītyasamyutpāda (it includes Taṇha also though not the immediate cause).[164]

In this Law of causation, the Master finds the cause of Dukkha in Avidhyā or ignorance of three types (1) There is no place for soul (anatta) the root cause of a being called 'I' ; (2) all phenomenal objects are of transitory nature or impermanent (Anicca, Khanika) and (3) all worldly objects being impermanent are Dukkha (undesirable pains).[165]

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160. A.K. (Ibid.) III.21—पूर्वक्लेशदशाऽविद्या संस्काराः पूर्वकर्मणः ।

161. वित्तिप्राङ्मैथुनात् तृष्णा मोगमैथुनरागिणः ।
उपादानं तु भोगानां प्राप्तये परिधावतः ।।
(Abh. III.23)

162. A.K. (N. Dev) III.26-28 (pp. 310-15).
Umesh Mishra, *HIP*, Vol. I, pp. 340-41.
A.K. (N. Dutta) II.49-50 (pp. 189-91) discusses six hetus.
स्वतोऽन्ये कारणं हेतुः सहमुर्ये मिथः फलाः
भूतवाच्चेतचैक्षानुवर्तिलक्षणलक्ष्यवत् ।
(Abhi. II.50).

163. M. Vagga (*SBE* XI) I.60.20, p. 95; VI (*SBE.* XVII) 36 (p. 137).
MN. III, Saccavibhaṅga Sutta, p. 298.
Dhmp. (*SBE.* X), 7, 8, 13, 126, 202, 214, 251, 356, etc.
SN. (*PTS.* 1888 ed.) II, p. 10 (Sutta 10), III, p. 27 (Sutta 26).
DN (Dialogue) II.56, Mahā-Nidāna Sutta (p. 40 ff).
Milinda (*SBE.* XXXV) II.1.1., (pp. 43-45). Nagsena explains this causation theory with the famous example of a chariot and its parts.

164. Rhys Davids (M. Vagga. *SBE.* XIII) ft.n. I, p. 75.

165. A detailed study of different lines in Hinayāna and Mahāyāna is discussed by Dr. G.C. Pande in *The Origin of Buddhism*, Ch. XI.
N. Dutt, *EMB.*, p. 138.
J.G. Jenning's *The Vedāntic Buddhism*, p. 454.
Ref. is made to Pālī works Sutta Piṭaka, S.N. Sagatha Vagga, Devatā Samyuta (Sam. I) VI. 6 (*PTS*, p. 37).

Aśvaghoṣa and Second Truth

In *Buddhacarita* Aśvaghoṣa has explained the Law of causation or Pratītya Samyutpāda (Patticcasamyuppāda). In complete agreement with Buddha's teachings in Vinaya (Sutta Pitaka) he relates 'Tṛṣna' or thirst the basic cause of birth.

As soon as Buddha attained Enlightenment, he realised : the origin of existence lies in Upadana (appropriation),[166] and the causal condition of appropriation lies in thirst.[167] The thirst "(Tṛṣna) gives birth to the vast sins of sensual passions and the rest, as a little fire sets the whole forest ablaze."[168]

Reflecting on the cause of Thirst, Buddha concludes "The cause of Thirst i.e. sensation (Karaṇam Veda Vedanām)."[169] Overwhelmed by sensations, mankind thirsts for satisfaction.[170] The cause of sensation is contact (sparṣa).[171] The contact is explained as uniting of the object, the sense and the mind.[172] The cause of contact lies in six organs of sense for there is contact only when the six organs exist.[173]

Further the sage understood that the cause of the origin of six senses lies in Name and Form.[174] The cause (origin) of 'Name and Form' lies in consciousness.[175] When consciousness arises, 'Name and Form' is produced.[176] Thus when the development of the seed is completed, the sprout assumes a bodily form.[177] Hence consciousness, Name and Form are causes of each other.[178] This chain of factors is interdependent.[179]

Thus the sage realised Birth is the cause of old age and death.[180]

Similarly the poet has explained the chain of suppression (B. XIV.81-83).

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[166] B. XIV.58.

[167] B. XIV.60 (R.C. Dasa Ed.).

उपादानमिदं केन हेतुना चात्र जायते ।
इति चिन्तयता तेन तृष्णैव दहशेपुरः ।।

[168] Ibid., 61.

"Since in the nature of things there is a cause here for the effect. . ." (B. I.40).

[169] B. XIV.62.

[170] S. XIV.63.

[171] S. XIV.64.

[172] Ibid., 65.

[173] Ibid., 66, 67.

[174] Ibid., 68.

[175] Ibid., 70.

[176] Ibid., 71, 72.

[177] Ibid., 71.

[178] Ibid., 75.

[179] B. XIV.85—चकैक मन्योन्यं कारणं ज्ञानवान् मुनिः ।

[180] B. XIV.53 cf. 52.

Sāṅkhya and Interpretations of Paticcasamuppāda

"Jacobi suggests that the formulae of Paticcasamuppāda is derived from Sāṃkhya scheme of evolution. Schrader endorsed this idea, Senart proposes the influence of Yoga. Keith, Belvalkar and Pande find no comparison between 'Sāmkhya Schemes of Tattvas and Pratītyasamutpāda' appears forced." Jacobi opines that Sāmkhya scheme of evolution's standpoint is psychological and not cosmogonic. Dr. Pande concludes that since 'the Buddhist sequence is an illustration of the principle of Pratītyasamutpāda' and 'Sāmkhya illustrates Pariṇāmavāda', which are very different, 'the relation between Nidānas and the Tattvas are disparate.'[181]

Kern, after a long discussion, concludes "It seems probable that in which the whole series, in which the difference between *post hoc* and the *propter hoc* is utterly ignored is, like the corresponding Yoga tenet, stating 'Avidhyā' be the ultimate cause of Dukkha, an immitation of some cosmogonical myth, poetically describing the creation and destruction of the world. . . . The connection, however, is not such as to warrant the assumption of a mutual dependence between the Buddhist and the Sāmkhya series, we only surmise that both systems derive from a common remote source."[182]

Importance of the Law of Causation

The series of causation (paticcasamuppāda), is given a leading place in the Philosophy of Buddha. The stanza recounting the utterance 'Ye Dhamma hetuprabhāva[183] etc.' is termed 'the Buddhist creed' by the foreign writers. It is found in 96 Suttas is afterwards called the 'wheel of life' (Bhavacakra). In Tibet Lamas still hold that Buddha is the originator of 'the wheel of Life'.[184] It is said that while preaching his disciples in a rice field, he plucked a stalk and prepared the wheel of life with its grains. It is most frequent of all Buddhist inscriptions.[185]

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[181] Pande, *Origins of* B., pp. 407-8.

[182] Kern, MB, p. 47.

[183] Of all the objects which proceed from cause,
The Tathāgata has explained the cause,
And he has explained their cessation also,
This is doctrine of great Samana.
(Vinaya I (*SBE* XIII) 23.5, p. 146).

[184] Coomarswamy, *Gospel of* B., p. 96.
Divyāvadāna, pp. 299-300 narrates : Buddha in Venuvana forest near Rājagṛha, instructed Ānanda to make a wheel (Cakram kariyitavyam) to illustrate what Maudagalāyana saw during his visit to other spheres—the wheel was to have five spokes (Pañcagandakam). The space in between was to depict the hells, animals, pretas, gods and men. In the middle, lust, hatred and ignorance were to be represented by a dove (pārāvata) a serpent and a hog. 'All the round the tyre was to go the twelve-fold circle of causation in the regular and inverse order. Beings were to be represented "as beings born in a supernatural way (anpapādukāh) as by the machinery of a water-wheel falling from one state and being produced in another." Buddha himself was to be outside the wheel. The wheel was placed at the entrance of main gate (dvārakoshṭhaka) and a Bhikksu was appointed to interpret it (Waddell, *Lamaism*, ft.n., p. 108). Waddell (Lamaism) gives the photograph of the wheel of life, picturing Buddhist Theory of universe.

Commenting on the Law of Causation, Rhys Davids says.[186] "The chain of causation or the doctrine of twelve Nidānas (causes of existence) as has often been observed, in a more developed form is an answer to the same problem which the II, III and IV Truths (Āriyasakka) also try to give a solution viz. the problem of the origin and destruction of suffering. The noble Truths simply reduce the origin of suffering to Thirst or Desire (Taṇha), in its three-fold form, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst tfor prosperity (I. 6.20). In the system of twelve nidanas, *Thirst* also has found its place among the causes of suffering, but is not considered as the immediate cause.... What does Taṇha come from ? and thus the series of cause and effects is led back to avigga (Ignorance) as its deepest root".

Importance of II Truth

"The *paticcasamuppāda* is equivalent to the third Vijja, i.e. the knowledge of emancipation, together with reasoning, supporting the same. In this view it signifies, that the knowledge of emancipation from sorrow depends on the sense of having overcome separateness and craving, the sense and the body, individuality, and ignorance".[187]

The Second Truth (Explanation)

Taṇha

Tṛṣṇa (Desire) or craving for the gratification of the passions is the greatest cause of suffering and is condemned by Buddha in Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana Sutta[188] and subsequently in many Suttas.

Dhammapada calls the desire of a man towards a woman as a bondage.[189] The Tevigga Sutta[190] names lustful desire as the first of the five hindrances in the discipline of the noble.

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[185] Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 108.

[186] Vinaya, I. (*S*[illegible]*E*. XIII) ft. n. 1, p. 75.

[187] J.G. Jennings, The *Vedantic Buddhism*, 1974, p. 469, ft. n. 8.

[188] *S*[illegible]*E* XI.

[189] *Dhmp*. 284—यावं हि वनथो न लिज्जति
अणुमत्तो पि नरस्स नारिसु ।

[190] Tevigga Sutta, 30.

Nikāyas and Taṇha

Dīgha Nikāya[191] explains the cause of rebirth in Kāma-Taṇha, Bhava Taṇha and Vibhava Taṇha. This Three-fold Taṇha (Kāma, Bhava and Vibhava) is described in SN (II. 100, III. 26) and A.N. (III. 445) as well.[192]

Taṇha

In MN.[193] (Cūladhammasamadāna Sutta) passion (pleasure of senses) its origin and result is explained in a beautiful simile of a creeper.

Dhammapāda (Taṇhavaggo) elaborates on Taṇha and explains it growing within a man like a 'Māluva creeper'. "He runs from life to life, like a monk seeking fruit of the forest".[194] He full of strong passions yearns for what is delightful and his thirst grows more and more which makes his fetters strong.[195] As the "fields are damaged by weeds mankind is damaged by lust".[196] He who overcomes this fierceful thirst, "suffering fall off like water-drops from a lotus leaf".[197] This control of senses can be achieved with pure thoughts[198] and Kāma or god of Love can be pierced if one learns all is "unsubstantial as a mirage".[199]

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191. *DN*. II. 305.
Childers (*DPPN*, p. 495) applies the Term 'Bhava' to a desire for eternity of existence and Vibhava to a desire for an annihilation in the present form of existence. Rhys Davids suggests the terms to mean "everlasting life heresy' and 'ukkheda-ditti' the let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die heresy. These two heresies thus implicitly condemned, have very close analogies to Theism and materialism." (*SBE*. XI. ft. n. p. 149).

Spencer Hardy says 'Bhava Taṇha' signifies that "Existence is not only eternal but felicitous and desirable. 'Vibhava Taṇha' is the love of present life, under the notion that existence will cease herewith, and that there is no future state." (*M*B., p. 496)

192. Taṇha is discussed elaborately in *SN* (*PTS*. 1888 ed.), I, p. 39, II, p. 238, 251, III, p. 227, 230, 234 with reference to the sense it is described six-fold : Rūpa, Saddat, Ghandhat, Photthabbat, and Dhammat.
(SN, II, p. 248)
Taṇhamula Sutta explains Tṛṣṇā the cause of nine-dharmas.

"As Taṇha may be produced by sensation received through either of the five senses or through memory, it is said to be six-fold, as each of these may grow in three ways mentioned in the Text it is eighteen-fold and by further dividing each of these into two (outward and inward) it is 36-fold, and by further dividing each of these into three (past, present and future) (we have finally 108 different kinds of thirsts. "And thus the little Taṇha becomes a hydra-headed monster possessed of one hundred and eight modes of inflicting suffering or humanity." (Vijesinha Mudaliar in Childers, *Pāli Dictionary under the word Taṇha*, p. 495).

193. *MN*. I. Sutta 45 (p. 368 ff).

194. *Dhmp*. (*SBE*. X) 334—"His suffering increases like the abounding Birāna grass. *Dhmp*. 335."

195. Ibid., 349.

196. Ibid., 359.

197. Ibid., 336.

198. Ibid., 8, 3.

199. Ibid., 46.

Thus in Dhammapāda[200] the yearning Thirst is compared to a creeper, which develops and eventually destroys the tree on which it is nourished. "The extinction of Thirst overcomes all grief"[201] which can be achieved by the gift of Law.

Thirst grows into sensuality, desire of future life or love of the present world and is the origin of suffering.[202]

Sutta-Nipāta

Desire as a sin is dealt with elaborately in Sutta-Nipāta. Desire in various forms is the root of Dukkha e.g. grasping desire for existence,[203] and especially for name and form i.e. elements of existence[204] etc.

Thirst or Desire is associated with efforts to achieve the transitory happiness. So long as there is desire, there is existence. As long as there is birth there will be death.[205] This is called the stream of death and the realm of Māra.[206] Those who continually go to samsāra are ignorant (avigya).[207] So Desire needs complete control to cross over the birth and death.[208] When through absence of passions, complete destruction of 'Aviggya' (ignorance) is attained, there is no pain (Dukkha).[209] This is the stage of Sukkha (perfect happiness).

The result of the conquest of desire is narrated in Vinaya Text.[210] Buddha says "He who has attained renunciation, solitude of heart, who has attained kindness and rooting out of craving—

"He who has attained to the rooting out of Thirst, to the absence of delusions, from the mind, he sees the source of sensations, his mind is quite set free.

"To such a Bhikkhu, so emancipated and with calmness in his heart, there is no gathering up of what is done, nothing to be done still remains.".

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200. Ibid., 162, 334, 340.
201. *Dhmp.* 354—तण्हक्खयो सब्बंदु:खं जिनाति ।
202. *Dhmp.* 410.
203. Sutta-Nipāta and Dhammapada are the oldest Buddhist works which contain Buddha's words (*SBE.* X. Intro).
    SN. (*SBE.* X) 923, 776, 1067, 1103.
204. Ibid., 353, 1099.
205. Ibid., 742.
206. Ibid., 354.
207. Sn. *SBE.* X, 729.
208. Ibid., 1059, 1067, 354.
209. Sn. M. Vagga (*SBE.* X), 728.
    cf. *Dhm.* p.410 ("who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclination and is unshackled.")
210. M. Vagga (*SBE.* XVII) V,I.27 (p. 12).

Passions and Fire Simile

Passions in Buddhist literature are compared or treated similar to blazing fire. The expression 'Āṅgārakāsupmā kāmā' and the fire of Rāga is so common in Pāli literature that it would not be surprising if Buddha himself used it in some form'."[211]

Aśvaghoṣa and Taṇha

Our poet explains Taṇha : Passion is a disease of the mind.[212] Alike the famous simile of a creeper, which ultimately damages the tree, our poet has given the simile of kimpaka fruit : "Just as eating a Kimpaka fruit leads to death and not to nourishment, though its taste, colour and fragrance are good, so application to the objects of senses leads the man of unbalanced mind to disaster, not to prosperity".[213]

"The passions are snakes, their coils are calamities their gaze is destruction, their teeth are madness whose very venom is mental darkness.[214] No man bitten by that vipor of love remains active in himself."[215]

"The enjoyments of the passions can never satiate a man like the blazing fire which can never be satiated with oblations. The more one indulges in the pleasures of passions the more does the longing grow for the objects of the senses."[216] No fire is equal to the fire of love,[217] and a "lustful man can no more win satiety from the passions—than a fire companioned by the wind can from fuel."[218] The fire of passions consumes a man.[219]

Historical Examples

Chapter VII of *Saundarananda* deals with various legendary and historical examples, when sages, captured by love for women, fell from the highest position. Passions involve persons and sages in dust. Overcome by love, princes of the Kurus, Haihayas, Vṛṣṇis, Śambara, and sage Ugratapas Gautama were involved "in the dust of passions, raised by women."[220] Overcome by love, Hisraṇyaretas followed Svāha and Indra, Ahalya.[221] The sun conceived passion for Śaraṇyū and his "orb whittled away for love of her."[222] Vaivasta and Agni abandoned self-control for the sake of a woman and waged war on each other for many years.[223] "The sage Vaśiṣṭha, the best of the virtuous, consorted with Akṣamālā, a low caste woman;"[224] "Dvaipāyana, who was devoted to religion, dallied with a harlot in Kāśi, who struck him with her foot with its jingling anklet."[225]

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[211] **"Aggikhandhopma Sūtta—*AN*. 77, 58; *AN*.3, 6.52; the expression Āṅgārakas upma Kāma" which recurs e.g, *AN*. 8.3.8; *AN*. 8.8.4; the three fires of Rāga etc. e.g. ITv. 3.5.4; the implication of the "extinction similies" and such expressions as 'sthibhuto' e.g. *SN*. I.141, the root meaning of Nirvaṇa itself." (Pande, *Origin of* B., p. 402 and ft.n. 26).**

[212] **S. IX.8.12.**

[213] **S. IX.48.**

[214] **S. X.55.**

[215] **S. X.56.**

[216] **S. IX.43.**

[217] **S.V.28; VII.12—कामाग्नि.**

[218] **B. XI.10.**

[219] **S. X.47,53—रागाग्नि.**

[220] **S. VIII.45.**

[221] **S. VII.25.**

The pleasures of senses give only temporary pleasure and are transitory.[226] The conquest of senses is better than the conquest of wars.[227] To pull out the dart of passions, attachment with any object should be avoided[228] and the raging fire of passions should be extinguished.[229]

Slavery to the senses or passions is undesirable[230] and cessation of desire is richness.[231]

"Active beings of the world proceed from the vices. Those who are subject to passions and to mental darkness are subject to death, and are who is devoid of them is not born again."[232]

As a being must undergo oldage, disease and death,[233] and there is no "bond equal to affections, no destructive stream equal to desire."[234] It behoves a man "not to hanker after the glittering objects of the world."[235] In this world and hereafter, the passions are the causes of suffering only and do not ensure to anyone's advantage.[236] So the cause of suffering needs be abolished.[237] Pondering over the ultimate result of passions it is said "who would swallow the poison known as the passions, when he knows how paltry is the flavour of the objects of sense, how great the bondage, how incomplete the satisfaction, how much despised by the good, and how certain the sin."[238] "Who self-controlled would enjoy, in these passions ;

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[222] Ibid., 26.
[223] Ibid., 27.
[224] Ibid., 28.
[225] Ibid., 30.
[226] Ibid., IX.20-22, XI 32.
[227] S. IX.23.
[228] S. V.44—प्रसक्ति. (S.N. Chowdhary ed.)
[229] S. XVIII.29.
[230] S. V.25.
[231] S. XVIII.30.
[232] S. XVI.18; cf. B. XI.34.
[233] S. XV.46, V.27.
[234] S. V.28, B. XI.11.
[235] S. XV.50.
[236] S. IX.47.
[237] S. XI.36.
[238] B. XI.19.

'which are like-fruit hanging on the topmost boughs of a tree;'[239] 'like enjoyments of a dream'[240] and 'like trenches full of red hot charcoal'."[241]

Kāma

"Men labour that they may avoid suffering and feel pleasure. They do not understand that pleasure of theirs is but surcease from excessive suffering."[242] "The world clings to love (Kāma) and the rest which are perpetual causes of suffering, transitory and in reality its enemies and it does not know the pleasure which does not pass away."[243] The man whose desires are set on love can never have peace.[244]

Sāṅkhya (Arāḍa) and Cycle of Existence

Sage Arāḍa explained to Siddhārtha the cycle of existence : the wrong knowledge (ajñāna), the power of act (Karma) and desire (Tṛṣṇā) .[245]

These three causes of existence are mentioned in Mahābhārata.[246]

Gītā and Taṇha

According to Gītā, he only attains peace who gives up all desires, lusts and is undisturbed. He who craves for enjoyments never attains peace.[247]

Having attained tranquility such a God-realised soul attains, Brahmic bliss.[248] Having completely identified himself through meditation with Brahma, he (Yogi) enjoys eternal Bliss.[249]

To conclude on one hand Aśvaghoṣa has very intelligently refuted the Brahmaṇical conceptions of birth, and on the other hand has elaborated on this Truth in concurrence with Buddhist Suttas. He says "The cause of the suffering from active being in the world is to be found in the category of the vices, such as desire and the rest, not in a Creator or Primordial Matter or Time or the Nature of Things or Fate or chance."[250] Those who are excessively given to pleasures in their particular type, are born again "accompanied by the same vices, because of their habitual practice in their previous birth."[251]

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[239] B. XI.28.

[240] B. XI.29.

[241] B. XI.30.

[242] S. XII.23—दु:खं न स्यात्सुखं मे स्यादिति प्रयतते जनः।
अत्यन्त दु:खोपरमं सुखं तच्च न बुध्यते।

[243] S. XII.24—कामादिष्यु जगत्सक्तं न वेत्ति सुखमव्ययं।

[244] S. XI.37, X.38.

[245] B. XII.23.

[246] Mh. Bh. (Vyasa ed.) XII.7695.

[247] Gita. II.70—तद्वत्कामा यं प्रविशान्ति सर्वे स शान्तिमाप्नोति न कामकामी।
Gita. II.71—विहाय कामान् च: सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निस्पृहः।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ।।

[248] Gītā II.72.

[249] Gītā V.21.

Avidhyā (*Anicca*)

Impermanence is the fundamental Law of all existence. Nikāyas and Visuddhimagga elaborate on this.

Samutta Nikāya[252] (I.2) expounds the saying of the saints

"...Impermanent are all conditioned things
There natur't is to rise and pass away
They come to pass, they cease....
Happy the mastery of them and peace."

In Majjhima Nikāya,[253] in order to make Anicca (transitoriness) understand the Buddha taught :

"...I with the purified deva spirit surpassing that of men behold beings as they are passing hence and coming to be...comprehend beings according to the consequences of deeds...." Further Buddha says I will teach you the Dhamma. "If this is that comes to be, from the stopping of this it is stopped...."

Aṅguttara Nikāya explains :

"There are five things which no Samaṇa, no Brahmaṇa, no god, neither Māra nor Brahma, nor any being in the universe can bring about. What five things are those ? That what is subject to old age should not grow old, that what is subject to sickness should not be sick, that what is subject to death should not die, that what is subject to decay should not decay and what is liable to pass away, should not pass away."[254]

These are the causes of Dukkha or suffering. None can resist the universal supremacy of death.

Visuddhimagga explains : "Strictly speaking, the duration of the life of a living being is exceedingly brief, lasting only while a thought lasts. Just as a chariot wheel in rolling rolls only at one point of the tire, and in resting rests only at one point ; in exactly the same way, the life of a living being lasts only for the period of one thought. As soon as that thought has ceased, the living being is said to have ceased.

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[250] S. XVI.17.

[251] S. XVI.20.

[252] SN. I.2.1, pp. 8-9.

[253] MN. (*PTS.* 1975) II Cula—Sakuladayi Sutta) 32 (p. 229).

[254] Aṅguttara N. Vol.III (V, VI.57), p. 59.
cf. Discourse of Monk Narda to king Milinda at Patliputra.

As it has been said

"The being of the past moment of thought has lived,
 but does not live, nor will it live.
"The being of the future moment of though will live,
 but has not lived, nor does it live.
"The being of the present moment of thought does live,
 but has not lived, nor will it live."[255]

"The effect of the chain (of causation) is to show that Viññana, the consciousness of 'I', does not reside in an eternal soul, but is a contingent phenomenon arising by way of cause and effect. It should be noted, as Prof. Rhys Davids has pointed out, that the value of the series does not lie in the feet that it explains evil, but in the fact that right understanding of causal origination constitutes that very insight of which the soul of Evil-consciousness of 'I' and the desires of the 'I' are destroyed."[256]

Aśvaghoṣa and Anicca (Impermanent or Transitory)

Aśvaghoṣa makes Nanda realise the transitory nature of the world, saying :

"Since inevitably, in this world all phenomena come into being from not being, and pass away again from being into not being...and since they all have a cause and that a transitory cause therefore he (Nanda) concluded that the world is impermanent."[257]

The identical idea is expressed in Dhammapada 170, which says the world is like a bubble, look upon it as you would on a mirage.

Body-Impermanent

Strength, Body and Youth

A born one delights in strength, beauty and manhood. But all these are transitory (S. IX.45). The body is subject to old age and disease (S. IX.6) and is fragile (S. IX.11). Strength is not long-lasting and great warriors, including Arjuna, Krishna, Namuchi, Kurus etc., lost their lives and were turned to ashes.[258]

As with strength so with body and youth, this body, beautiful to look at, is revolting, if it were not covered with a garment.[259] Once they pass away, neither the water of the river nor youth, returns.[260]

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[255] Vism. Ch. VIII.

[256] Coomarswamy, *Gospel of* B., p. 96.

[257] S. XVII.18—तस्मादनित्यं जगदित्यविन्दत् ।

cf. S. XVII.17—अनित्यतस्तत्र ।

[258] S. IX.16-20.

[259] S. IX.26. *Dhmp.* 150.

[260] S. IX.28.

The same expression is found in Dhammapada (150). "Body is stronghold of the bones. It is covered with flesh and blood and there dwell in it old age, death, pride and deceit."

Body-Impermanent

The Body is an abode of calamity.[261] "The elements—water, earth, wind and fire coalescing in a body ever war together."[262] "To delight in the impure, transitory body, composed of warring elements is to feel happy in an ever unclean dilapidated hovel, infested with snakes and always in need of repair."[263]

"There is no pleasure, in the highest sense of the word for a man, who has to drag about an unstable and afflicted body."[264]

"He, who understands and recognises the nature of corporeality its cause and its disappearance, the infections are abolished."[265]

Explaining the futility of existence, our poet says :

'Sinful delusions about the body that 'it is I, it is mine' obssess your passion-ridden thoughts cast off its stronghold. If you were to act thus, tranquility would be yours, for one incurs danger by thinking 'This is I, or this is mine.'[266]

Body is subject to manyfold plagues and no one has dominion over it. It is not possible to recognise this abode of calamities as 'identical with you as yours.'[267]

Pleasures of Paradise : *Transitory*

The shortcomings and pleasures of paradise are narrated beautifully in *Saundarananda* (XI). These pleasures and sojourn in paradise are also depicted as temporary. As at the exhaustion of merit, one has to come back to the world of men,[268] so one should crave for permanent pleasure and abandon the pleasure of senses and practice Brahmacharya.[269] Therein lies true happiness.[270]

[261] S. XV.55.

[262] S. IX.12, cf. XV.56.

[263] S. IX.37.

[264] S. IX.40.

[265] S. XVI.46.

[266] S. IX.35.

[267] Ibid., 36.

[268] Before being born Gautama Buddha (in previous birth) remained in Tuṣita heaven so was Nanda taken to heaven.
S. XVI.58, 61; XI.14, IX.11, X.32, 36, 37.
S. XI.39, 46.

[269] S. Ch. XI. All types of restrain is Brahmacharya in other words they are the qualities of Śila.

[270] S. IX.49.

III Truth

Dukkha-Nirodha : The third Truth is concerning the destruction of suffering. Dhamma-kakka-Ppavattana-Sutta[271] expounds it :

"Verily it is the destruction in which no passion remains of this very thirst, the laying aside of, getting rid of, the being free from the harbouring no longer of this thirst."

This Truth expounds the complete detachment from Tṛṣna or Desires. In other words it is the cessation of desires.

In Samutta Nikāya three terms Nimokka, Pamokkha and Viveka (deliverance, freedom and detachment) are explained by Buddha[272] in this context :

When life lust, when becoming no more,
When mind that marks and marks by sense is dead,
When feelings' turmoil ceases, laid to rest,
I know O friend that thus to them that live,
Deliverance, freedom and detachment come.

"The scholarly men distinguish three forms of Viveka : (1) of body or physical solitude, (2) of Mind and (3) of Nibbāna or severence from all aims, connected with worldly or any other form of life."[273]

Elaborating this Truth, Buddha, in Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra,[273b] explains : "Nirvāṇa does not consist in mere annihilation.... By Nirvaṇa mahamata is meant the looking into the abode of reality, as it really is in itself; and when along with the turning back of the entire system of mentation (citta-caittakalpa) there is the attachment of self-realisation by means of noble wisdom which belongs to Tathagata, I call it Nirvaṇa."

Dhammapada verses expound, sorrow and suffering can be extinguished if 'Thirst' is destroyed.[274]

"Cut out of the love of self like the autumn lotus with thy hand ! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvāṇa has been shown by Sugata."[275]

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[271] *SBE*. XI.7 (p. 149).
Nirodha is "cessation, annihilation, Nirvāṇa, obstruction impeding."
(Childers, Dic., p. 288).

[272] *SN*. I.1, II, p.3. and ft.n. 3.
"These three terms are exegetically identified by Buddha with Path, Fruition and Nibbana respy or three with Nibbāna alone. The deliverance is from Kleśa or (sin), the detachment is from sorrow".

[273] *S.N.* Vol. I, p. 250, ft.n. I.

[273b] Laṅkāvatāra, Sūtra (D.T. Suzuki), pp. 157-8, 172.

[274] *Dhmp*. (*SBE*. X) Taṇhāvagga, 336, 338, 339, 342, 343, 347, 356, 214, 283, 284, 359.

[275] Ibid., 285.

"Give up what is before, give up what is after, give up what is inbetween, when you goest to the other shore of existence, if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay."[276]

The gift of Law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of Law exceed all sweetness, the delight of Law exceeds all delights, the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain",[277] and the best virtues are passionlessness.[278] Not one thought of lust (one tree) but the whole forest (of lust) and under growth (lustful consciousness) needs to be cut.[279]

In nutshell, Dhammapada, expounds Nirodha the annihilation of all desires, to attain a perfect peaceful state of Nibbāna. It also illucidates that badly practiced ascetism leads to hell.[280]

In Majjhima Nikāya,[281] Buddha says, when it is said that "the recluse Gautama is a nihilist (causes destruction), he lays down the cutting off, the destruction, the disappearance of the existent entity." I am misrepresented. "Formerly as well as now, I lay down simply anguish and the stopping of anguish."

"Whatever is the stopping, with no attachment remaining of the self-same craving, the relinquishment of it, casting aside of it, release from it, independence from it, this, your reverence, is called the ariyan truth of the stopping of anguish."[282]

Distinction between Nirodha and Nibbāna

Thus Nirodha does not mean Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa) the cessation of being (or death), but it means Nibbāna, the extinction of desire,[283] the attainment of perfect peace (This is the difference between Nirodha and Nibbāna).

"It is called Sa-upādisesa-Nirodha, when an Arhat removes all his impurities and realises the truth, but still retains his body, the last remains of his past upadhi, when he lays down his mortal frame, he is said to have Anupādisesa-Nirodha, and after this he never takes rebirth."[284]

Aśvaghoṣa and Third Truth

The third Truth is explained by our poet as : Desires in many forms are the cause of birth. "Eradicate them if you would wish to be free from suffering. For an effect is abolished by abolishing the cause."[285] To abolish suffering, exhaust its seed and cause, become free from passion of desire and be attached with the peaceful element—the salvation, which is eternal, unassailable and holy.[286] Self-restraint leads a man to heaven[287] and with uncontrolled senses no one can obtain tranquility.[288]

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[276] *Dhmp.* (*SBE.* X), 348.

[277] *Dhmp.* (*SBE.* X) 354; 336.

[278] Ibid., 373.

[279] Ibid., 283.

[280] Ibid., 311. Infra. Hell.

[281] *MN.* (Alagaddupamasutta), I.140 (p. 180).
Formerly here means the first serman. (Ibid. ft.n. 3).

[282] *MN.* III (Saccavibhaṅgasutta), 251 (p. 298).

[283] Infra. Nirvāṇa.

[284] N. Dutt, *EMB.*, p. 139.

[285] S. XVI.25.

Examination of the Elements of Existence

For the destruction of suffering, the examination of the elements of existence is a must. They are all impermanent and devoid of self.[289]

"For, he, who understands the six elements—earth, water, fire, both in their general and in their specific characteristics, and understands that there is nothing other than those, understands complete liberation from them."[290]

The Fourth Truth (The Eight-fold Path)

Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana Sutta[291] expounds as follows the fourth truth :

"... is the noble truth, concerning the way (Patipāda) which leads to the destruction of sorrow (Dukkha Nirodhagāminipatipāda Ariya saccani). Verily it is this noble eight-fold path (Ariyo Aṭṭaṅgiko Maggo) that is to say : Right views, Right aspirations, Right speech, Right conduct, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right-mindfulness and Right contemplation."

"This leads to insight which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to Sambodhi and to Nirvaṇa."[292]

In Samuta Nikāya (V.1)[293] the chain of eight-fold path is explained as inter-dependent. "In one, who has knowledge and has good sense, right view has its scope. Right view gives scope for right aim, for right speech; right speech for right action; right action for right living; right living for right effort; right effort for right mindful and right mindful gives scope to right concentration."

The same Nikāya explains Right view "as based on detachment, on dispassion, on cessation, on occasion which ends in self-surrender. He cultivates right aim which is so based and concerned : likewise right speech, action, living, effort etc."[294]

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286. S. XVI.26.
Annihilation of birth destroys old age and death.
(B. XIV.80).

287. S. XI.60.

288. S. IX.44, V.16.

289. S. XVI.47.

290. S. XVI.48. The 6th element is Vijñāna whose inclusion facilitates the development of Kṣaṇika theory.
(Johnston—ft.n.).

291. *SBE.* XI.8 (pp. 149-50).

292. M. Vagga (*SBE.* XIII) I.6.8. (p. 95).

293. *SN.* (*PTS.* 1965) Ch. XLV, p. 2.

294. Ibid., V.2, p. 3.

Again, Buddha, in SN. (V.2)[295], dilating on eight-fold path says, "Right view Ānanda, if cultivated ends in the restrain of lust, ends in the restrain of hatred and in the restrain of illusion."

In SN. (VII.53-57)[296], explaining the need of eight-fold path, Buddha says, it must be cultivated for the comprehension of three longings, for sensual delights for becoming and for holy life.

The eight-fold path taught by Buddha is known as the three-fold basic teaching (Triśikṣā) Higher Discipline (adhiśīla), Higher meditation (adhi-citta) and Higher wisdom (adiprajñā).

Śīlam Samādhi paññā ca vimutti ca anuttarā
Anubhudda ime dhammā Gotmena yasassinā

"Śīla, Samādhi, Paññā and Anuttara vimutti—these dhammas the illustrious Gautama understood in succession."[297]

Classification

In Majjhima Nikāya[298] the eight-fold path is arranged in three classes: Śīlakkhanḍha, Samādhikkhanḍha and Paññākkhanḍha.

I. Perfect speech (Samma Vaca), perfect action (Samma Kammanta) and perfect way of living. This division is arranged in the class of moral habit (Śīla).

II. Perfect endeavour (Samma Vayāma), perfect mindfulness (Samma Sati) and perfect concentration are arranged in the class of concentration (Samādhi, Smṛti or Citta).

III. Perfect view (Sammadhitti), perfect thought (Samma Saṅkappa) are arranged in the Intuitive wisdom (Paññā or Prajñā).

Nidanakatha of Visuddhimagga[299] enumerates jñāna (meditation), wisdom (paññā), precepts (Śīla) and steadfastness (āryaddhaviriya) etc. as the path which leads to Nirvāṇa.

I. *Śīla*

In Milindapanha,[300] Nāgsena, while explaining the good qualities, enumerates

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[295] Ibid., V.2, p. 5.

[296] Ibid., Ch. VII, pp. 43-44, p. 46.

[297] P.V. Bapat, Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga, Ch. I, p. 1 and ft.n. It refers to A. II.2, D. II. 123.

[298] *MN.* III.301 (p. 363).

[299] *Vism.* (*PTS*) I.3-6.
Johnston S. XVI. ft.n. 31 discusses in details about the order of the constituents of the eight-fold path. He concludes that Prajñā had no place in the original scheme and is a later interpolation.

[300] Milinda (*SBE* XXXV), II.1.9 (p. 52 ff).

Good conduct (Śīla), faith (Saddhā), perseverance (Viriyam), mindfulness (Sati) and meditation (samādhi).

Explaining the characteristic marks of good-conduct he expounds "It has its characteristic that it is the basis of all good qualities. The fine moral powers—(Indrīya-balani)—faith, preserverance, mindfulness, meditation and wisdom... ; the seven conditions of Arhatship (Bogghangā); self-possession, investigation of the Dhamma, perseverance, joy, calm, meditation and equanimity... ; the path readiness of memory (unbroken self-possession or Satipatthana); the four kinds of right exertions (Sammappadhāna); the four constituent basis of extra-ordinary powers (Iddhipāda); the four stages of ecstasy (Ghāna); the eight forms of spiritual emancipation (Vimokha), the four modes of self-concentration (Samādhi); and the eight-states of intense contemplation (Sampatti) have each of them good conduct (the observance of outward morality) as their basis."

Vinaya Pitaka in particular and the whole of Buddhist literature[301] in general, embody the mortal precepts or desciplinary code (Śīla) to be followed by a recluse for it leads to salvation.

Aśvaghoṣa and Classification of Eight-fold Path

Aśvaghoṣa has classified the eight-fold path in three divisions in his *Saundarananda*.[302] (XVI.31-36).

Śīla

"Right action of voice and body, and right livelihood are based on discipline, should be practised in the department of conduct for the mastery of the actions."[303]

II. *Prajñā* (Jñāna or intuitive wisdom and Samyak-Dṛṣti)

Dukkas, Right thought and Right exertion

"The noble doctrine with respect to the Truths regarding suffering etc. right thought and exertion, these three, resting on intuitive wisdom should be practiced in the department of knowledge for the abolition of the vices."[304]

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[301] *SN* (*PTS*. 1898, Pali), Vol. V, 389-90.
MN (*PTS*. 1975 ed.) II.12 (p. 213).

[302] "Saundarananda is the earliest work which gives logical and carefully thoughtout description of the path to enlightenment and enables us to see the force of technical terms and argument."
(E.H. Johnston)

[303] वाक्कर्म सम्यक् सहकाय कर्म यथावदाजीवनयश्च शुद्धः ।
इदं त्रयं वृक्षविधौ प्रवृतं शीलाश्रयं कर्मपरिग्रहाय ।।
(S. XVI.31)

[304] सत्येणु दुःखादिषु दृष्टिरार्यां सम्यगिवतर्कश्च पराक्रमश्च ।
इदं त्रयं ज्ञानविधौ प्रवृतं प्रज्ञाश्रयं क्लैश परिक्षपाय ।।
(S. XVI.32).

III. *Citta* (Samādhi or Smṛti or Yoga)

Samyak Smṛti and Samyak Samādhi

"Right attention (Samyak Smṛti) used in accordance with the plan, in order to approach the Truths and right concentration of thought concentration (Samyak Samādhi) of thought, these two based on tranquility, should be practised in the department of Yoga, for the mastery of the mind."[305]

Elaborating on the importance of the three-fold division of the eight-fold path, Aśvaghoṣa says :

Śīla or pure discipline does not permit the development of the shoots of the vices[306], concentration of mind repels the vices[307] and the intuitive wisdom completely cuts away the faults.[308] Thus following this eight-fold path with three divisions, "one eliminates the faults, the causes of suffering and reaches the supremely blessed stage."[309]

So the prudent (man) should cultivate this three-fold discipline.[310]

Śīla and Prajñā

Majjhima Nikāya (III. 71) and Dīgha Nikāya (II. 216-17) give the pride of place to Samādhi "and make the other members of the path lead upto it."[311]

Śīla (the code of conduct)

Aśvaghoṣa in his Kāvya has given more importance to Prajñā when he says that "the intuitive wisdom completely cuts away the faults, like a river, the trees on its banks in the rains burnt up by it, the faults cease to grow, like trees burnt by the fire of the thunderbolt which strikes them."[312] This development of the importance of Prajñā is a later development according to Johnston.[313]

Śīla in Buddhist Literature

Buddhaghoṣa[314] divides śīla into two Carittaśīla (duties of performance) and

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305. S. XVI.33—न्यायेनसत्याधिगमाय युक्ता सम्यक् स्मृतिः सम्यगथो समाधिः ।
इदं द्वयं योगविधौ प्रवृतं शमाश्रयं चित्तपरिग्राहाय ॥
Yoga is defined by Childers (Dic., p. 604) as junction, union, devotion and mental concentration.

306. S. XVI.34.

307. Ibid., 35; VIII.24 : Supreme Truth comes only to the stable mind.

308. Ibid., 26; S. V.30 : The armour of wisdom makes the arrows of grief powerless and kindles the courage to put on and to existence (S. V.30).

309. Ibid., 37.

310. S. XVI.30—शीले शुचौ त्रिप्रमुखै स्थितेन ।

311. Johnston, S. XVI.ft.n.31.

312. S. XVI.36.

313. Johnston, S. XVI, ft.n.31.

314. B.C. Law, *Buddhaghoṣa*, p. 159.

Varittaśila (duties of performance) and Varittaśīla (duties of avoidance). Varittaśīla includes Ahiṁsa (or abstention from taking life), not to accept what is not given, sexual purity, to abstain from false, abusive or idle speech, and to abstain from intoxicating drinks.

"Habitual morality is compared to broad earth on which as their fulcrum or basis all creatures move, stand or rest; and again Śīla is compared to the sources of great rivers and the ocean, starting as rill and turn way up in the mountains and ministering to an increasing scale of animal growth as they descend and wax deep and wide till merged in the ocean."[315]

Tevigga Sutta, the twelfth and the first division of Digha Nikaya, called Śīla khanda Vaggo deals in all twelve dialogues with Śīla or right conduct.

Buddha, in this Sutta, has defeated the two Brāhmaṇas with their own convictions i.e. after death the union with Brahma is only possible when a man adopts the qualities of a Brahmana. These qualities are the 'Śila' principles of Buddhism.[316]

The first part of Tevigga Sutta[317] levies great stress on the control, subjugation or destruction of five things which lead to lust : Forms (pleasant and agreeable), sounds, odours, Tastes and Touch of the same kind. They are named 'as 'chain and bond'.

It tells of five hindrances in the Discipline of the noble one : lustful desire, malice sloth and idleness, pride and self-righteousness and doubt.[318]

The same expression is found in Milinda where Nagsena tells the king, that faith springs up in the heart which breaks through five hindrances lust, malice mental sloth, spiritual pride and doubt. Then the heart becomes clear, serene and untroubled.[319]

Developing on the moral precepts in Kula Śīlam the Sutta[320] enumerates the abstention from : destroying life (Ahiṁsa), theft, unchastity, speaking falsehood, slander, bitterness of speech, foolish talk, getting gold or silver, women, wealth of animals and lands, buying and selling, bribery, cheating, fraud and crooked ways highway robbery etc.

'Magghima Śīlam' of Tevigga Sutta, directs a monk to avoid luxnries of life e.g. ornaments, large counches, articles for the adornment of the persons perfumes,

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315. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 154.
316. T. Sutta (*SBE.* XI) I.25.
Aśvaghoṣa has adopted the same style in Vajrasūcī.
317. Tev. Sutta 27; cf. Sabba-Sava Sutta 17-23.
318. Ibid., 30-36.
319. *SBE.* XXXV. I. 10.
320. Tev. Sutta (*SBE.* XI) Kula Śīlam, pp. 189-91.

performance of duties of go-in-between kings and ministers of state, soldiers, young men, thirsting after gain and hypo-critical crafts.

'Mahaśīlam' chapter of Tevigga Sutta[321] explains Right livelihood. It advocates refrain from seeking livelihood by various low arts and lying practices.

It directs a monk to refrain from offering sacrifices to the god of fire or vedic rituals, use of magical charms, forecasting dreams and other superstitious beliefs.

Such a disciplined man's mind is a ground prepared for meditations (four trances). This is a way to a state of union with Brahma.

Refuges and Śīla

Hinayāna offers three refuges to Sarvnāgata of afflicted world, Buddha Dharma and Saṁgha.

In Maha Parinibbāna[322] Sutta, Tathagata, while in the Upvattana of Kuṣinara, laid down that doctrine should be the refuge for the monks and it will be the teacher after he had attained Nirvāṇa.

Kullavagga relates how the brotherhood considered this advice and resolved to adhere to all the precepts laid down in the lifetime of Buddha.[323]

Again in Mahā Parinibbāna[324] Sutta the last advise of Buddha to the monks was "Decay is inherent in all things; work out your own salvation with diligence." Here the Teacher has suggested 'Karma' as the refuge of men.

In Dīgha Nikāya,[325] he (Buddha) exhorts his disciples to make themselves their own refuge and not others (aṭṭasarana, anaññasarana).

In Anguttara Nikāya[326] constant awareness of precepts (Śilanussati) is said to lead one to Nibbāna.

In Majjhima Nikāya and Malindapanha[327] the 'Doctrine' is explained as the refuge of followers.

In Milinda, Nag Sena explains the characteristics of good conduct or good qualities saying :

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[321] *SBE*. XI. pp. 196-200.
Ibid., p. 201. (With these arguments Buddha was able to convert the two Brāhmaṇas to Buddhism).

[322] *SBE*. XI. VI.1 (p. 112).
Perhaps this Sutta is the work of later 4th and early 3rd c. B.C. (Rhys Davids, Intro. *SBE*. XI, p. x).

[323] Kullavagga. XI.1.9.10.

[324] Ibid., VI.10 (p. 114).

[325] *DN*. (*PTS*. 1958) II, pp. 58, 77.

[326] *AN*. III. p. 312 ff.

[327] *MN* (1899, 1958 eds.), III. p. 9.
Milinda (*SBE*. XXVI) IV.8, 10 (pp. 51-52).

Virtue's the base on which the man who's wise
Can train his heart, and make his wisdom grow
Thus shall the strenuous Bhikkhu, undeceived,
Unravel all the tangled skein of life.[328]

Thus in Milindapanha Śīla (good conduct or qualities) is given great importance.

Aśvaghoṣa and Śīla

Aṣvaghośa puts great importance to Śīla (the code of conduct). In addition to innumerable references to the qualities of Śīla he has written Vajrasūcī with an aim to propagate Śīla and depricate the prevalent corruptions in the Brāhmaṇic society.[329]

Aśvaghoṣa gives so much importance to śīla that he makes the prescribed rules of conduct, the Śaraṇa or āśraya of the followers.[330] Buddha exhorts,[331] "fortified by the faculty of faith, take heed still further to govern your conduct so as to reach the State where death is not". "Taking your stand on discipline all actions take place in the sphere of supreme good, just as standing on other actions of the body are performed by taking your stand on earth."[332]

Śīla or discipline is good conduct or behaviour. In its absence there can be no life either as a mendicant or as a householder.[333] Our poet is so much inclined to depict this quality (Śīla) that he finds in paradise—even the "soil of the celestial fields cultivated by unwearying ploughs of asceticism and discipline."[334]

Considering Buddha's words as the refuge: Nanda considers Śākya as firm as earth[335] and was impatient to receive the elixir of his speech.

Considering Buddha as the refuge: Nanda took refuge in him—the pre-eminent refuge.[336] With determination he placed the firmest reliance in the supreme sage.[337]

Thus the poet's intention is to establish the refuge in Buddha, Buddha's words and Śīla and thereby gain Mokṣa or Nirvāṇa.

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[328] Milinda (*SBE.* XXXV) 34. The verse occurs twice in Samutta (I.3.3 and VIII.1, 6). (Ibid., ft.n.).

[329] Supra Vajrasūcī (Ch. I).

[330] S. XIII.28—शीलं हि शरणं सौम्य कान्तार इव दैशिका ।
This agrees with Milinda (Supra).

[331] S. XIII.10.

[332] S. XIII.21. cf. Milinda, 34. (Dependence on the five moral powers firm as of bodily exertions when dependence upon earth).

[333] S. XIII.19.

[334] S. X.27.

[335] S. X.54.

[336] S. X.57.

[337] S. X.64.

Aśvaghoṣa explains Śīla i.e. Right action of the body and speech[338] as the purity of body and speech which is free from defects of falsehood, malicious and harsh words and frivolous talk.[339]

Sanctity of the conduct of livelihood, the purification of "the body and speech and in the seven-fold work."[340]

To avoid five faults hypocracy etc. and to abandon the "four destroyers of good conduct astrology and the rest."[341]

Right livelihood (Samma Ajīva)

Definite rules may be observed for livelihood e,g. "By refusing what is to be avoided, living beings, rice, wealth etc. and by accepting the authorised rules of mendicancy with their definite limits."[342]

This agrees with Tevigga Sutta.

Aśvaghoṣa has referred to ten-fold Sukarmas[343] i.e. Ten-fold conduct, which is powerful and good in the highest degree. By following these no one would return to existence. They are : not to practice 'hiṁsa' (S. III.30), theft (S. III.31), indulge in passion (S. III.32,34); tell a lie (S,III.33), back-biting (S. III.33); talk bitter (S. III.33); unnecessary talk (S. III.33); practice greed (S. III.34) have thoughts of enmity (S. III.34,35) and Samyak-dṛṣti (S. III.37).

This Śila is explained in S. XIII as "the practice of certain actions of the body and voice, till they become habitual and are produced instinctively, without any conscious effort."[344]

Citta or Mental Discipline

The followers of Buddhism are expected to have mental discipline next to physical discipline. Buddhism emphasises that the only means of attaining Nibbāna is the control of Citta.[345]

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[338] Sammavaca of Dīgha Nikāya (Tev. Sutta) and *Dhmp*. (1, 2, 134).

[339] S. XIII. 11, 12, 13, III.33.

[340] S. XIII.13. Seven-folds are : three good Karmas of the body refraining from killing stealing and misconduct. The four good karmas of speech are falsehood, harsh words, back-biting and frivolous talks.
(S. Surya N. Chow, ft.n. of the verse).

[341] S. XIII.14.
The five faults of *MN*. III.75 are Trickery, Cajolery, insinuating dissembling and rapacity for gain upon gain (p. 118).

[342] S. XIII.15. The reference in the first line is probably to ten things which are forbidden in Samyutta V.470.2 (Johnston ft.n.).

[343] (S. III.37, 88)—The ten-folds are—प्रणातिपात-विरति, अदत्तादान-विरति, काममिथ्याचार-विरति, मृषावाद विरति, पिशुनववचन-विरति, पुरूषवचन-विरति, प्रलाप-विरति, अन्-अमिथ्या, अव्यापाद, एवं सम्यकदृष्टि । The first eight are explained in S. III.32-37. Dr. Johnston holds that two verses between 33-34 are missing which must be naming two good-conducts. (S.N. Chowdhury, ft.n. III.37).

[344] Johnston, ft.n. S. XIII.1.

Buddha himself emphasised 'The deliverance of mind' and this is considered the supreme aim of Dharma or Doctrine. "And therefore, ye disciples, the gain of the Holy life, neither alms, nor honour, nor fame, neither the virtues of the order, nor the bliss of Samādhi, nor clearness of insight, but the fixed unalterable deliverance of the mind. This ye disciples is the purpose of the holy life, this is its central core, this is the goal."[346]

In Sammuta Nikāya[347] Buddha says :

Since whence soe'er the Mind is held in check
It goeth not that way to misery
On every side, mind should be held in check
Thus everywhence from woe it is set free.

Dhammapada (27) advocates the futility of the pleasures of the senses. Even the smallest loop-hole is condemned and it illustrates (13) that as the monsoon rains "penetrate a house that is ill thatched, so lust will enter the uncollected mind."

Purity of Mind

The inner-self organ can never be purified till the defects of malice, love and hatred are not removed from the mind (Samathah prathamam gaveśanīyah sa ca loke nirapekṣayābhiratyā).[348]

In Buddhism mental discipline does not only mean the concentration of mind.

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[345] Citta is mind or thought or consciousness. (*M.N.* I, ft.n. 8, p. 71).
"What Sāṁkhya calls Mehat (the great one or Bodhi) is called citta (Mind stuff) in Yoga system ... Citta is really the spectacle of which the self is by reflection the spectator" (Radhakrishnan, *Ind. Phil.*, p. 453).
For details—Infra Ch. Yoga.

[346] *MN*. Mahāsaropama Sutta.
"So long as the Arhat is incarnate he retains possession of the five Skandas, these give him Sāṅsāric being. At his final death he relinquishes them for ever, including as they do his mundane mind (or consciousness). Then he rejoices in utter freedom, possessed only of Super-mundane mind (or consciousness). And this truly is 'Deliverance of mind'." (*Secret Doctrine*, pp. 6, 7)

[347] *SN*. I.4. (p. 21).

[348] Bodhicaryāvatāra VII.4 (quoted by Umesh Mishra, *HIP* (Vol. I), p. 331).
Buddha performed austere penances for six years and removed the cause of five well known defects 'Tṛṣṇā'. Then he changed the place and took shelter under the Pipal tree—it is only to indicate that Karamkṣetra is quite different from jñānakṣetra. Both are to be cultivated for the realisation of the Truth.
(Ibid., p. 332).

It is divided into three : effort stage (Sammāvāyāma), View-path stage (Sammā-sati) and practice path stage (Sammā saṅkhappa[349] and Sammā-Samādhi).

Sāmmā Vāyāma

"...is the effort or exertion to remove the existing evil thoughts, to keep the mind free from being polluted by fresh evil thoughts and to preserve and increase the good thoughts."[350]

The first step to remove the evil thoughts is 'True-knowledge', then the need of 'Tranquility'.

True-knowledge (Samyak-jñāna)

Dhammapada[351] advocates the restrain of mind (37) and depricates unsteady mind, which knows not the true doctrine, whose serenity is ruffled and will not be perfect in knowledge (38).

A well directed mind does great service (41). With body fragile as an earthen jar but the mind as strong as a fortress, one can fight with Māra with the sword of knowledge and guard his conquest without hankering (40). With mind untouched by evil, a mind serene, that has risen above merit and demerit, will have nought to fear, as he is vigilant (39).

Aśvaghoṣa and Knowledge (Samyak-Jñāna)

As Dhammapada advocates the quality of collected mind to approach salvation, so does our poet. He depicts a chain of discipline and emphasises on True knowledge.

The snare of love cannot be loosened except by True knowledge or hard heartedness.[352] Knowledge is the origin of salvation[353] so knowledge is the land for whose conquest one should strive.[354]

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[349] J. Takakusu, *B. Phil.*, p. 164.
N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 143 explains : Sammā-Vāyāma is to keep the mind free from being, polluted by evil thoughts and to preserve and increase good thoughts.
Sammā-Sati is the examination of the things of the world, suppressing covetousness (abhijjal and avoiding mental depressions).
Sammā-Saṅkhapa is the resolution for renunciation and refraining from hatred and injury to other beings.
Sammā-Samādhi—is the four stages of Samādhi (concentration).

[350] N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 143.

[351] Chittavagga (Bombay Ed.).

[352] S. VII.15.

[353] S. V.15.

[354] S. XVII.12, XII.29.
Opposite to knowledge is ignorance (Avidhyā).
Samādhitihi Suttānta (*MN.* fol. Khū of Turnour's MS) explains it : "not to know suffering, not to know the cessation of suffering, not to know the [path which leads to cessation of suffering, this is called suffering."
(*SBE.* XIII. ft.n.2, pp. 75-76).

The Chain of Discipline

"Salvation is based on, freedom from passion, on right understanding, and right understanding on the apprehension of knowledge.[355] Knowledge is based on mental concentration, and mental concentration is the bliss of body and mind.[356] The bliss of body and mind is based on supreme buoyancy and buoyancy is based on ecstasy.[357] Similarly ecstasy is deemed to be passed on pre-eminent cheerfulness and cheerfulness on freedom from remorse over misdeeds and omissions.[358] But the freedom of mind from remorse is based on purity of discipline. So realising that discipline goes in as first and the foremost to purify your discipline.[359] Since body acts under the direction of mind, so taming of the mind is required. (B. VII.27)

Aśvaghoṣa and Citta (Mental Discipline)

Tranquility and how to achieve it

As discussed previously the interdependence of body elements or Skandhas constitute a being, so there is interdependence between control of body and control of mind. The control of both is essential to gain tranquility (S. XI.5). Tranquility is certain everlasting and holy joy. It is free from fear, distress and sorrow and is not dependent on others (S. XI.23 and 26). It can be achieved by the control of the objects of senses and not through indulgence. (S. XI.32)

Dilating on the chain our poet explains: "Without appeasement there cannot be tranquility, without tranquility—pleasure, without pleasure joy, without joy delights." (S. XI.33). "True delight is experienced only if the mind (citta) is applied to the delights of innerself—which is both tranquil and free from sin." (S. XI.34). Delight in law does not fall to an unstable mind (S. VIII.24). "But pleasure in it is indeed felt by the man who sees the evil of material objects and is contended pure, humble and determinedly and whose will is directed to actions leading to holy peace."[360]

"Coveteousness delights in the splendour of wealth and the simpleton delights in the joys of the sense, but the virtuous man delights in the peace of mind and condemns the material enjoyment. (S. VIII.28)

Before the commencement of Yoga exercises, there is need of tranquil mind which is free from excitement and sluggishness.[361] Without tranquility of feelings,

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355. S. XIII.22.
356. S. XIII.23.
357. S. XIII.24.
358. S. XIII.25.
359. S. XVII.26.
360. S. VIII.25.—शमकर्मसु युक्तचैतसः कृतबुद्धेर्न रतिर्न विद्यते ।
361. S. XVI. 53-56, XV.9.

freedom from passions and adoptation of solitary methods—it is difficult to find the path.[362]

Sammā Sati (Awareness of the actions of body)

It is "mindfulness of all that is happening within the body and mind including feelings, and examination of the things of the world and at the same time suppressing covetousness (abhijjha) and avoiding mental depression" (domanassa).[363]

In short this is the awareness of the actions of the body.

Writing on the advantages and disadvantages of not having Sammā Sati, the poet writes :

In order to achieve Sammā Sati, a Yogin is advised to be fully conscious of all his actions and fix his attention to his sitting, moving, steading, looking, speaking, and so on (S. XIV.35). For no sin is produced in him, whose attention is fixed on his body. It guards his thoughts in all circumstances (S. XIV.37). Unguarded attention is without protection (S. XIV.39). "Loss of attention is the reason that men are attached to what is calamitous and averse from their proper aims and fail to take alarm in the presence of danger" (S. XIV.40). He who lacks attention there is no noble plan for him. And he who has lost the noble plan has lost the holy-path (Saṇmārg), he who has lost the holy path has lost the place where death is not, and he who has lost the place is not delivered from suffering.[364]

Sammā-Samādhi (proper concentration)

Concentration

In Buddha's Triśikṣā (Śīla, Citta and Prajñā), concentration (Samādhi) is one of the most important factors in the six-fold perfection of wisdom (prajñā).[365]

Buddhaghoṣa describes Samādhi as 'Kuśala citta ekaggata' (concentration of good thoughts). It is because at the Samādhi all the thoughts are rightly centred on one object. He often uses *Citta and Samādhi* synonymously. "Samādhānathena Samādhi ekārammane citta-cetosik ānaṃ samaṃ sammāca adharaṃ thapanati vuttum hoto". The etymological meaning, according to him, is the act of placing the mind and mental functions evenly and properly on one object.[366]

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362. S. XVI.47.

363. M. Dutt, *EMB.*, p. 143.

364. S. XIV.43, 44—
प्रनष्टी यस्य सन्मार्गो नष्टं तस्यामृतं पदं—
प्रमष्टममृतं यस्य स दुःखान्त विमुच्यते । (४४)

365. J. Takakusu, B. *Phil.*, p. 164.

366. *Vism.* (*PTS.* 1975) 85 (p. 98), 169-70.
Ibid. (1920), p. 84.

"Ko Puggalo Samādahissati ? He who holds his thoughts in a perfect balanced while carrying the bowl of oil (SN. IV.170 simile), or like the four horses and pull the chariot with equal force".[367]

"Upatissa gives another alternative definition, supporting himself by a quotation from the Abhidharma, which is none but the definition of Samādhi given in Vibhanga 217, Dhamma Sangani 8, 11, 15, 24, 287, 570".[368]

In Buddhism in fact, Samādhi 'which properly is a state of intense concentration and absorption' is a wider term. It includes different sets of Samādhi—the three Samādhis, the four Samādhis etc.[369]

How to attain concentration

Dhammapada[370] advocates the control of body, the control of tongue and the control of mind for a self-controlled (or well-controlled one).

Similarly Aśvaghoṣa advocates the purity of body, and purity of speech, "guarded from concentration on self-government".[371]

In Majjhima Nikāya[372] Buddha discoursing the monks on the control of the mind, efforts needed and the attainment of concentration says :

"With the teeth clenched, with the tongue pressed against the palate, if he subdues, restrains, dominates the mind by the mind, these evil unskilled thoughts associated with desire and associated with aversion and confusion, these are got rid of, i.e., these come to an end. By getting rid of these, the mind, subjectively steadies, calms, becomes one pointed, and concentrated".

In Vitakkasanthana Sutta, Buddha lays five methods of expelling evil thoughts : wholesome thoughts, man-fully facing evil ideas, ignoring them, analysing to root-cause, and by suppressing them, as mentioned above.

Concentration

In Majjhima Nikāya[373] Buddha says "(By controlling the mind) a monk cultivates the basis of psychic power that is possessed of concentration of intention with activities of striving . . . that is possesed of concentration of energy with activities of striving . . . that is possessed of concentration of consciousness with activities of striving . . . that is possessed of concentration of investigation with activities of striving. As to this many of my disciples abide attained to accomplishment and to going beyond through super-knowledge."

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367. P.V. Bapat, Comp. Study—Vimutti and Vism., p. 36.
368. Ibid., p. 26.
    Vibhanga defines 'Dhyāna' as tranquility and collectedness of mind. (*Vism.* 1975, p. 182).
369. Kern, M.B., p. 56 ff gives the details.
    Infra. Ch. 'Yoga'.
370. *Dhmp.* 234.
371. S. XIII.11, 12.
372. *MN.* (Vitakkasanthāna Sutta), pp. 152-56.
373. *MN.* Maha-Sakuludāyi Sutta, II.11 (p. 212).

In S.N.,[374] Buddha, advocating the need and importance of concentration says—"Herein monks ! cultivate right view . . . right concentration, which is based on seclusion, which ends in the destruction of lust, of hatred, of illusion . . . which plunges into deathlessness, which has deathlessness as its goal, which ends in the deathless . . . which flows to Nibbāna, which slides to Nibbāna, which tends to Nibbāna. It is for the full comprehension . . . that the eight-fold way must be cultivated."

Explaining the importance of the attainment of concentration, Buddha, in S.N.,[375] says :

"Just as, Brethren ! from the cow comes milk, from milk cream, from cream butter, from butter ghee, from ghee the skimming of ghee and that is reckoned the best . . . even so Brethren ! of these four, who practices meditation, he who is both skilled in concentration and skilled in the attainment thereof, he is topmost, he is the best, pre-eminent, supreme and most excellent."

In Milinda, Nāgsena[376], explains meditation : "all good qualities (Śīla) have meditation as their chief, they incline to it, lead up towards it, are as so many slopes up the side of the mountain of meditation," and concludes, it has been said by Buddha, "cultivate in yourself the habit of meditation; he who is established therein knows things as they really are."[377]

Buddhaghoṣa[378] also gives first preference to meditation (Samādhi). According to him, serenity is the mark of Sammā Samādhi and also of Samādhindriya, while 'being unshaken by spiritual pride' is the mark of Samādhi-bala.

Quoting Milinda (p. 38) Buddhaghoṣa (in Aṭṭaśalini) concludes : "putiug it in another way, this concentration of mind, called Samādhi, has its characteristic mark in the absence of wandering, of distraction, as its essence, the blinding together of the states of mind that arise with it (as water does the lather soap); as its condition precedent calmness, as its sustenance wisdom (for it is said : He who is at peace he knows and sees). And in the specific meditation, it has ease as its proximate cause. It must throughout be understood as steadiness of Mind (like the streadiness of the flame of a lamp in a place where there is no wind)."[379]

In Majjhima Nikāya's Mahāgosingasutta[380] the importance of concentration (Samādhi) is explained in a very charming style.

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[374] *SN.* (*PTS*, 1965), Vol. V, 57, p. 47.

[375] *SN.* (E. Tr.) III, p. 205.
Samādhi-Sampatti
"The first Dhyāna has five stages, the second three. Thus he is skilled in eight." (ft.no. 1, Ibid.).

[376] *SBE.* XXXV. II.1.13.

[377] *SN.* XXI.5 (Ibid.).

[378] Buddhaghoṣa, Samādhi, pp. 63-65.
(quoted vide Milinda (Ibid.), p. 60 ft.n. 2).

[379] R. Davids, Intro. Yoga. Manual, p. XXVI.

[380] *MN.* I.212-219. (pp. 263-71).

On one beautiful moonlit night, six disciples of Buddha met in the Gosinga Sala wood and asked each other, "By what type of monk" (or of mental quality in a Bhikṣu) "reverend Ānanda, would the Gosinga sal-wood be illumined ?"

(1) Ānanda says : "A Bhikṣu who knows the words of the Teacher (Dhamma) by heart, understands them and can explain them in the assembly to 'root out the latent propensitities."

(2) Raveta says : "A monk who delights in solitary meditation, is intent on mental tranquility within, his meditation is uninterrupted, he is endowed with vision, a cultivator of empty places."

(3) Aniruddha says, a monk who has 'Divine eye or Deva's vision'.

(4) Kāssapa says, A Bhikṣu who keeps the vows (lives according to prescribed Vinaya rules), is contented, is aloof, is devoted to solitude, is of moral habit, possessed of concentration (Samādhi) possessed of intuitive wisdom, possessed of insight which comes from the assurance of emancipation.

(5) Moggollana says : When two monks talk on Further Dhamma (Abhidhamma), discuss and their respond does not fail. Thus they profit.

Sāriputta says : A Bhikṣu, who rules his mind and is not being ruled by his mind.

Then they all go to Buddha and ask who was right ! He gives preference to Sariputta and adds : "But hear from me by what type of monk the Gosinga Sal-wood would be illumined. In this connection, Sariputta, a monk, returning from alms—gathering, after the meal, sits down cross-legged and his back erect, having raised up mindfulness in front of him, and thinking : 'I will not quit this cross-legged (position) until my mind is freed from the cankers without my residuism (for rebirth) remaining.' By such a type of monk, Gosinga Sal-wood be illumined."

"Buddha, further taught meditation as the 'basis of action' (karma-sthāna), such as meditation on the ten universal objects, on impurity, on impermanence, on breaths etc. The object of meditation with Buddha seems to have been to attain first, tranquility of mind and then activity of insight. The idea is common to both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna."[381]

Buddhism advocates[382] five-fold restraint of the mind to attain calmness or tranquility : Meditation to control the mind from passions, meditation to cultivate the idea of sympathy, meditation on causation to get rid of ignorance, meditation to see the difference of stand point and get rid of selfish views, and meditation on breathing leading to concentration.

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381. J. Takakusu, *B. Phil.*, p. 164.

382. Ibid., p. 165.

Meditation and Control of Mind

Visuddhimagga[383] advocates 'Mind Control' necessary for meditation (dhyāna). As the mind, which lusts after sense desires can never be concentrated on one object, the mind which is sloth and torpor, obsessed by worry and flurry is unwieldy and does not repose but is struck with perplexity and does not go on the path that leads to the attainment of dhyānas (jñāna).

Aśvaghoṣa and Subjects of meditation to control the Mind

Passions

To have complete tranquility, the control of passionate thoughts and eradication of their roots and latent tendencies is a must.[384] They must be destroyed with meditation.[385] Attention should not be fixed on passions for they are hollow and uncertain, and pleasures born from the passions are only the products of imagination.[386]

Since various methods of Yoga can be practised only with a clean mind,[387] so the mind should be cleaned of vices.[388]

With Right efforts evil thoughts and faults,[389] which are obstructions, should be eradicated and removed despite all obstructions.[390]

One should not meditate on wrong subjects, for attachment to them might bring disaster. (S. XVI.78)

Conquest of Senses

Aśvaghoṣa considers the conquest of six organs and senses better than the conquests of war (S. IX.22,23). In the conquest of senses lies the true greatness (S. IX.22). The man who is horried by the senses, suffers in body and soul alike (S. XIII.34).

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[383] *Vism.* (*PTS.* 1975), p. 169.

[384] S XV. 3-8.
स्युबीजनाशार्दिवङ्कुः—(S. XV. 6).
तस्मात्तान्मूलतच्छिन्धि मित्रसंज्ञानरीमिम्—(S. XV. 7).

[385] S. XV.5, XIV.48, 49, 50, XIII.30.
No enemy can kill a man but his own restless senses can beat and defeat him. (S. XIII.33)

[386] S. XV.9, 10, 11; S. XIII.35, 49-54.
मृग्यामाणा दुःखाये रक्ष्यमाणा न शान्तये (S. XV.9).
कामेम्यश्च सुखोत्पत्ति य पश्यति स नश्यति (S. XV.10).

[387] S. XV.68.

[388] S. XVII. 11.

[389] S. XVI.82.

[390] S. XVI.75, 82.

To conquer the activities of these senses, self-control and steadfastness are essential (S. XI.3, XII.6, XIII.37). They should not be allowed to grasp the general or secondary characteristic of any object (S. XIII.41). Likes and dislikes should be avoided. Any one who is harassed by them obtains neither peace nor the supreme good (S. XIII.48). In all circumstances thus a monk should remain attentive to restrain the sin causing enemies, namely sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch. Neglect in these matters, even for a moment is unwarranted (S. XIII.56). For unguarded senses lead to suffering and continuous existence (S. XIII.54).

Meditation to cultivate the feelings of sympathy (and not of Malevolence)

Malevolence (desire to hurt and control)

Dhammapada[391] condemns hatred and evil thoughts. It advocates "Let a man give up anger let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage, no suffering befall the man who is not attached to Name and form and who calls nothing his own".[392]

Malevolence and control

If the mind be troubled by malevolence or the desire to hurt, it should be calmed by benevolence and compassion.[393] No religious man should cause further suffering to mortals already suffering from disease, death and old age etc.[394] A monk for this reason should cultivate constant thoughts of benevolence and compassion towards all beings and not of malevolence.[395] Evil thoughts are obstacles in the way of highest good and ruinous to others.[396]

So, one should practice concentration in the working of his mind and in no circumstances think of evil.[397] "The thoughts that work in the mind—towards three-fold passions both fail to attain excellence and also conduce to passion".[398] Moreover "the delights in Law does not come to the man of unstable nature whose thoughts are not fixed on the peace of mind and on hearing mastering, memorising and inwardly digesting the supreme truth."[399]

Meditation to get rid of ignorance and selfish views

If the thoughts turn to the prosperity and adversity of your own kinsmen, they also should be abandoned.[400] The relationship of kinsmen, from birth to birth, is of eventide birds who collect some here and some there.[401] There is no permanent distinction in the cyle of existence between kinsfolk and strangers.[402] The world is overwhelmed by suffering of the body and mind. There is no escape from suffering for beings.[403] The extinction of the passion of desire leads to the realisation of the futility of this transitory world.[404] Death is inevitable[405] and no one can escape from it.[406] This world is without substance so look at it like a bubble of water.[407]

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[391] *Dhm.* 3.
[392] Ibid., 221.
[393] S. XV.12, 13.
[394] S. XV.15.
[395] S. XV.17, 18 (continuous thoughts form a habit अभ्यास चेतन—18).
[396] S. XV.21; XVI.82.
[397] S. XV.22—मनः कर्म्मस्व विक्षेपमपि चाम्यस्तुमर्हसि ।
XVI.75.
[398] S. XV.23—Three-fold passions are perhaps Kāma of body, voice and mind. (Johnston ft.n.).
[399] S. VIII.24.

Meditation on breathing, leading to Concentration

"For the abolition of these thoughts (supra), obtain mastery over attention with regard to in-and-out breathing".[408] Evil thoughts need eradication by resorting to this practice and taking control of them at the proper time. This is the antidote to the diseases (of thought and mind).[409] Concentration of the mind for the sake of emancipation is constituent of the Law.[410]

So Yoga-adept needs cleanliness of the mind from the vices—"till it is completely separated from the sins of the world and then he brings it to tranquility and concentrates it."[411]

Thus the mind becomes pure and streadfast. But for all these efforts, strength is necessary, which can only be gained with the control of 'Food Habits'.

Meditation on food control—leading to strength

In order to control the senses of pleasures and defeat Māra, the control of food is prescribed in Buddhist works.

Visuddhimagga[412] explains, Āhāra (substance or food) is that which fetches its own fruit (āhārati). It is of four kinds : material, contact, purpose and consciousness :

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400. S. XV.30, 43.
401. S. XV.33.
402. S. XV.41.
403. S. XV.49.
404. S. XV.51-57.
405. S. XV.60.
406. S. XV.62.
407. S. XV.63. The same idea is found in *Dhmp.* 170 and Sn. 118
408. S. XV.64—आनापसस्मृति सौम्य विषयीकर्तु मर्हसि ।
409. S. XV.65.
410. S. XV.67.
411. S. XV.68, 69.
    Yoga can only be practised with a clean mind (S. XVII.11).
412. *Vism.* Ch. XI, p. 395.
    Expositor. 110 (quoted vide *Vism.* ft.n. 2, p. 395).

(1) Material food sustains the eight material qualities ending in nutritive essence. They are four primaries : extension, cohesion, mobility and four depending upon these : colour, odour, taste, nutritive and essence.[413]

(2) Contact sustains the three feelings.

(3) Purpose sustains re-conception in three forms of Becoming.

(4) Consciousness sustains Name—Form at the moment of conception.

"In material form, there is danger of desire (for taste). In a contact there is danger of approach (or attraction to the object). In purpose there is danger of coming to be and in consciousness is the danger of conception. And among them, only material food, such as different kinds of things to eat, to drink, to bite to lick is intended in this sense to be sustenance."[414]

"Reverting to Kammatthanas, we come across the Amrapatikkulasañña—the consciousness of the impurity of material food. The last of the list is catudhātu-vavatthāna, determination of four elements, which is the base or substratum of an 'Idis' and as such the subject for meditation—is called ārammaṇa, Skṛ ārambana or more usually ālambana."[415]

In Mahā-Sakuludāyisutta[416] (MN) Buddha is quoted, saying : "The recluse Gotama eats little and speaks in praise of eating little" and advocates less eating or controlled eating. The teacher further adds that the disciple who abides by this "would revere, respect, esteem and honour me for this behaviour (of mine) and revering and respecting would live in dependence."

Advocating the control of sense-faculties and restraint in eating the exalted one says : The faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind can only be guarded with controlled and restraint eating.[417]

Dhammapada 7, advocates the control of senses and food together.

Aśvaghoṣa and Food

As discussed earlier,[418] Aśvaghoṣa has advocated the control of food habits to a yogi. Too much eating cultivates indolence and too little eating drains away the substance of body.

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[413] Abhidharmakoṣa, III.38 tells of four kinds of 'āhāra'—"कवलीकर (स्थूल और सूक्ष्म); स्पर्श (इन्द्रिय, विषय और विज्ञान से उत्पन्न होने वाला); मनस्संचेतना (मानसिक कर्म विचार) और विज्ञान (विज्ञान-स्कन्ध)।"

[414] *Vism.* Ch. IV, p 395.
Supra— Food and Drinks Ch.

[415] Kern's *M.B.*, p. 57.
Supra—Food and Drinks Ch.

[416] *MN.* II, p. 207.

[417] Itv. (*SBE*, Vol. V, 333) 23, 24 (pp. 132-33).

[418] Supra—Food and Drinks Ch.

In Yoga, constant and right efforts[419] (energy) are the foundations for carrying through what is to be achieved. The lack of energy is nothing but sin.

Indolence, and not the enemy, is the cause of failure to progress. He who is indolent, may be knowing the Supreme Law, does not gain the abode above or may he leave his home, does not attain peace in salvation.[420]

So energy is essential to gain tranquility,[421] the root of salvation. When Nanda attained the highest stage, explaining his disjunction from all mundane phenomena to Buddha says that he was not "attached to four kinds of nutriments with its manifold attachments" and was neither deluded by them nor bound to them and hence was liberated from the three spheres of existence.[422]

The Control of Sleep

Buddhism advocates controlled sleep. Utthāna Sutta 1.4. says, "Rise ! sit up ! what advantage is there in your sleeping. To men ailing, pierced by the darks of sorrow, what sleep indeed there can be ? Sloth is defilement, to be ever heedless is defilement ! By earnestness and wisdom root out your darts of sorrows."[423]

Control of Sleep and Aśvaghoṣa

In addition to the conquest of self (citta) and control of food habits, a Yogi is advised the control of sleep. Sleep is mental darkness. Let it not overtake you (a yogi), while the vices are still unquelled (S. XIV.31). He (Yogi), after passing the day, self-controlled and in the restrain of mind should shake off drowsiness and spend the night also in the practice of Yoga (S.XIV.20). After passing the first of three night-watches in activity, he should lie down and rest his body in full control of himself (S. XIV.32). Again he should rise up in the 3rd watch of the night, either walking or sitting, practice Yoga again, inpurity of mind with senses under guard (*Ibid.*, 34). In order to avoid sleep, he is advised to read scriptures (S.XIV.23). Then the poet reflects : since this world is blazing with the fires of death, disease and old age, who would lie down in it without agitation any more than in a burning house (S. XIV.30).

Paññā

Buddha himself attained Enlightenment through ardour (Tapa) which burns up (Tapati) evil ideas. So he could not dispense with it and it as such finds an important

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419. S. XVI.93, 94.
420. S. XVI.96.
421. S. XVI.98.
422. S. XVIII.18.
The three spheres of existence are 'Rūpa, Arūpa and Kāma'.
A.K.V. III.38 explains—the four kinds of nutriments Kevalikara, Sparśa, Manosaṁcetana and Vijñāna.
423. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 135.

place in Buddhist literature.[424] But only one thing he has added to the prior existing four Dhyānas and that is 'Paññā' or the prajñā (wisdom) to understand the difference.

In Buddhism, 'Paññā'[425] (pragñā) denotes intellectual discipline, which is different from physical and mental discipline found in Brāhmaṇism.

In Dhammapada[426] it is 'resplendent insight' which is the requisite of the disciple of the Enlightened One. With Paññā i.e. insight, Nanda won Arhatship.[427]

According to Dhammapada (372), meditation and understanding or insight (paññā) are combined to gain Nibbāna. "There is no meditation for him who lacks insight (Paññā); there can be no insight for him who does not meditate. He, in whom both meditation and insight are to be found, approaches indeed Nibbāna."

The same relation between Samādhi and Paññā is found in Digha Nikāya (II.91) and Anguttara Nikāya (IV.448). "The expression in Dīgha Nikāya III.230 Āsvanām khayo paññāyo Sacchikaramīyo (the destruction of the obsession is to be realised by means of understanding)"[428] tells further the importance of understanding to reach Nirvāṇa.

In Nikāyas[429] 'Paññā' is the comprehension or realisation of the four truths (ariyasaccas), but actually it means "the realisation of the fact that the Khandas, dhatus, ayatanas etc. are dynamic, having only momentary existence and are devoid of any substance (anatta)."[430]

"According to Visuddhimagga Śīlavisuddhi (moral purification) and cittavisuddhi (perfection in mental) exercises form the two legs of Buddhism, its body being the Diṭṭivisuddhi (the true or the Buddhistic view about the nature of the Reality). For attaining Diṭṭivisuddhi', one must comprehend the nature of Khandas (constituents of a being), Āyatanas (organs of sense and their spheres), Indriyas (faculties and the characteristics of the four dhatus (spheres of existence) and of Patīccasamuppāda (the law of causation)."[431]

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424. Kuddaka P., Ch. V, verse 174.
Infra—'Tapa'.

425. *Childers Dic.*, p. 329. Paññā is wisdom, intellect and reason (Prajñā).

426. *Dhm.* 59—पञ्ञाय सम्मासबुद्धसावको ।; 111, 340, 372.
cf.—373 (discernment).

427. R. Davids, *Psalms of Early Buddhists*, II, pp. 135, 178.

428. E.A. Johansson, *Psychology of Nirvāṇa*, p. 87 ff.
Citta which is freed from obsessions is not reborn.
(A.N. *PTS*. Pali, 1889, IV. 402).

429. *DN*. I., p. 84.
MN. II (Mahasakuldāyisutta).

430. B.C. Law, *EMB*, p. 144.

431. Ibid.

Paññā and ten qualities

Sangitti-Sutta[432] assigns ten qualities to the apt to wit insight or perfect view or intellect (Paññā). They are—"intentions, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, concentration, insight and emancipation as held by adepts." With this he gains freedom.

Nanda, when attained Arhatship, he realised the fulility of the elements (S. XIII.10.14), Skandhas (S. XVIII.15), disappearance of all the states of the organs of sense (S. XVIII.16) and disjunction from all mundane phenomena (S. XVIII.17). Buddha praised the purity of his body and thought and said you will not experience the impure and unholy abode of the womb (S. XVIII.24).

With the realisation of the futility or impermanence of body, absence of individuality, lack of 'self' and its liability to suffering, he made the tree of vices shake by the supreme (eight-fold) mundane path.[433]

This description of Śīla (discipline) agrees with the Buddhist Teachings in Sutta-Pitaka. As in Milinda so in Aśvaghoṣa's works; good conduct or Śīla is attached great importance. In fact, Śīlavisuddhi, Cittavisuddhi and Dhīṭṭivisuddhi, all find their proper place in his Kāvyas and *Vajrasūcī.* But to be more critical, he has attached greater importance to Dhiṭṭivisuddhi to reach the desired goal (emancipation).

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[432] *DN.* III, p. 249 and ft.n. 1.

[433] S. XVII.17.

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Yoga

Patanjali, (2nd c. B.C.), is known as the founder and author (of a systematic way) of the basic text, known as Yoga-Sutra. According to him, Yoga is the control of Citta[1] through methodical efforts, to attain the stage of perfection (Kevallya).[2] Such a state is reached with the control of different elements of human nature, physical and psychical. Yoga, according to Patanjali, means the establishment of self in its purity.

Upaniṣads

The mental exercises to attain emancipation (Mokṣa) existed in India, even before Buddhism. The writers of Upaniṣads perceived that selfish desires and passions intervene the instrument of mind and the reality to be revealed. The Yoga practices (or methods) give directions to refine the mind. Mind must be controlled, as it binds one to outer-things and make slave of him to realise freedom. In Praśana Upaniṣad Pippalada sage sends six seekers after God, for another year of discipline with the command, "Go, ye and spend another year in leading the life of celebacy (Brahmacarya) in practicising asceticism, in cherishing reverential faith (Śraddhā)."[3]

Pre-Buddhist sages are referred to in Jātakas also. They retired in the forests of Himalayas and practiced eight concentrations (Aṭṭha Sampattiyo) or other specific stages of ecstasy.[4]

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[1] Yoga-Sutra (H). I. 2—योगीश्चत्तवृत्तिनिरोधः ।

[2] Ibid., III. 55—सत्वपुरुषयो शुद्धिसाम्ये कैवल्लम् ।
(III. 55)

Such a state has 'Tapa' as the basis.

[3] Radhakrishnan, *Up. Phil.*, pp. 136-38.

Yoga in Buddhism

Historical View (or Changing scales)

In pre-Buddha period, the method to gain meriṭ was sacrifices. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[5] XII gives details of various kinds of sacrifices, sacrificial seasons etc. to gain various merits. At anothor stage,[6] it goes to the extent of saying that one or another god had brought the world forth by 'Tapa'.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (XI. 6.4), declares that "heaven is established on the air, the air on the earth, the earth on the water, the water on truth and truth on mystic lore (of sacrifice) and that on Tapa."[7]

Thus the importance is shifted from sacrifices to 'Tapas'.

In course of time, the practice of 'Tapas' elaborated. Dīgha Nikāya[8] records twenty-two methods of self-mortification in respect of food and 13 in respect of clothing. It refers to various methods to keep the body under control.

As has already been discussed Buddha invented the middle-path (neither extreme view of sacrifices, nor of self-torture). He gave preference to meditation or concentration, based on Śīla (good conduct),[9] which leads to tranquility.

To conclude, the evolution of Thought : in pre-Buddha period merit was gained through sacrifices, by the time of Buddha by 'Tapa or Tapasaya', and when Buddha turned the wheel of Law (he preached) it was gained by observing 'Śīla' principles; which paved the way for concentration (Samādhi). Buddha gave preference to the state : of enlightenment, without any attachment, but of tranquility which leads to salvation.

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[4] R. Davids, *Yogāvacāra Manual*, p. xvi.
This expression as a technical term in Pitakas usage means the four Dhyānas and four Arupa-Vinokha *MN*. I. 159, 399, 436, 455 etc. (Ibid.).
In Pre-Buddha age, the eight-fold path followed by the Yogis was the practice of Yama, Niyama, Āsana, Dhyāna, Dhāraṇā, Pratyāhāra, Prāṇāyāma and Samādhi.

[5] *SBE*. XLIV.
"Morality finds no place in this system."
(cf. R. Davids, *Buddhist India*,ft. n. 1, p. 241).

[6] Sat. Br. VI. I. 1.13.

[7] R. Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 243.

[8] R. Davids, *Dialogue*, *I*, pp. 226-32.

[9] Supra concentration.
Tranquility is supreme and not Torture (S. XVIII.63).
Infra—Yoga.

Thus morality, which had no place in the first stage (when sacrifices predominated)[10] became supreme later.

Aśvaghoṣa and Yoga

Aśvaghoṣa has favoured the life of renunciation for an ascetic and has ultimately supported Yogābhyasa,[11] which leads to fearlessness and ultimate truth.

Tapa[12] has found great importance in Aśvaghoṣa's works. He appreciates 'Tapa'or asceticism practiced by Yogis in the past and describes the austerities with great sanctity. This is blissful and 'Maha-Uttamam'. It can be gained by the steadfastness of the mind (dhṛti, shaking off agitation and with restrain on hearing feelings.)[13]

The poet further explains that these qualities cannot be acquired by force or service or gifts or handsomeness of a person but only by practicing the Law.[14] The Law should be practiced zealously, diligently and in its observance.[15] For unwearing ploughs of asceticism (Tapa) and discipline (Śīla) grow heavenly trees.[16]

Aśvaghoṣa and Tapa

In *Buddhacarita* VII Aśvaghoṣa has given vivid picture of Brāhmaṇa ascetics practicing various austerities in the forest-hermitage. Some of them subsisted on uncultivated food, which grews in water, leaves, water, fruit and roots,[17] grass, substance pounded with stones or husked by their teeth or left-over food.[18]

Telling of various other ways to keep the body under control (not only with food), it is told : some of them passed their time with the snakes turned into anthills by the wind,[19] others plunged into water and dwelt with the fishes, their bodies scared by turtles.[20]

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[10] Sylvain Levi, Doctrine du sacrifice Chez Les Brahmaṇas, p. 9 (Paris, 1898).
(quoted by R. Davids, *Buddhist India*, ft. n. 1, p. 241).

[11] B. V.32 ; 49.

[12] B. VII.10—तपांसि ; 11—तपप्रकाश्च ; 32—तपप्रशान्तं ;
34—तपश्च, तप:क्षेत्र, तपांस्युवास ;
43—तपसहायं, तपोनिधानं ।
B. XII, 94—तपांस्यनशनेन ; स: 97—तपसा ।
S. VII.13—तपो ; X.59—तप: ।
S. V.24,30, 32—योग परिगम्य ; 49.

[13] S. X.59—घृंति परिष्णज्य विधूय विक्रियां निगृह्य. . . . . महोत्तमं तप: .

[14] S. X.60,62.

[15] S. X.63.

[16] S. X.27.

[17] B. VII.14.

[18] Ibid., 16.

Our poet refers to some scriptures,[21] according to which these multi austerities were practiced. For such austerities accumulation in due time was the award of higher paradise for them "Bliss is obtained by the path of suffering for bliss, they say is the ultimate end of Dharma."[22]

In addition to these austerities in food and other practices to keep the body under control, our poet has given great importance to asceticism or 'Tapa' and the Yogis in the Himalayas who practice them.[23] In the end, true to his aim, he makes Buddha say that all these austerities of suffering and 'Tapa' lead one to paradise, but which is transitory. At the end of merit one has again to take birth.[24] But his aim was the release from rebirth.[25]

This description of ascetics and their 'Tapa' or self-mortification practices not only agrees with Brāhmaṇical tradition but agrees also with Dīgha Nikāya's[26] description of ascetics. Dīgha Nikāya also refers to ascetics having iron spikes under them when they sleep and some 'croucher down—on the heels' i.e. moving about painfully by jumping, which our poet has not mentioned.

By attaching great importance to 'Tapa', our poet has advocated Visuddhimagga's 'Avijjanavasa' (power of meditation).

Preparation to Contemplation (Meditational Exercises)

Purity

The preliminary stage to Samādhi (concentration or trances) is purity. Five controlling powers—Śraddhā (faith), energy, mindfulness, concentration and insight lead to purity. The Aryan disciple, possessed of them, is bound for enlightenment.[27]

In Ketokhila Sutta,[28] the control of lusts of body (8-11, 20, 21, 22), control of food habits (11, 23) and Faith in the Teacher, Dharma and Saṁgha (1-7) is explained as the road to saintship.

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19. Ibid., 15.
20. Ibid., 17.
21. B. VII.14—यथागम वृत्तिरियं मुनिनां भिन्नास्तु ते ते तपसां विकल्पाः ।
22. B. VII.18—दुःखेन मार्गेण सुखं ह्युपैति सुखं हि धर्मस्य वदन्ति मूलम् ।
23. S. VII.20-23.
24. B. VII.20,21.
25. B. VII.48.
26. R. Davids, *Dialogue*, *I*, pp. 226-32.
27. *SN*. V. Purity, p. 169.
28. *SBE*. XI.
For details supra—Subjects of Meditation, Ch. IX.

Śraddhā (*Faith*)

As in Brāhmaṇism so in Buddhism, Faith (or Śraddhā) has great importance. Milinda (II.1.10)[29] calls it the water, cleansing gem. Aspiration is its (faith's) mark by which one applies oneself to achieve or attain what he has not reached or achieved.

In Sūtta-Nipāta[30] Buddha says : "By Faith one crosses the stream."

In Majjhima Nikāya,[31] Buddha explains : "a monk develops the controlling faculty of faith, charity and wisdom leading to Tranquility and awakening. As to this, many of my disciples abide attained to accomplishment and to going beyond through super-knowledge."

The Ketokhila Sutta[32] states that freedom from barrenness and bondage of heart can be reached by zeal and determined effort. But this zeal is crippled in its struggle against barrenness for want of faith (Śraddhā) in the Teacher (Buddha), Dhamma and Saṁgha. It states "Zeal, exertion, perseverence and struggle, all become weak in one who lacks Faith."[33]

According to *S.N.*, the cultivation of the controlling power of Faith leads to tranquility, which leads to perfect wisdom, which leads to the controlling power of insight. With all this a monk can be said to be possessed of perfection in faculties.[34]

When Nanda discerned the futility of the pleasures of passions, their gains, and the steadfastness, of the past, present and future left the grip of his mind he approached Buddha with folded hands to receive ordination.[35]

The first advise Buddha, after praising the decision and purity of Nanda's mind, gave was to foster faith and desire for the Law.[36] Expounding their necessity, the master says, "Desire is as compulsory as the proper ground worthy of sowing seed.[37] And faith is the Hand "which grasps the holy Law, as a hand takes the gift."[38]

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[29] Ṛgveda's Sukta 151 deals with Śraddhā (Faith). Faith is the main cause of success (R. 151.1). (The Vedic Path, J.V.I.S.R., Vol. XLIV, No. 4, March 1982).
Milinda (*SBE* XXXV), pp. 54-55.

[30] Sn. (*SBE*. X), Ālavakasutta, 4.

[31] *MN*. II. 11-12 (p. 212).

[32] *SBE*. XI.
"Five things predisposing to passion are called in the Discipline of the Noble one as a 'chain' and a 'bond'. They are perceptible to eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body by touch.
[Tevigga—Sutta (*SBE*. XI.26-28].
Sabbasva-Sutta (18-24) (*SBE*. XI). They are the Āsvas to be abandoned by Subjugation. Five kinds of spiritual barrenness (Panka ketokhila).
SN. V, p. 169. Five controlling powers are : Faith, energy, mind, concentration and insight.

[33] *SBE*. XI (K. Sutta), 1-7.

[34] *SN*. V. Text 202 (p. 178).
Perfect in faculties (Indriya—Sampaṅṅo paripuṇṇ Indriyo, comy.), ft. n., p. 178.

[35] S. XII.12,17.

[36] S. XII.31,36.

As in Ketokhila Sutta, so in *Saundarananda*, our poet has attached great importance to faith (Śraddhā).

Śraddhā is most important faculty as it gives steadfastness which gives strength.[39] It is the reed-arrow because it protects the Law. It is a jewel for it is found with scarcity in the world.[40] It is a seed for the highest good originates from it. It is a river too from its property of cleansing it.[41] It is the chief agent in production of the Law.[42] "As a tree grows with the growth of root" the shoot of faith needs to be cherished for it grows the Law.[43]

Speaking of the Faith in Dhamma and its fruits (results), Buddha says :

The faith of one "whose doctrinal sight is dim and resolution weak", is unreliable "for it does not work to the desired end."[44] Faith becomes strong or firm, with the realisation of Real Truth ; and, the restrain of the senses with self-control gives the sight of Real Truth. The tree of Faith of such a man becomes the vehicle (of further advance).[45]

Nanda when was fortified by the faculty of Faith was advised to 'take heed still further to govern his conduct' to reach the state of deathlessness.[46] He practised and reached the highest stage.[47]

Preliminaries before the Commencement of Meditational Exercises

Suitable Place or Seat

Before a Yoga-adept sits in Samādhi, a number of preliminaries are required to be taken Cognizance of e.g. Buddhaghoṣa elaborates on the eighteen kinds of unsuitable and five kinds of suitable places for meditational purposes. The suitable places are neither near nor far from the teacher, easy to access, uncrowded quiet at night, neither exposed to mosquitoes, serpents, wind nor to sun.[48]

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[37] Ibid., 35.

[38] Ibid., 36.

[39] S. XII.37.

[40] S. XII.38.

[41] S. XII.39.

[42] S. XII.40.

[43] S. XII.41.

[44] S. XII.42.

[45] S. XII.43.

[46] S. XIII.10.

[47] S. XVIII.26,50,54,56 and 60.

Buddhaghoṣa[49] further elaborates on the ten hindrances to Samādhi : Āvāsa, Kulam (family), Lābha (gain), Gaṇa (congregation), Kamma (work), Addhānam (walking along the street), Nāti (relation), Āvāda (sickness), Gantho (study), Iddhi (miracle).

Requirements

Visuddhimagga[50] gives details of the requirements of a Yoga adept e.g. dress, bowl, begging places, food-givers, food, postures and the colours of his meditation.

Aśvaghoṣa and Preliminaries before the Commencement of Meditational Exercises

Seat

Solitary meditation leads to tranquility, so a solitary seat free from noise—is required to make the body solitary. It makes the discrimination of mind easy (S. XIV.46). The thoughts, which are not subject to any stimulus, only come to rest with little trouble in solitude (S. XIV.49). Forests, for this reason as they are not thronged by men, are auspicious for Yoga (S. XVI.86).

Time

Buddhism attaches great importance to the right-time to enter the meditational exercises. Buddhaghoṣa[51] discusses the mental leanings of a candidate under six classes, Rāga, Doṣa, Moha, Śraddhā (faith) and Vitakka (discursive thought). Of them the mind of an apt at the time of entering into Samādhi requires to be free from Rāga (all kinds of attachments), Doṣa (hatred), Moha (delusions) ; and have ardent desire for meditation (adimutti) and Nibbāna.[52]

Aśvaghoṣa's Yoga preliminaries agree with Buddhist tradition.

A Yoga-adept is advised to examine and select the right time, method, scope and place for practicing Yoga (concentration). He is asked to make a thorough search of his strong and weak points and not to practice anything contrary thereto, for even in Yoga wrong methods lead to calamity.[53]

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[48] *Vism.*, pp. 118-22 (B.C. Law, *EMB*, pp. 180-81).
The eighteen places are :
Mahāvāsam Navāvāsam jarāvāsaṅ ca paṅthanim,
Soṇdiṃ paṇṇāṇ ca, phalaṃ patthitam eva ca Nagaraṃ dāruṇā khettaṃ, visabhāgena paṭṭanam
Paccantasimāsappayaṃ, yatha mitto na labhati.

[49] B.C. Law, *Buddhagoṣa*, p. 166.

[50] *Vism.*. pp. 108 ff (B.C. Law, *EMB*, p. 181 ff).

[51] *Vism.*, pp. 101 ff (Ibid.).

[52] *Vism.*, p. 116 (Ibid., p. 180).

Advocating the importance of right time, right efforts and need of pure and undisturbed mind he says : "When the mind is disturbed by the excitement of passion, vice of malevolence and delusion, the cultivation of benevolence and meditation should be avoided." (S. XVI.59-66)

Since tranquil mind without sluggishness and excitement, is needed as a preparation for Yoga (S. XVI.52-56) "a man may do his best by setting the teeth, pressing the edge of the gums with the tongue and restraining the mind with mind." (S. XVI.83) "When thoughts have attained equilibrium, then is the time for the subject of meditation, inducing indifference... ." (S. XVI.58)

Right Efforts

Majjhima Nikāya[54] elaborates on the right efforts to make the mind pure and free from all kinds of disturbances or the acquirement of tranquility and equanimity.

It gives the example of a goldsmith's art and the ultimate pure gold left with him. The goldsmith or an apprentice first prepares the furnace, lit the smelting pot, places the gold in it with tongs, blows and sprays water over it, taking all the care to do at the right time and using the right method. Ultimately he succeeds in making the gold pure, soft, pliable, resplendent and fit for making any kind of ornaments e.g. ring, necklace, ear-rings etc.

As in MN. so in *Saundarananda*, our poet explains with the example of a goldsmith and his art. He compares him with a Yoga-adept and his efforts (S. XVI. 65-67).

Yoga (*or Dhyāna in Buddhism*)

In Buddhism 'Dhyāna' means contemplation. This (ecstatic musing) is on the analogy of Hindu Yoga was prevalent right from a long time. Mrs. Rhys Davids adds—"The more usual process of systematic elimination of factors in consciousness was that known as four dhyānas."[55]

According to 'Yogāvacāra'[56] of the Buddhists there are ten groups embracing 112 different qualities or states of meditation, which are desired to be produced one after the other in one's heart or mind. The method adopted is one and the same for each.[57]

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[53] S. XVI.49-52. The examples given are of : a cow without calf cannot give milk and a cow with calf cannot yield milk through horn. (50)
Wet wood cannot produce fire and dry would cannot catch fire if not properly arranged. (51)

[54] *MN.* (*PTS.* 1977), III.243 (p. 290).

[55] *Buddhist Psychology* (question series), pp. 94-95.
(quoted by B.C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, ft. ns. 1-3).

[56] R. Davids names it 'Yogāvacāra Manuals' as in Yogāvacāra Text (pp. 42, 43, 44, 94, 97) it is not intended to be read but to be used as a manual. (Intro. Yogāvacāra Manual, p. vii)

Method

I step—Visuddhimagga lacks the details about the preliminaries before the commencement of meditational exercises, but Yogāvacāra tells : A recluse commences calling to his mind three gems[58]—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha. Then he appeals to the memory of Buddha and the great disciples of the past and expresses devotion to them.[59]

II step—Then "He seats himself cross-legged keeping his body erect, firm in self-possession, thoughtfully inhales, thoughtfully exhales his breath, so that taking a long inbreathing or a long outbreathing, or taking a quick breathing or quick out-breathing he knows in each case that what he does,"[60] i.e. arousing mindfulness in front of him.

Then Yogāvacāra records narration from Pāli works ! Buddha says : "With my eyes closed (with the subconsciousness of the eye) I see the tip of my nose, and breathing regularly and fixing the object of my thought in the heart, I take as my aid (parikamma) the idea of Arhatship."[61]

Kinds of Samādhi

In Majjhima Nikāya,[62] Dhyāna (or Samādhi) is mentioned of four kinds. Here Buddha says that four Dhyānas are more effectual method for obtaining happiness than the observance of ordinary morality or the practice of 'Tapa'.

In Anguttara Nikāya (Sutta 163), Samyuta-Nikāya IV.363 and Vinaya 3.93

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[57] Yogāvacāra Manual, Intro., p. x.

[58] Buddham Jivitam yāva Nibbānam Śaranam gacchami,
Dammam Jivitam yāva nibbānam śaranam gacchami,
Sangham Jivitam yāva nibbānam śaranam gacchami.
(Yoga, Manual, p. 3)

[59] R. Davids, Yoga Manual, Intro., p. x. This all is according to Pālī works.

[60] Yogāvacāra Manual, Intro., p. x.
MN. I (Satipatthanasutta).

[61] This is not found in Pitakas, but perhaps is from some later Pālī work (R. Davids, Yogāvacāra Manual, Intro., p. xi).

[62] *MN.* 79th Sutta (Cūla-Sakuludāyi Sutta).
MN. I, 10th Sutta discusses the four application of Mindfulness.
"In general the Dhyānas secure access to 16 corporeal (rupalokas) the peculiar loka being determined by the degree of Dhyāna attained.... Four Dhyānas represent a lower stage of ecstatic contemplation than four Aruppas."
(Kern's *M.B.*, p. 56)

three kinds of Samādhis i.e. Sunnata, Appanihita and Animitta (the empty, the aimless and signless) are mentioned.[63]

Visudhimagga[64] discusses the four trances which are induced by meditating on various Kammaṭṭhanas (subjects of meditation). "Here Buddhaghoṣa[65] speaks of two sets of meditations. In the second stage of the I set of meditation, two elements viz. Vitukka and Vicāra disappear, one after another, thus giving opportunity for another stage. The third, fourth and fifth stages of the second set of meditations correspond to the second, third and fourth stage of the first set."

Four Samādhis and elements of gain

"In the first stage of mystic meditation, five elements viz. Vitakkavicāra-piti-Sukha and ekāggatā are present, in the second stage the first two are eliminated, in the third the first three are eliminated leaving sukkham and ekāggatā. In the fourth, Sukkham is replaced by Upakkha and there are left only two elements viz. Upakkha (indifferent) ekāggatā."[66]

Referring to the 'Pancavidho' (five kinds of Samādhis) which corresponds to Buddhaghoṣa (III.25), Upatissa says, "That this division is made with reference to the two kinds of men who have mastered the first dhyāna (Jñāna), one whom only Vitakka appears as gross, another to whom both Vitakka and Vicāra appear as gross."[67]

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63. "Buddhaghoṣa explains the terms respectively emptied of lust, ill will, and dulness, aimless as having got rid of the aim of rebirth in heaven, signless as free from the signs (lakṣanas), i.e. as based on the three doctrines of impermanence, sorrow as involved in individuality and the absence of any 'soul' any abiding principle. But he admits that the explanation of the 3rd word signless may change place with that of the first word, emptied. In that case emptied of permanence etc. and signless is without three signs of lust ill will and dulness. And this agrees better with the explanation given of those qualifications as applied in Samutta 4.297 to emancipation of heart."

    (Rhys Davids, Yogāvacāra Manual, Intro., p. xxvii).

64. *Vism.* (*PTS*. 1975), p. 98 ff, 166 ff ; 182-89.
    B.C. Law has discussed forty Kammaṭṭanas.
    (B.C. Law, *EMB*, pp. 164-78)

65. *Vism.* I, pp. 168-69.
    B.C. Law, *Buddhaghoṣa*, p. 167.

    Buddhaghoṣa in Visuddhimagga (I, p. 154) speaks of "five vasis (powers) to be obtained with regard to Dhyāna : (1) Avijjanavasi (power of meditation), (2) Samāpajjanavasi (power of attainment), (3) Adhitthanavasi (power of resolution), (5) Vuṭṭhanavasi (power of exertion) and (5) Paccavekkhanavasi (power of contemplation)." (B.C. Law, *Buddhaghoṣa*, p. 167).

66. *Vism.* (*PTS*. 1975), pp. 98-100 ; Upakkha means indifferent, ft. n. I, p. 100.
    B.C. Law, *Buddhaghoṣa* p. 167.

67. P.V. Bapat, *Vimutti and Vism*, p. 30 and the ft. n. refers to Vibhaṅga, 334.
    Ubhaṅga Comy. 420-21.
    DN. III.277.
    DN. *Comy*. III.1059.
    AN. III.25-27.
    AN. *Comy*. III.235.

Dhyānas and Subdivisions

Vasubhandhu in Abhidharmakoṣa, subdivides the four Dhyānas.[68] The first three are divided in three degrees the inferior, medial and the superior. The fourth dhyāna has eight-folds.

Trances

The first Trance is three-fold Brahmkāyika, Brahmapuroti, Mahābrahmaṇ.

The second trance is also three-fold : Parittābha, Apramānabha, and Ābhāsvara.

The third trance is three-fold : Parīttashubha, Aprmāṇshubha and Shubhakritsna.

The fourth trance consists of anabhraka, Puṇyaprasava, Bṛhatphala and five shuddha-vāsika.[69]

Five Trances (meditations)

In Yogāvacāra manual, though 'dhyāna' or trances are always four in Suttas, are mentioned as five.

Rhys Davids[70] holds that since these five Dhyānas are mentioned first in Dhamma Sangini, this is a later interpolation.

'Pañcangikaṃjhaṇam' or when Dhyāna is told five-fold, there is no essential difference between the four, but only the second trance is divided into two.[71]

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[68] ध्यानं त्रिभूमिकं तत्र चतुर्थं त्वष्ट भूमिकम् ।

[A.K. (N. Dev, 1955) III.2]

[69] A.K. (N. Dev), p. 258.

The first trance—ब्रह्मकायिक, ब्रह्मपुरोति, महाब्रह्मन् ।

II trance—परित्ताभ, अप्रमाणम, आभास्वर ।

III trance—परीत्तशुभ, अप्रमाणशुभ, शुभकृत्स्न ।

IV trance—अनभ्रक, पुण्यप्रसव, बृहत्फल और पांच शुद्धवासिकः अवृह, अतप, सुदृश, सुनदर्शन, अकनिष्ट । यह १७ स्थान रूप धातु हैं ।

Acharya N. Dev has discussed the four Trances considering the views of all philosophical thinkers.

[N. Dev. Abhi. III.2, ft. n. 4, 5 (p. 258 ff]

The first trance is three-fold. But Vasubandhu in Abhidharmakoṣa (p. 258), Mahāvyutipatti, assigns it four-folds and hence Akhyas—

बाह्यकायिक ब्रह्मपरिषध ब्रह्मपुरोहित, महाब्रह्म ।

(Ibid., p. 258, ft. n. 5)

[70] Rhys Davids, Yogāvacāra Manual, Intro., p. xxx.

Please refer *Vism*. (*PTS*. 1975), p. 169. (Army is four-fold, music five-fold and the path eight-fold, so Dhyāna is endowed with five factors).

[71] Kern's *MB*, p. 56.

R. Davids, Yogāvacāra Manual, p. xxx.

Supra—*Vism*, and four trances.

Nikāyas and the achievements of four trances

Samutta (V Book III) and Majjhima Nikāya (159, 399, 436, 439, 441, 455) elaborate on the four trances and their achievements :

I Trance

In S.N.[72] the disciple, controlling his thoughts, concentrates on one point, aloof from sensuality and evil conditions, he enters the first Trance, "which is accompanied by thought and directed and sustained, which is born of solitude easeful and zestful and abides therein."

In this state the recluse—"derives mental and physical pleasure (pinana) by the removal of hindrance (Nivāraṇas), followed by its enjoyment (anubrūhaṇa) and lastly concentration of mind (ekāggatā)."[73]

The first trance is composed of five parts (aṅgas) discursive cogitation (vitakka), determination (vicāra), joy (piti), pleasure (sukha) and concentration (cittekāggatā).[74]

It blots out Māra's vision. (MN. I.159)

II Trance

Then with sustained efforts calming down thoughts with mental balance he enters the II Trance.[75]

In this state the recluse derives pleasure (piti) and pleasant feeling (Sukha) through concentration of mind (samādhija) and attains cittekāggatā (full concentration of mind).[76]

III Trance

"Then by fading out zest he becomes balanced, mindful and composed" and experiences happiness. Thus he enters in the III Trance.[77]

A recluse in this state is 'Sukhavihāri' i.e. "his mind is uneffected by a pleasant feeling (Sukha) while in meditation and his body is pervaded by a feeling of ease, which he realises only when he has arisen from the trance (Sukhān ca Kayena patisaṃvedeti)."[78]

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[72] *SN*. V. Book III, p. 174.
MN. 441.

[73] B.C. Law, *EMB*, p. 188.
The state of rapture in Samādhi are regarded condition of happiness (phasu vihāraa, A.3.119).
(R. Davids, Yogāvacāra Manual, Intro., p. xxviii)

[74] N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 189.

[75] *SN*. V. Book III, p. 174.
MN. 398-99, 441.

[76] B.C. Law, *EMB*, pp. 189-90.

[77] *SN*. Ibid., p. 174.
MN. 441.

This happiness is one step further than the previous happiness.

IV Trance

"Then by rejecting pleasure and pain, by coming to an end of the joy and sorrow" he enters and abides in the fourth trance.

This state is free from pain and pleasure, is a state of "perfect purity of balance and equanimity". (Abh.III)

This is called the controlling power of concentration.[79]

"After the fourth Dhyāna, the adept attains emancipation through mental purification (cetovimutti)."[80]

Childers[81] concludes—The four dhyānas : "The priest...concentrates his mind upon a single thought. Gradually his soul becomes filled with a supernatural ecstasy and serenity, while his mind still reasons upon and investigates the subject chosen for contemplation. This is the first jñāna (Dhyāna).

Still fixing his thoughts upon the same subject, he then frees his mind from reasoning and investigation while the ecstasy and serenity remains. This is the second jñāna (Dhyāna).

Next his thoughts, still fixed as before, he divests himself of ecstacy and attains third jñāna (dhyāna) which is the state of tranquil serenity.

Lastly the fourth jñāna (dhyāna) in which the mind exalted and purified is indifferent to all emotions alike of pleasure and pain."

Aśvaghoṣa and Yoga (*Exercises*)

In *Saundarananda* XV he has developed the concentration of mind starting from meditation. A Yogi is to commence the meditational exercises with elementary form (of Samādhi). In order to gain concentration of mind, he is to select a solitary place, sit with upright body in attention and fix the mind "on an object such as the tip of the nose, forehead or space between the brows."[82] This agrees with Yogāvacāra.

This is the posture of a Yogi in 'Tapa'.[83]

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[78] B.C. Law, *EMB*, p. 191.

[79] *SN*. (Ibid.), p. 174.
MN. 455.
Abh. (N. Dev.), III.100-1 (p. 424).

[80] Attaśalini, p. 177 (quoted by B.C. Law, *EMB*, ft. n. 4, p. 192).

[81] *Childers Dic*., p. 169.
cf. *Mhv*. I. 228.

[82] S. XV. 1, 2; XIV.46. Solitary meditation leads to tranquility.

[83] Supra—'Tapa'.

Aśvaghoṣa and Trances

First Fruit and Trance

Our poet has described how Nanda made efforts and reached the desired goal : "With the help of constituents of enlightenment, Right-efforts, and constituents of (eight-fold) path Nanda pierced the vices.[84] With the four arrows of the application of attention, working each along its line of activity, he destroyed in a moment his foes the four perversions of knowledge, the causes of suffering.[85] And with the five unequalled noble powers he burst asunder the five obstructions of the mind and he put to flight the eight elephants of the constituents of the true path."[86]

The First Fruit

"Then by shaking off entirely the theory of existence of the self, by becoming free from doubt of the four truths and by taking the true view of the discipline to be followed, he reached the stage of the first fruit of the Law."[87]

The First Trance and the Fruit

Nanda, reaching the first stage of the fruit of Law, "rid himself of hesitation in the practice of the Law, by means of his understanding of the noble Tetrad, by disconnection from section of the vices, by his individual acquisition of excellence by the firmness of his faith, by the constancy of his steadfastness, by freedom from confusion about the four truths and by absence of defect in his own most excellent conduct.[88] He experienced the ecstasy that has its base in knowledge.[89]

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[84] S. XVII.24. The constituents of enlightenment are : Smṛti, Dharma, Vīrya, Prīti, Praśnabdhi, Samādhi, Upekṣā.

(S.N. Chowdhary, ft. n.)

[85] S. XVII.25. The Smṛti Upasthanas are—

कायानुपश्यना, वेदनानुपश्यना, चित्तानुपश्यना, धर्मानुपश्यना ।

To know about the present state of Body and Citta and to remain alert. [See—Sūttanapītha Sutta. S.N. Chowdhary (Hindi) ft. n].

"The āyatanas refer to those of the twelve āyatanas which cover Kāyā, Saṁjñā, Citta and Dharmas respy. and Pracāra as applied to the arrows refers to the line of flight, an object within which will be hit by them." (Johnston ft. n. of the verse).

[86] S. XVII.26. The five powers are :

श्रद्धा, वीर्य, स्मृति, समाधि तथा प्रज्ञा ।

Supra Citta, for details.

Sanghiti Prayāya Sutta (D.N.)

Cetokhil Sūtta (*MN*).

Eight elephants of True path—eight-fold path.

Wrong path (Mithyā mārga)—opposite of true path, wrong sight, wrong vāṇi etc. (S.N. Chowdhury, ft. n. of the verse).

[87] S. XVII.27. The first fruit of the Law is achieved by the destruction of three Saṁyojanas (Satkayadṛṣti, Vicikitsa and Śilavratapāramarśa (which the śrotaapaṇṇa has broken reaching the grade).

In due course he reached the first trance—"Which is dissociated from the various forms of love and the impure elements of existence, has initial and sustained reflections, is borne of discrimination and is endowed with ecstasy and bliss."[90]

The suppression of Kāma gave him extreme joy.[91]

The Second Trance and the Fruit

The suppression of vices made him fearless of death or the realms of misery (S. XVII.35). Seeing the body impure, aggregate of skin, sinew, fat, blood, bone, flesh etc. he perceived it devoid of even the minutest substance in it. (Ibid. 36). With the same Yoga, he reduced to small proportions the desire and hatred. (Ibid.37).

"Then in due course, he produced the second trance in which initial and sustained reflections are absent, which is calm, free from the intentness of the mind, is born of concentration and has ecstasy, bliss and inward happiness." (S. XVIII.47).

The Third Trance and the Fruit

After considering the nature of the body with Yoga and meditation, Ananda renounced the passions, which has greed its bow and imagination its arrows (S. XVII.38). With firmness and patience he struck down hatred, wrath and malevolence (S. XVII.39) and cut down the roots of evil (Lobha, dveṣa and moha) (Ibid., 40).

Thus having overcome these foes, which attack from rear, he reached "by Yoga, the fruit of not being subject to re-birth," and reached the gate of the city of Nirvāṇa (Ibid., 41).

"Then in due course, experiencing with the body through freedom from ecstasy, that bliss which the saints feel, and fully aware of all things, he remained indifferent and attentive and gained the third trance." (S. XVII.50)

The bliss reached at this point is the highest and is called Śubhakṛtsna stage, as being supreme through benevolence. (Ibid., 51)[92]

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[88] S. XVII.28-29.

[89] S. XVII.30.

[90] S. XVII.42.

[91] S. XVII.43. "The suppression of Kāma is the essential preliminary to the first trance, e.g. Anguttara IV.410."

(Johnston ft. n.)

[92] The third trance is three-fold—

परीत्तशुभ, अप्रमाणशुभ तथा शुभकृत्सन ।

(A.K.N. Dev, 1958, p. 258)

The Fourth Trance and the Fruit

Nanda, though deemed the third trance the highest, found defect in it. He realised that the highest stage is tranquil and not subject to alteration (S. XVII.52). For, where there is alteration, there is suffering. (Ibid., 53)

"Then previously abandoning bliss and suffering and all alteration of mind, he entered the fourth trance, which is pure and possesses the qualities of attentiveness and is devoid of the bliss of suffering." (Ibid., 54)

Thus, relying on the fourth trance, he set his mind on attaining Arhatship (S. XVII.56).

Arhatship

Arhatship is the highest stage to be reached by an aspirant (Buddhist). To reach it, Aśvaghoṣa gives great importance to 'Prajñā', i.e. intuitive wisdom. According to him a man deprived of intuitive wisdom, is deprived of sight though he has eyes (S. XVIII.36). To attain Arhatship Nanda, "With the sword of intuitive wisdom, which he wielded through meditation", cut entirely through the five upper fetters, which are the final bonds and hindrance of the supreme good.[93]

"And with the seven elephants of the constituents of enlightenment, he crushed the seven evil latent tendencies of the mind, as time with the seven planets crushes the seven continents, when the time of their destruction has arrived."[94]

"So with eight-fold boat he crossed over to the ocean of suffering, so difficult to pass over, which has three currents, three fishes, three waves, one water, five streams, two banks and two crocodiles." (S.XVIII.60)

"By reaching *Arhatship* he became worthy of reverence, bereft of yearning making demands on none, untroubled by hope, fear or grief, without conceit or passion", and by the steadfastness, which he gained, he seemed to be a different man. (S. XVIII.61)

A similar expression is found in Milinda,[95] Nāgsena, expounding the meritorious conditions based upon good-conduct, which lead to Arhatship says :

"The five moral powers : faith, perseverance, mindfulness, meditation and

[93] S. XVII.57—चिच्छेद कात्स्नेर्न ततः सपच्श्र प्रज्ञासिना भावनयेरितेन ।
उर्ध्वंगमान्युक्तमबन्धनानि. . . . . . . ॥

[94] S. XVII.58. Johnston has elaborated on this simile, a mixture of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical cosmology.

[95] *SBE*, XXXV. II.1.9. (p. 52 and ft. notes 1-11).
The five moral powers are :
श्रद्धेन्द्रिय, वीर्येन्द्रि, स्मृतीन्द्रिय, समाधिन्द्रिय, प्रज्ञेन्द्रिय ।
(Milind H. Tr.)
They are Indriya-balani.

wisdom; the seven conditions of Arhatship (Bogghanga): self-possession, investigation of the Dhamma, perseverance, joy, calm, meditation and equanimity; the path; readyness of memory (unbroken), self-possession or satipatthāna; the four kinds of right exertion (Sammappadhāna), the four constituent bases of extraordinary powers (Iddhipada), the four stages of ecstasy (Ghaṇa) the eight forms of spiritual emancipation (vimokha); the four modes of self-concentration (Samādhi) and the eight-states of intense contemplation (Sampatti) have each and all of them good conduct as their basis. And he who builds upon that foundation, these good condition, will not decrease," i.e. these are the meritorious conditions which make *Arhatship.*

Udāna, explaining the qualities of a Brahmaṇa, whom it equates with an Arhat, states: he is free from attachment to family (family and child). Such a one is bond-free and is songāmaggi.[96] He casts off all sin and acquires wisdom and inhabits in the land of enlightened one.[97] He is free from passion (rāga), meditating, without āsara (sins) and has done what is to be done and is subdued.[98]

"In Buddhism, there are ten fetters or evil states of mind. Dhammapāda 221 refers to them and names anger and conceit only. They are called Saṁgyojanas (fetters) and their Pāli names are:

1. Sakkāya-ditthi (the delusion of self)
2. Vicikicchā (Doubt)
3. Śīlabhatta-paramāsa (Dependence on works)
4. Kāma (bodily passion, sensuality)
5. Patigha (hatred, ill feeling)
6. Rūparāga (love of life on earth)
7. Arūparāga (desire for life in heaven)
8. Mano (pride)
9. Uddhacca (self-righteousness)
10. Avijja (Ignorance)

With the destruction of first five, a convert Buddhist, becomes an Arhat and enters the fourth path. With the destruction of other five he becomes Asekha and thus puts an end to all delusions and all sorrow."[99]

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[96] Udāna (Rockhill), p. 6.

[97] Ibid., verse, 8.

[98] Ibid., verse, 41.

[99] Rhys Davids, *Buddhism,* p. 210 and p. 109, ft. n. adds—*Dhamma Sangini* 113, puts No. five of the above list as no. six in the list.

Supernatural Science

Siddhi or Stages Next to Meditations

M.N.[100] further discusses the next to stage to four trances or meditations (Samādhis).

Buddha says to Bhaddali :

When with these stages of concentration (meditations) the mind is composed, purified and clarified, he (the monk) "directs his mind to the knowledge and recollections of former habitations" (births).

Recollecting the different former births and their modes, he, with celestial-vision (deva-vision) "comprehends that beings are mean, excellent, comely, ugly, well-going, ill-going, accoring to consequences of deeds" (*Karmas*).

Realising the deeds (Karmas) as the cause of Birth, which is the cause of anguish (with composed mind, he directs his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the cankers and comprehends—this is anguish). Then he comprehends the course or path which leads to the stoppage of anguish, and cankers. Knowing and realising this his mind is free from the canker of becoming and canker of ignorance. "In freedom the knowledge comes to be 'I am freed, and he comprehends—destroyed is birth', and he comes close to the Brahma facing—and there is nothing more for him to know.[101]

The similar expression is found in AN. (I Brāhmaṇavagga) which concludes : "To know the former birth...See heaven and hell...have destruction of Rebirth...one is called Tevijja-Brāhmaṇa.

Thus the Yogic discipline taught by Buddha enables an Yoga adept to attain the sublimist of Yogic accomplishment or Siddhi. The Siddhi, which enables him to remember past existence and of seeing heaven or hell. Thus ultimately, in the words of the sages of Mahāyāna, he attains a state of 'unbroken calmity of consciousness," and can "wander free as wanderer an unbridled lion among mountain ranges."[102]

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[100] *MN.* Sutta 65 (Bhaddalisūtta).
MN. 76 sūtta (p. 196). There are fourteen hundred thousand six hundred and six (140606) chief kinds of birth. There are 500 karmas and another (five karmas and another five science organs).
Three karmas (of body, speech and thought).
There is Karma (of body and speech) and Karma of thought.
(*MN.* I, p. 196)

[101] *MN.* I (Bhaddalisutta, p. 113)
and 79th Sutta (p. 229 ff)

[102] Sangitti Sutta (*DN*) quoted vide Secret Tibet, p. 7.

Aśvaghoṣa and Supernatural Powers

The same expression is found in *Saundarananda,* where Buddha expounds "...through immobility of the mind and by attaining *four Trances,* the Yogi spontaneously acquires the five supernatural powers (S. XVI.1), i.e. the magic power of awareness of the motions of others' thoughts, remembrance of post births far back, pure and heavenly sight and hearing (Ibid., 2)...."

With a cleansed mind when the mendicant secures control of the supernatural sciences, "he reduces it to tranquility and employs it as he will and where he will."[103] (S. XV.69)

Yoga and Buddhism

The four ordinary meditations or trances of Buddhism,[104] have close correspondence in general with the four stages of Samādhi (conscious concentration) of the classical Yoga.[105]

The five qualities of faith, energy, thought, concentration and wisdom are the conditions necessary for Buddhist trance, and these are the qualities needed in the Yoga. These are the realisations of Buddha and Arāḍa with their super knowledge, as recorded in MN.[106]

The ultimate achievement of Yoga is infinity (to be one with Brahma). "It has a parallel with "Buddhist conception of the attainment of the infinity of intelligence and infinity of space." Both the teachers of Buddha, Alara Kalama and Uddaka attained also "the realms of nothingness and neither ideatation nor ideatation."[107]

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[103] S. XV.69—यथेच्छं यत्रेच्छं शमयति मनः प्रेरयति च ।

[104] *MN.* I. 294 (p. 354), 296 (pp. 356-57).

[105] Y.S. I. 17.

[106] *MN.* (*PTS.* 1976) 164. Discussion of B. with Araḍa is related in B. (XII. ff. chapters).

[107] A.B. Keith, *B. Phil.*, p. 144.

11

The Conception of Soul

Ātmāvāda

"The development of Ātmāvāda or the existence of soul can be traced from the early polytheism through the gradual unification of the gods and their identification with the inner reality in man."[1]

Ātmā (*Soul*) *in Pre-Buddha Period*

The continuity of Ātmā, as a separate and permanent identity, is found in Vedic and post-Vedic literature, including Śaṅkhya and Mimaṁsa philosophy. The whole of the Vedic and Brāhmaṇic literature mentions 'Ātmā' as a 'Bhokṭa', according to Karmas and a link between one and another life.[2]

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[1] G.C. Pande, *Śramaṇa Tradition*, p. 9.

[2] *RV*. I. 164, 20; X.177.3; X.16.4.
Katha. Up. II.5.
Saṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 132—
यस्मिन्संहतविलक्षण आत्मनि सति परस्मिन्दोतो
प्राणापानौ चक्षुरादिभिः संहतावुपाश्रितौ. . . . .
ततोऽन्यः सिद्ध इत्यभिप्रायः।
Katha. Up. II. 7, p. 133—योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय दोहनः
. . . . . यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम्।
Katha. Up. II. 8, p. 134—पुरुष . . . . नाव्येति काश्चन।
Katha. Up. I. 3-4. Ātmā is a *bhokta*—
आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः।
Chand. Up. VIII.12.3. The embodied soul is the Ātmā coupled with the senses and mind.
Iś. Up.—1,6—सर्वभूतेषुचात्मानं।

According to Upaniṣads,[3] the individual soul is not different from the Great Soul, and is the '*Ātma*' of the phenomenal world.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (IV.3.6) in fact fully brings out the transcendental and absolute nature of self. The sage Yājñavalkya discusses the nature of true self with his wife Maitreyī. In the course of discussion he declares that the self is the ultimate knower and can never be known as an object, because it knows all objects. He states "atmā-vā are dṛṣtavyah śrotavyaḥ, mantavyaḥ, nididhyāsitavyaḥ" i.e. 'the self is to be seen, to be heard, to be meditated and to be pondered over'. Here the sage intends to explain that the self is the ultimate knower and we should not loose sight of the seer. It is the sole object of worship and meditations. We should only care for the permanent self and never engage our intentions in the gross body, liable to births and death.[4]

Sāṅkhya and Soul

According to Sāṅkhya system, the soul or Puruṣa is an inactive agent. The intellect (buddhi) or egoism (ahankāra) which issue out of Prakṛti is an active agent.[5]

The same philosophy of the continuity of the soul is found in Gītā.[6] A man, shedding worn-out garments, changes to new ones, "Likewise the embodied soul, casting off worn-out bodies, enters into others, which are new."

The Vedic and post-Vedic view, which equates Ātmā as a permanent identity with Iśvara or Brahma, is one extreme view, which existed in pre-Buddha and Buddha-period.

Buddha's Time and Philosophy of Soul

Cārvāka

The prominent contemporary philosophical view to oppose the Vedic and Upaniṣadic philosophy of 'Soul as permanent identity', was held by Lokāyata School, under the leadership of Keśakambalin. It was perhaps founded by *Cārvāka*. Kautalya refers to the system along with Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Gītā (XVI.7-8) calls them Asuras. Their highest limit of joy is the enjoyment of sensuous pleasures. (Gītā. XVI.9-11)

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[3] Iś. Up. 1,6—
Chand. Up. (*SBE*. XV) III. 13.7. "The light which shines higher than all and everything in the highest worlds, that is the same light which is within man."
Chand. Up. III. 14.2. ....that which is all embracing . . . he within the heart is Brahma.
Mand. Up. (*SBE*. XV) II. 1.10.
Brh. Up. (*SBE*. XV) V. 52.
Tait. Up. I. 5, Brahma Ātmā—II.8. (Brahma in a man and the sun are the same).

[4] The writer is indebted to Dr. B.N. Singh, Reader in Phil., Benaras Hindu University for this ref.

[5] N. Dutt, *EMB*, pp. 229-30.

[6] Gītā II. 22, 12, 13; XVIII.54. *Comy*. II. 51.

They do not believe in Vedas, and Brāhmaṇic ceremonials and deny th doctrine of the transmigration. They being 'Dehātmavādins', believe that soul is no other than body and has the attribute of intelligence. Soul and body perish together.e

According to them, the only end of man is enjoyment produced by sensual pleasures. So, they say, "No soul, no heaven, nor the effect of four caste-order produce any real effect. The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetics, three stones and smearing one's self with ashes, were made by nature as the livelihood of those destitute of knowledge and manliness.

"If the beast slain in the jyotishṭoma rite will
itself go to heaven,
Why then does not the sacrificer,
Forthwith offer his own father.

. . . . . .

While life remains let a man live happily,
let him feed on ghee
Even though he runs in debt,
At once the body becomes ashes,
How can it ever return again
In the ceremonies of the deed,
There is no other fruit anywhere."[7]

Hence according to this school, the 'self' is simply the conscious living body. He (Cārvāka) identifies the self with the gross body (Sthūla-śarira). The self is a product of matter and is material in nature. Consciousness is a mere product of matter. It is produced when the four material elements of earth, water, fire and air are combined. It is just like red colour which comes out of the chewing of the betel or lime etc. or fermented yeast, which produces the intoxicating quality in the wine. Otherwise, it has no separate identity. Thus Cārvāka is highly opposed to the permanent self and holds that self is identical with body. It dies with the death of the body and never returns again. Permanent self is a misnomer. No body has ever seen it.[8]

This is another extreme view.

Buddha and The Philosophy of Soul

Anattā or Non-existence of Soul

Whether Vedic or Upaniṣadic or Sāṅkhya or Cārvāka's theory of soul, it did not appeal to Buddha, because they were extreme paths. He realised the True Middle path and rejecting them saw the existence of a being, dependent on a series of causation and Rūpa (body) was composed of five Skandhas (elements). Since 'Soul' was something different from these elements and was not identical with one or the five elements taken together—he rejected the existence of Soul and held that there was 'no soul' (Anattā).[9]

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[7] *Sarva-Darshana Saṁgrah*, Tr. Cowell, pp. 2-11.
In D.N. I, pp. 41-52—Keśakamblin is described as 'Guṇacariyo, Tittakaro, Sādhuśammato Cirappabjito.'
Gita XVI.7-12.

[8] The writer is indebted to Dr. B.N. Singh, Reader in Philosophy, Benaras Hindu University for this ref.

Buddha in Parinibbana-Sūtta,[10] declares ". . . whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution . . . how can then this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist. And this mortal being, Ānanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected and abandoned by the Tathāgata." Thus Buddha rejected the existence of a permanent and unchangeable entity as 'Soul'. The constituents of a being cannot be identified with permanent self. They are all subjects to decay and dissolutions.

The same expression is found in SN. III.170 (pp. 146-47) "So with feelings, perceptions and consciousness. . .". "The nature of the body is to come to *pssa* and to pass away. . .".

Dhammapāda[11] also mentions the tradition that "unsubstantial (anattā) are all component things".

In Mahāvagga I.6 also Buddha propounds the absence of permanent entity. He further teaches that the constituents of a being are perishable. "Add that is perishable, painful, subject to change, is it possible to regard that this way : 'This is mine, this am I and this is myself."[12]

The same expression is found in S.N. III.179-182 (p. 151), "Clinging to body, depending upon body, feelings, perceptions, activities, consciousness . . . one holds the view that this is mine, this am I, this is the self of me." But body is impermanent, woeful and changeable by nature. And 'for life in these conditions there is no hereafter.' (SN. Text 150-151, pp. 149-51). Khandas or body constituents are impermanent, suffering and Śunya (Kkhando aniccato, dukkhto. . . śunnato. . .) and devoid of any permanent identity (anattō. . .).[13]

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[9] When the term 'Anattā' is used for Nirvāṇa for the first time in Rattan Sūtta 7.14 it had acquired the sense of embrosia and always alludes to it. Lake of embrosia J. II, 25 (Fausboll) and sweet fruit and heavenly drink (Rattan Sūtta, v. 4).
(R. Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 111 ft.n. 2).

[10] *SBE*. XI.63 (p. 59).

[11] *Dhm.* (Bombay Ed.), verse 279.
"सब्बे धम्मा अनत्ता" ति यदा पञ्ञाय पस्सति ।
They are impermanent because they are dependent or caused.

[12] M. Vagga. (*SBE*. XI) I. 6 (pp. 100-10).

[13] *SN*. III.168 (1890)—"An Arhata should seriously consider these five base factors as impermanent, suffering illness, a toil, an arrow, an evil, a disease, an enemy, as decay, an empty and without self."

Milindapanha explains in the famous 'Chariot Simili' that "Sensation (Vedanā) or the ideas (Saññā) or the confections (the constituent elements of character Saṁkhāra) or the consciousness (Viññāna[14]) are not the Rūpa (outward force) of Nāgsena." Like the parts of a chariot they are interdependent, but have no independent identity. And the chariot is a mere empty sound, "Just as it is the condition precedent of the co-existence of its, various parts the word 'chariot' is used, just so it that when the Skandhas are there we talk of a being."

Śūnya

The Word and Meanings

E.A. Johansson[15] has described it (Śūnya) of being used to denote : (a) Śūnya (emptiness) of the surface-consciousness, which is attained by means of concentration, and (b) Śūnya (emptiness) of Citta consisting of 'constant freedom from the obsession and also includes the stopping of Viññāna (consciousness). The second type is one aspect of Nibbāna or Nirvāṇa.

As in Pāli literature so in Tibetan sources, Buddha is said to have declared that "no existing object has a nature (No-vo-nid). Whence it follows that, there is neither beginning nor end."[16]

But Śūnyatā or Nothingness as its usual translation is, does not or cannot mean absolute Nihilism, for there are as Mr. Hodgson tells us, 'A Śunyatā and Mahāśunyatā. We are dead. You are a little nothing, but I am a big nothing. Also there are 18 degrees of Śūnyatā, you are annihilated, but I am 18 times as much annihilated as you."[17]

The Enlargement of Anattā

According to Tibetan Sources, the theory of Mahāyāna is voidness or nothingness of things—Śunyatā. Evidently it is the enlargement of the last term of Trividhya, formula 'Anātma'.[18]

Śūnya

Śūnya (Emptiness of Consciousness

It is possibly the emptiness of consciousness is developed through concentration. It is said that Sariputta, once emerging from the afternoon, meditation approached

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14. *SBE.* XXXV. II. I. I, (pp. 42-45).
15. E.A. Johansson, *Psy. of N.*, p. 37.
16. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 123.
17. Hodgson's essays etc., p. 159 (quoted by Waddell vide *Lamaism*, ft. n. 7, p. 125).
    Saddharma Pundrika, XXII, A Lillie, *JRAS.* XIV. 9.
    Lamas extended the degree of 'Nothingness' to seventy.
    (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 126)
18. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 123.

Buddha. The calm expression of his pure and clear complexion was commanded by the Teacher. Sāriputta explained, "Sir, I am entirely absorbed in the state of emptiness (Ṣunnat āvihārena kho aham, bhante, etarahi bahulaṃ viharāmiti). The Buddha approved of it and called "emptiness the state of greatmen (Mahāpuruṣa Vihāra)."[19]

In Aṅguttara Nikaya, the same comment about the calm disposition is made by Sariputta to Anuruddhā but the interpretation is different "my mind is well established in the four states of mindfulness (Satipaṭṭhana)."

Both the replies are parallel, indicating at least : "that exercise of mindfulness could give the same visible results as emptiness."[20]

SN. (IV.360)[21] answers the question as to what is the path that leads to Nibbāna (uncompounded). The answer is "Śuññato Samādhi animitto Samādhi appaṇihito Samādhi i.e. the concentration that the empty-signless and undirected...."

In Mahasuññatā Sūtta,[22] Buddha tells Ānanda, that Tathāgata has been fully awakened as to how to attain and stay in the inward (concept of) emptiness by leaving all signs (of phenomenal world) unnoticed. The four stages of meditation "with a steady, calm make one pointed and concentrate his mind precisely on what is inward."

All these examples tell 'Śuññata' is used for a psychological stage, attainable through meditation.[23]

Śūnya and Nibbāna

Cula Sunna Sutta (MN. III.104-108)[24] describes different stages of concentration as stages of progress to reach emptiness i.e. through abiding in the concept of emptiness of forest, infinite akāśa, consciousness, and mind that is signless.

Thus the highest level reached is the concentration of mind, that is signless (vipassanācittasmādhi, M.A. IV.153). It is utterly purified realisation of emptiness and is empty of the cankers of sense-pleasure becoming of ignorance.

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[19] E.A. Johansson, *Psy. of Nirvaṇa*, p. 34.

[20] Ibid., p. 39.

[21] *SN.* IV. (*PTS.* 1894, Pālī) 360.
E.A. Johansson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 34.

[22] *MN.* III. 110-11 (pp. 154-55).
PTS. 1977.
Inward concept—is to feel as all alone though in the midst of company. I.B. Horner in (*MN.* III) translates the Sūtta as Emptiness (greater).

[23] E.A. Johansson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 35.

[24] *MN.* III (*PTS.* 1977), pp. 147-52.
All these stages are empty of which is not there.
(E.A. Johansson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 31).
The description of winner of emptiness and signless, is certainly not a reference to the higher level of meditation but to Nibbāna (Therigāthā 46, E.A. Johansson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 36).

The smaller Prajñāpāramitā, where the Mahāyāna philosophy of Śūnya is discussed in advanced stage, states "A man who has approached the Prajñāpāramitā of the Bodhisattva, dwells enveloped in consciousness...."[25]

The larger Prajñāpāramitā adds, "when the envelopment of consciousness has been annihilated then he becomes free of all fear, beyond the reach of change, enjoying final Nirvāṇa."

Anattā and Aśvaghoṣa

Buddha, in *Buddhacarita* refutes Arāḍa's Sāṁkhya theory of Ātmā (Kśetrajñā) before his enlightenment.

The sage expounded ignorance (Ajñāna), action (Karma) and desire (Tṛṣṇa) as the causes of Re-birth (cycle of existence) (B. XII.23). Ātma escapes from the body like a Munja stalk from the sheath or Bird from the cage and is declared to be liberated.[26] Buddha retorted saying, "the very existence of "Ātmā" possesses the quality of giving birth and also of being a seed. (B. XII.70)." So long the soul persists, there is no abandonment of that principle" (B. XII.76). As it would again become bound from the continued existence of the causation condition (B. XII.71). He further argued that if there was soul (Ātmā), as the knower of the field, "When without body, must be either knowing or unknowing. If it is knowing, there is something for it to know and if there is something for it to know, it is not liberated."[27]

The second great philosopher of the time whom Buddha met was sage Udraka. He too believed in the tenet of Soul's permanent existence (B. XII.84).

The Mantri who came to take Siddhārtha back from the forest also expounded the existence of (unity of) soul with the body (B. IX.61).

Being dissatisfied, thus Siddhārtha praciced Yoga (B. XII.120). Ultimately he saw 'No self' anywhere "from the summit of existence downwards and came to tranquility like the fire, whose fuel is burnt out, by following the eight-fold path he soon reached the directed point."[28]

The terms Śūnya, Anattā and Aniccā have great affinity and sometimes it becomes difficult to differentiate viz.,

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25. *SBE.* XLIV, p. 154.
26. B. XII.64. "Munja stalk comparison besides Kathā. Up. VI. 7. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 1. 2.18 and XII.9.2.7; *Mbh.* v. 1690, and XIV.553-54; is found in *DN.* I. 77 and Visuddhimagga 406." (Johnston ft. n. of the verse)
    Gītā (II. 12, 13), also tells that the soul and body are different and soul is a permanent identity.
27. B. XII.80. There is no complete severance so long the soul persists (B. XII.73). And where there the soul still persist the three remain in subtle form (B. XII.74).
28. B. XIV.84.

Annica (*Transitory*)

Samyutta Nikāya (IV.2) describes :

"What is void of self, that is not mine
...there is no hereafter."

"What is impermanent, that is ill
What is ill that is void of the self
What is void of self, that is not mine,
...That am not I, that is not myself."

"Sounds scents savours, things tangible are impermanent...that is ill. That is how it is to be regarded by perfect insight of what it really is."[29]

The same expression is found in Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda* XVII.17.[30]

Aśvaghoṣa and Śūnya

In *Saundarananda* when Nanda departed to the forest to eliminate the vices : he fought and conquered his passions, examined the elements of existence and realised the body to be impermanent (anitya), Śūnya (empty), Niratamto (devoid of individuality and liable to Dukkha (suffering) (He shook the tree of vices by supreme mundane path).[31]

After this first realisation of body as 'Śūnya' and 'Niraṭamto' he further realised, since an individual is a mere creature of the Saṃskāras "and that there is neither agent nor knower (Vedko), an active being originates from the complex (of the causes), he saw that the world is devoid of individuality" or is devoid of reality or empty.[32]

The realisation of 'Śūnya' in the elements of existence indicates 'Prajñā' the totality of knowledge (or Nibbāna).[33]

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[29] "The thirst is caused by the notion of I-ness the ego in the person. It leads to self centredness and the person wants to acquire all that looks attractive to him in this world, when he fails to achieve this, he suffers."

(N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 138)

[30] Infra.

[31] S. XVII.1-17—

अनित्यतस्तत्र हि शून्य तश्च निरात्मतो दुःखत एव चापि ।

(S. XVII.17)

निरात्मकं चैव चिकायकायं ।

(S. XVII.16)

[32] S. XVII.20—सामग्रयतः संभवति प्रवृत्तिः शून्यं ततो लोकमिम ददर्श ।

[33] "Some people think Śūnya is negation of existence, but no! It is absolute which transcends human faculties and embraces the whole universe. It is neither created nor can be destroyed it is the totality of our knowledge. This is Prajñā, it is Śūnyatā. This is one Phase of Prajñā." (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. U. Sangh.* Intro., p. xxiv).

This agrees with DN. III.230 'āsvānam khayo paññāya saccikāraniyo' (the destruction of obsession is to be realised by means of understanding).

Moreover in MN.[34] (II.263) Buddha explains "...Monks an Ariyan disciple, forest gone or gone to the root of a tree reflects thus empty (Śūnnam) is this of self (of thoughts of I and mine). Thus emptiness is two-fold. In Majjhima Nikāya's commentary it is explained "he who is serene either he comes to the plane of nothing or he is intent on wisdom."

If scrutinised on the bases of MN. (the above ref), Nanda's realisation of the body or beings (S. XVII.16,17,20) to be impermanent and Śūnya indicates, the realisation of non-permanent entity (soul) in a being.

Further developing on the negation of permanent entity (Niraṭmakam) the poet says :

"Since the world has no motive force of its own and is not self-dependent, and since there is no one being who exercises paramountcy over actions, and si ce states of being arise from dependence in other state he (Nanda) understood the world without soul."[35]

Theory of Voidness

In addition to the two references of Śūnya in (S. XVII.17 and 20), Aśvaghoṣa has hinted towards the theory of voidness once (in the same Kāvya). He in a simili says "why like evaporating water in the hot season, you are thinking about, you who are proud of your strength, as you pass to decay."[36]

Tathatā and Aśvaghoṣa

Aśvaghoṣa, in his both the Kāvya, has, like a Hināyanist expounded 'Nairatmavāda'. But in his Śraddhotpāda Sāstra, explaining Mahāyāna, he speaks of Tathatā : the Eternal soul of the universe, His Nature and His attributes.[37]

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34. *MN.* (*PTS*. 1977), II, 263, p. 48 and ft. n. 5,6,7.

35. S. XVII.21—

यस्मान्निरीहं जगतस्कन्त्रं नैश्वर्यमेकः कुरुतेक्रियासु ।
ततत्प्रतीत्य प्रभवन्ति भावा निरात्मकं तेन विवेद लोका ।

Here is denied the existence of any single final cause such as Iśvara (AK. I 310 ff—V. 38 and ft. n. 4). But may also be intended to deny the unity of the individual as governed by the Ātmā. (Johnston ft. n.)

"Prof. Scradhar argues that since the theory of Anattā applies only to five Skandhas and three Avacaras it fails to teach the absolute. . . ."

36. S. IX.8—जलं शुचौमास इवार्करश्मिभिः क्षयं
व्रजन कि बलदृप्त मन्यसे ।

37. **Richard, *A.F.*, pp. 43-44,47,52.**

Eternal Soul

As the eternal spirit, it has the attribute of vastness of its nature. Being the ultimate existence or the eternal soul of the universe it is called 'Bhūt-tathatā'.[38] "And all forms are really only different manifestations of the one True Model,"[39] or Mind, Essence, in which there are no differences to be distinguished.

Nature

As vast manifestation is its nature—the true model comes in Tathāgata As harmonious-whole, it is called Dharmakāya or Dharmadhata or Tathāgata-garbha and has infinite innumerable merit as its characteristics. By its nature means the universal soul.[40]

In its vast powers it is able to produce all good among all classes in the world. In short by the greatness of its activity it produces all kinds of good work in the world phenomenal and supra phenomenal.[41]

Viewed from the ultimate point of view, it is "the real essence of things, which is unchangeable and indestructible."[42] "Bodhisattvas when riding in it, will enter in the state of Buddhahood."[43] In nutshell they attain the realization of positive bliss of Nirvāṇa.

Here Aśvaghoṣa has equated Tathatā with Dharmakāyā of three Kāyā-conception. Below this Truth are the Tathāgatas, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas,[44] all full of perfections.

Dharma Śūnyatā

Nagārjuna, who has developed the theory of voidness, says in Prajñāpāramiṭā

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[38] Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 53 ff.

[39] Richard, *A F.*, pp. 43-47.
Wai Tao, *A.F.*, vide *The Buddhist Bible*, p. 383.

[40] Suzuki. *A.F.*, p. 54.
Richard, *A.F.*, pp. 44-45.
Wai Tao, *A.F.* (Ibid.), p. 383.
The main womb is Brahma (*Gita*, VIII), in which I cast the seed.

[41] Richard, *A.F.*, p. 45.
Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 54.

[42] Richard, *A.F.*, pp. 47, 83-85.

[43] Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 55.

[44] Richards, *A F.*, pp. 83-85.
Tri-Kāyāvāda is found in Samādhirāja and Suvarṇa-prabbāsottama-Sūtra so Dr. Bhattacharya concludes that there is no justification for supporting the view that the doctrine was expounded by Aśvaghoṣa in Śraddhotpāda Śāstra for the first time.
(B. Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 157, ft. n. 2)

Śāstra,[45] "The Doctrine of Hināyana mainly dealt with the idea of impermanence, while those of Mahāyāna chiefly expostulates the idea that "all existence is Śūnyatā or Dharma Śūnyatā. In other words, in Hināyana, at first the idea of impermanence was preached, but afterwards, the idea of Dharma-Śūnyatā also came in, while in Mahāyāna right from the very beginning, the idea of Dharmāśūnyata has been preached."

There are two-fold aspects of one soul (suchness)[46], viewed from the point of explicability.

"The first is trueness as negation (Śūnyatā) in the sense that it is completely set apart from the attributes of all things unreal, that it is the real reality. The second is trueness, as affirmation (aśūnyatā) in the sense that it contains infinite merits, that it is self-existent."[47]

"True Model is beyond ordinary language and beyond ordinary thought."[48]

"It is neither that which is existence, nor that which is non-existence, nor that which is not at once existence and non-existence; that it is neither that which is unity, nor that which is plurality, nor that which is at once unity and plurality, nor that which is not at once unity and plurality."[49]

Thus Reality is Tathatā. In 'The Awakening of the Faith' Aśvaghoṣa argues for its indefinability. It is said Śūnya or empty on account of its being independent.[50]

Historically viewed, Aśvaghoṣa has restated the doctrine of Māyā, while discussing the doctrine of voidness.[51]

Nagārjuna[52] has developed this in his Eight numbers doctrine 'Aṣtasāharika'. He says, "There is no production (Utpada), no destruction (Ucceda), no annihilation (nirodha), no persistence (edevata), no unity (ekārtha), no plurality (nānārtha), no coming in (āgamana), no going out (nirāgama)." "This statement means that pure truth (paramārtha) transcends all modes of relativity."

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45. Mahaprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra 69 (fascicula, Wang Bundle, Vol. 4, p. 469 of Chinese Tripitaka quoted by R. Kimura, *H & M*, p. 150).
46. Richard, *A.F.*, p. 46 ff.
    Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 58 ff.
47. Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 59.
    "By Trueness as negation mean that in its metaphysical origin it has nothing to do with things defiled (i.e. conditional).
48. Richard, *A.F.*, p. 47.
49. Suzuki, *A.F.*, p. 59.
50. D.T. Suzuki, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 99.
51. Secret Doctrine, p. 345.
52. Madhyamika Śāstra Ch. I. (quoted by Suzuki, *A.F.*, ft. n., pp. 59-60)

In Vajrakkedika 32,[53] it is explained :

"Stars, darkness, a lamp,
a phantom, dew, a bubble,
A dream, a flash of lightening and a cloud.
Thus we should look upon the world (all that was made)."

"All phenomena around us are however produced by mental operations within us and thus distinctions are established."[54]

This is further elaborated in the smaller Prajñāpāramitā which states, "Here O Śāriputra, all things have the character of emptiness, they have no beginning, no end, they are faithless and not faultless, they are not imperfect and not perfect. Therefore O Śāriputra ! in this emptiness, there is no form, no perception, no name, no conception, no knowledge, no eye, no ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, no form, sound, smell, taste and touch objects".[55]

Wassilief summarises : "The doctrine of Tathāgata embraces three periods of development. In the first he proves that everything exists, in the second he proves that all is empty and in the third he proves that there is nothing either existent or non-existent (i.e. there is only one state of existence, which admits of no formulae."[56]

Śūnya & Tibetan Sources (Mahāyāna Views)

Schlaginwest,[57] on the basis of Tibetan sources divides the doctrine of Śūnya in three marks and two truths :

1. Parikalpita (Tib. Kun-tag) : the unfounded belief in the reality of existence which does not exist. It has the seed of second error of asserting 'real existence' when it is only ideal.
2. Paratantra (Tib. Zan-Van) : Whatever exists by dependent or causal connection.
3. Parinishpañña (Tib. Yon-grub) : 'Completely Perfect' is unchangeable and unassignable true existence—which is also the scope of path, the summum bonum, the absolute.

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[53] *SBE*, XLIV, p. 144.

[54] Ibid., Intro., p. XVI.

[55] Ibid., p. 154.

[56] Wassilief, *Buddhism* (Fr. Ed.), p. 183.
(quoted by S. Beal vide *A. Catena*, ft. n., p. 143)

[57] Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 125-26.
Supra—Nirvāṇa, Yoga & The II Truth.

The Two Truths

"'Samvritisatya (Tib. Kun-dsa-beh'i den-pa), the relative truth; the efficiency of a name or characteristic sign. And Paramārtha Satya (Dondam-pahi den-pa) the absolute truth, obtained by the self-consciousness of the saint in self-meditation."

"The Saṁsāra or the world therefore is to be renounced not for its sorrow and pain, as Hināyana says, but because of its unsatisfying unreality."

Aśvaghoṣa began his ornate Kāvyas, defining the world as full of pain and sorrow and it need be abandoned in the interest of Nibbāna or Enlightenment. Both the Kāvyas in the end leave the impression that the world is full of unsatisfying realities.[58]

Generally speaking Nairātmyavāda (No Soul Theory) and Kṣaṇa-Bhanga-Vāda (momentariness) are the two vital theories which distinguish Buddhism from Vedānta.

In the "Awakening of the Faith", Aśvaghoṣa has established Tathatā or the existence of true force. His description of Tathatā agrees with Brahmavāda of the Upaniṣads. "Nāgārjuna, in his Aṣtasāhasrika, expounds that for 'Supreme Enlightenment one dwells in Brahma".

In Lalitavistara (p. 3 Leff) "reality is full of Bliss in the beginning, in the middle and in the end, one, Full, Pure and abode of Brahma".

In Saddharma Pundarika (Bib. Buddhica X, p. 118) it is said "that one who truly follows the teachings of the Buddha, dwells in the pure, the Blissful and the undefiled.[59]

Conclusion

According to Upaniṣads and Gītā, soul is a permanent identity. 'Tat Tvam Asi', is the greatest saying of Upaniṣads i.e. 'Ātmā is Brahma' and 'Brahma is Ātmā'[60] and there is no non-dual Bliss.

The highest attainment of Samādhi, according to Upaniṣads, is that 'Atman' becomes 'Parmātman'[61]—, an identity of the individual with the divine e.g. 'Water thrown in the water, becomes ocean.' Soul, according to this philosophy, is a part of the universe, 'internal and unmutable'.[62]

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58. S. XVIII.14-17.
    B. XII & XIV.
59. C. Dhar, *Ind. Phil.*, pp. 324-26.
60. Supra—Ātmā in Pre-Buddha Period.
    Gītā II. 54. God realised soul, G. XVIII.54 is established in reality with Brahma (Sāṅkhya yogi attains supreme devotion to me).
61. Gītā II, 72—स्थित्वास्यामन्तकालेऽपि ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छति ।
62. Gītā II. 12.
    Patanjali's view is also 'Everything possess consciousness'.
    (सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म) (*IHQ*. II, 1926, p. 740)

In the original teaching of Buddha, there is no place for the existence of 'permanent identity'. It does not believe in Ātman, soul or the self. The highest stage reached by the aspirant is the absorption in Nibbāna or Nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa is a state of complete tranquility and peace.[63]

Thus, in Buddhism, the individual is mingled with the peace, while in Pre-Buddhist (Upaniṣadic) philosophy, he is mingled with Brahma.

To conclude, Buddha's belief in the non-existence of Soul as permanent Identity is expounded in the Kāvyas (S & B) of Aśvaghoṣa.

In Mahāyāna, Buddhist teachers expounded the theory of Tathatā. Śraddhotpāda is the first great systematic work which deals with this changed trend in the history of Buddhism.

Thus Aśvaghoṣa has dealt with, 'Ātmavāda' and 'Anātmavāda', both, in his works.

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[63] 'Infra—Nirvāṇa', Ch.

12

Karmas and the Conception of Hell and Heaven

Karmas

As in Pre-Buddha age, so in Buddha's time, the conception of Pāpa (sin), Puṇya (bliss) and re-birth (transmigration), according to Karmas (actions), were the most powerful prevailing beliefs in India. Buddha could not remain immune from these influences. The whole of Buddhist literature is full of words assigned to Buddha, which levy great stress on good Karmas (mind and body actions) which lead towards Nibbāna and bad actions (Karmas) which bring re-birth in hell.[1] Thus the theory of Re-birth and the conception of heaven and hell developed side by side.

What is the Contribution of Buddha, then ?

In the age of Buddha, the Vedic ritualism and sacrifices still had great hold on the masses. Buddha right from his first sermon launched a revolt against such beliefs and preached systematically the belief in Karmas (actions).

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[1] D.C.P. Sutta. 23 (p. 153) refers to Re-birth of Buddha.
Balpandita Sutta. (*MN.* III).
Devadutta-Sutta (Ibid.)
Aśokāvadāna.
Dīgha Nikāya (*PTS.* 1951), Vol. III, II, pp. 349-74.
Jataka (Tr. R. Davids), p. 195 ff.
Samkichcha Jat. 530 (Fausboll ed.)
Khudd. P. V. verse 180 (p. 166)
LV. Ch. XXII (Śuṣka āsrava na punah sruvanti).
Dhm. (Beal, 1902), pp. 72, 89.
Katha. Up. II : describes the process of human bondage and liberation. "Some souls incarnate in a womb, others even reach the plant of life according to their needs and learning. Immortality is gained when one perceives the inner-self and is freed from all desires in the heart. . . ."
(G.C. Pandey, *Śramaṇa Tradition*, p. 18)

History tells, that there was nothing new given by the Teacher. Gītā levies great stress on Karmayoga. Jainism, which was raising its head as a contemporary faith, was also not bereft of it. But Buddha's contribution lies in making a systematic and constant attack on Brahmaṇical practices[2] and preaching his theory and Faith in Karmas—to gain emancipation.

In Bālpandita Sutta, the dead are born in different spheres, according to their Karmas. Here, besides other tortures of Niraya hell, the criminals are reborn in an intensely hot region, with iron turned red-hot due to the subterranean fire :

"Encircled by an iron wall,
With a roof of iron above ;
Its incondescent floor is made of glowing iron."[3]

In this Sutta the hells are of temporary stay in the cycle of re-birth. Men pass from the animal stage to the stage of gods, according to their Karmas.

Milindapanha satisfies our query and tells that by that time the conception : that the hells are for the wicked and their stay there depends upon their Karmas, "Just so great king, it is through the influence of Karma that beings, though they have been for thousands of years in purgatory, are not destroyed. If they are reborn there, there do they grow up, and there do they die. For this O King ! has been declared by the Blessed One : "He does not die until, that evil Karma is exhausted."[4]

Kinds of Destinations and Modes of Life

Majjhima Nikāya[5] refers to four modes of life egg born, womb born, moisture born and spontaneous born.

It refers to five kinds of destinations, according to Karma : Hell, animals, Ghosts, Human Beings and Gods.[6]

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[2] Tevigga Sutta (*SBE* XI) to Aśvaghoṣa's Vajrasuci.

[3] Bālpandita Sūtta 129 (*MN.* III. *PTS.* 1967), p. 213.
The superposition of the eight blazing hells is clearly indicated in an extract from the *Chen-po-sa-luen* cited in the *Chu-king-yao-tsi* (Tripitaka Tokyo Ed. XXXVI,2,32b).
(*LEA*, ft. n. 12, p. 164)

J. Przyluski in *LEA*, p. 131, concludes that the conception of hell in early Niraya Sutta and the Devidutta Sutta has drawn inspiration from Vedic conceptions and the later doctrine of transmigration is found affirmed in Bālpandita Sutta.

[4] *SBE*, XXXV. III.4.4, p. 104.

[5] *MN.* I. 73 (p. 97).
cf. Kalyana, *Mbh. Aṅka*, p. 351.

[6] *MN.* (*PTS.* 1976), I.73-76.

The same five destinations are mentioned in Aśokāvadāna,[7] Khuddakapatha (Ch. V, verse 180), Pañcagati-Dipana (Illumination of Five-paths).[8]

Divyāvadāna (pp. 292-300) relates Buddha while in Kolanadaka (squarrel's feeding ground) asked Ānanda to make a wheel (Cakram Karayitam) for illustrating Máudgālayānana's visit to other spheres. The wheel was to have five spokes (pañcagandakam) depicting hells, animals, pretas, men and gods. In the middle, a dove, a serpent and a hog were to symbolise lust, hatred and ignorance. The fold circle of causation was to go all round the tire, in regular and reverse order. Beings were represented "as being born in a supernatural wave (anpapādukah) as by the machinery of a water-wheel falling from one state and being produced in another." Buddha was to be outside the wheel. This wheel being made was placed on the 'Grand entrance gateway' (dvārakoshṭhake) and a Bhikṣu was appointed to interpret it.[9]

The Link (*Soul*)

As mentioned previously, the whole of Vedic and Brahmaṇic literature mentions Ātmā as a link between one and another life and as a permanent identity. Buddhism preached by Buddha did not believe in 'Soul' as permanent identity.[10]

'Tat Tvam Asi' the greatest saying of the Upaniṣads, is the identity of the individual with the Divine. This is the supreme state of bliss.[11]

The highest attainment of Buddhist trances in 'Nibbāna' or Nirvāṇa—ṭhe supreme stage of bliss, the cessation of suffering or tranquility[12] or solitude etc. This is explained in Buddhist literature and Aśvaghoṣa by the famous simili or 'Dīpa' and oil.[13]

To repeat the conclusion in Buddhism the individual is mingled with peace and in Hinduism or Upaniṣads, he is mingled with Brahma. In Gītā and Buddhism this is the state of perfect equanimity.[14]

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[7] Intro., p. 418. A. L'histoire Buddhisme Indien by Burneuf.
(quoted by J. Przyluski vide *LEA*, ft. n., p. 189).

[8] *JPTS*. 1913-14, pp. 1-114.

[9] Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 108, ft. n. 2.
Waddell, has given a diagram of the wheel.

[10] Supra. Chp. XI.

[11] Gītā. II. 72,54 (god realised soul), 12,53.
Tait. I.5. Brahma is Ātmā.
Tait. II, 8. "He who is 'Brahma' in a man and he who is that in the sun are one."
Supra—Ch. The conception of soul.

[12] Infra—Ch. Nirvāṇa.

[13] Supra—Ch. The conception of soul.

[14] Gītā VI. 19.
Infra. Nirvāṇa, Ch.

Karmas and the Existence of Soul

Brahmaṇic View

As has already been discussed, the *Brāhmaṇical view* is that soul is the link between previous, present and future life of a person. Because of its being a permanent identity it contains memory which remembers the divergent experiences of a human being. It is this self which remembers that the childhood, youth and old age belong to the same person (Gītā. II.13).[15]

Expounding the higher philosophy of the nature of soul, Gītā (II.28) says : Before birth the beings are not manifest in our human senses, at death again they return to unmanifest state. They are manifest only in the interim between birth and death.

Buddhist View

Buddha says this link is not memory but a reservoir of memory, which gives rise to permutations of memory. Its rapid continuity gives the illusion of permanent self.

In Buddhist literature this is explained by the simile of a lamp : The flame is burnt in the lamp, the same lamp is burning for the whole night, but it is not the same flame. Many a changes come in it in a short time. But it gives the illusion that it is the same flame. Similar is the case with self or Ātmā.

As flame cannot exist without oil in the 'dipak', so life in individual existence depends upon the cleaving of earthly things, the sin of heart. If there is no oil in the pot (dipak) the light would go out after exhausting what the wick has drawn up—then no new flame can be lighted there "And so the parts and powers of the perfect man will be dissolved and no new being will be born tomorrow. The wise will pass away, will go out like the flame of the lamp, and their *Karma* will be individualised no longer."[16]

The simile of the lamp is referred to by 'Pāṇini' and thence onward upto Aśvaghoṣa.[17] So it is not new in Buddhism.

Another famous simile to illustrate the birth and death circle and non-permanent identity is of waves in water. *Aśvaghoṣa*[18] says that it is through ignorance the Absolute itself appears as this manifold world of phenomena. Just as calm water of the ocean on account of wind, gives rise to one wave after the other so quickly and so rapidly, that it gives the illusion that the same river and the same wave is continuing. So is birth and death there is no permanent soul. Birth after birth is based on Karmas.

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[15] cf. Gītā. II. 20. Body can be slain but not the soul.
cf. Ibid., 21-26.

[16] Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 114.
Compare Rattan Sutta V. 14 and the parable of the tree.
(Ibid., ft. n.)

[17] Pāṇini VI.2.8, VIII.2.50.
Nivāto Vātarane Nirvāṇo Vate.
Gītā. VI.19.
S. XVI.29 (Supra. The conception of Soul.)

[18] *AF.* (Richard), pp. 51, 52.

Death has no fixed Time

There is no fixed time for death. It drags the world at all stages of life against their will.[19] Death is inevitable and no one can conquer or avoid it.[20] The world is frail like a bubble of water. (S. XV.63)

Aśvaghoṣa and Karmas

In *Saundarananda* (XVIII.35) the conception of hell, heaven, Nirvāṇa and Karmas is explained in one verse : "The lowest class of man undertakes action (Karma) for this world only, the next class both for this world and the world above, the middle man for results in the hereafter only, and the man of superior character for freedom from re-birth.'

Theory of Karma

Birth according to Karmas

The cycle of death and birth is constant due to Karmas.[21] Desire causes re-birth.[22] In re-birth the acts bear the pre-destined fruit in the future, it does so in the present and has done so in the past. Thus the place of rebirth in the world is determined.[23]

Relation with Kinsfolk

A being takes birth according to Karmas. The relation of kinsman and strangers from birth to birth is like birds collecting some one here some one there.[24] The travellers go to their separate ways after coming together at shelters, so is the union of kinsfolk.[25]

Further, interlinking the theory of birth with the theory of causation, it is added, the cause and effect hold the world together, otherwise no one in reality is

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19. B. VI.52; S. XV.62, 54 (youth); V.27.
20. S. XV.52-53,59-61; V.20.
    B. IX.37.
21. S. III.36.
22. B. XIV(H).34.
23. S. III.36.
    B. XIV.5; XIV.9.
24. S. XV.33.
25. Ibid., 34.

beloved of anyone else.[26] Who was your kinsman in the last existence, what is your relation with him in this birth[27] (cannot be ascertained). In the cycle of existence there is no permanent distinction between kinsfolk and strangers.[28]

Separation is the fixed law among corporeal beings and in that they are subject to different births.[29] "Truly the world is abandoning its kinsfolk in this life and yet proceeding to activity in another existence—it turns round and round like a wheel".[30] Hence the feeling 'This is mine' is improper.[31]

Heaven

As would be discussed[32] those who do not attain Nibbāna—the freedom from Death and birth, attain the state of bliss, with good *actions* (Karmas) and they are born in Heaven.

The theory of Nirvāṇa whether it was developed by the time of Aśoka or not his edicts do not mention. But no doubt the conception of Hell and heaven seems to have developed by his times. In his edicts the lay-worshippers (upasakas and upasikas) are exhorted to lead a virtuous life, the reward of which is heaven and the deviation from which is to lead to Naraka[33] (hell).

Aśvaghoṣa, referring to heaven, says, a being reaches paradise by performing most difficult task by self-restraint and meditation.[34] But at the exhaustion of his good Karmas he comes back again to the world of men.[35] So even paradise is transitory.[36]

The Conception of Heaven

Aśvaghoṣa has given a glimpse of the heaven on earth (Himalayas). Buddha took Nanda there. It is described full of trees exhibiting the glory of six seasons.[37]

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[26] S. XV.35.

[27] Ibid., 40.

[28] Ibid., 41.

[29] B. VI.43.

[30] B. XIV.5.

[31] B. VI.48.

[32] Infra ch. Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa).

[33] *LEA.*, p. 228.

[34] S. XI.39—कृत्वापि दुष्करं कर्मं स्वर्गं लब्ध्वापि दुर्लभं ।
B. XIV(H).35.

[35] S. XI.60 : verses 56 and 57 narrate even Sages Udraka and Sunetra who reached incorporeal apex of existence, again returned to take abode of womb. (E.H. Johnston, p. 65 ft. n. and S.N. Chaw, p. 147, ft. n. 56-57, both hold that the verses are spurious.

[36] B. VII.21.

[37] S. X.19.

Red and blue lotuses,[38] trees full of different kinds of brilliant varieties of fruits of different colours,[39] lotus ponds,[40] birds of brilliant golden wings,[41] Apsaras with ravishing beauty[42] etc. It is a paradise which can be enjoyed only by those who have gained merit[43] and not by ordinary men.

Hell

"The universe consists of innumerable spheres or Cakravalas each of which has its own earth, moon, heavens and hells."[44] The lowest of thirty-one abodes of living beings are hells or places of punishment (Niraya, Naraka).

Spheres of Suffering

Four Apāyas

The Pālī works mention *four Apāyas* or states of suffering or punishments (cattubbidho apāyaloko). They are Naraka (hell, purgatory), petaloka (the world of specters), Asurloka (the world of demons) and Tiracchana (the world of brute).[45]

Lalitavistara (238) records the number of Apāyas as three. The same number (three) of Apāyas tradition is recorded in Mahāvastu.[46]

(1) Niraya (hell)
(2) Tiracchana (the world of animals) and
(3) Pretas (the world of departed souls).

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38. S. X.21.
39. Ibid., 22.
40. Ibid., 24.
41. Ibid., 29.
42. Ibid., 33.
43. Ibid., 32.
44. Childers Dic., *Sattaloka*, p. 467.
Buddhist world system with its "antres vast and deserts idle" exists mostly on the map of imagination. [Waddell, *Lamaism* (1895), p. 77]. Waddell elaborates on the theory of Buddhist universe. (Ibid., pp. 76-108).
45. Childers. Dic., pp. 49 and 658.
MN. III. 183-87 (pp. 227-30) (four cornered hell).
Khudd. P.
Abh. K. 656,658.
46. *Mhv.*, I. 161.4.
T. Rahula, (*Mhv.* Study, p. 482) is of the opinion that three Apāyas is the earliest classification against the four mentioned in other works.
Pretas are hungry ghosts. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 98.
"Pretas is a class of beings about whom Buddhists are confused. The ref. to Niraloka is ref. to Yama. S. Levi, JA. 1918, I, p. 30 places the land of Yama on the surface of the world. *Abh. K.* puts it 500 Yojnas below."
(Johnston, ft. n. verse B. XIV.27)

Aśvaghoṣa agrees with Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara and has mentioned three spheres of punishment.

Beings of sinful acts are born in the sphere of misery[47] and these foul-minded reap the fruit of their Karmas with lamentation.[48] They are born in dreadful 'Naraka'.[49] The sinners 'by reason of their various actions arising from the activity of the mind' are born among various kinds of animals.[50] (Triyagyoni). "And those who are obsessed by stinginess are reborn in the dark world of Pretas and reap the reward of wretchedness."[51]

In these spheres all the hells are full of excessive torture. The animals eat each other and suffer from hunger. Pretas are thirsty and hungry (kṣutipipāsā) while human-beings suffer because of longing (Tṛṣṇa).[52] "This stream of the cycle of existence has no support and is subject to death. Creatures thus beset on all sides find no resting place."[53]

Kinds of Hell

In Buddhist literature there are two kinds of hells hot and cold. Each kind is of eight types. The hot[54] hells are Avichi, Pratapan, Tapan, Mahāraurave, Raurava, Saṅghat, Kālsūtra and Sanjiva. The cold[55] hells are Arbud, Nirarbud, Attata, Hahava, Huhuva, Utpala, Padama and Mahāpadama.

In the Pālī canon we read of these and a few more hells : Aṭata, Abbuda, Nirabbuda, Ahaha, Ababa, Kumeda, Uppaloke, Sogandhika, Pundarika and Paduna.[56] In the Northern Buddhism the number of hells is still greater.[57]

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[47] B. XIV.10.

[48] B. XIV.19.

[49] B. XIV.11.

[50] B. XIV.20—तिर्यगयोनो (२१)

[51] B. XIV.27—पितृलोके निरालोके कृपणे भुञ्जते फलम् ।

[52] B. XIV.45.

[53] B. XIV.47.

[54] AK. (N. Dev.), III. 58 (149.1), p. 371 ff.
This division is according to old systems of Northern Buddhism.
(Kern's *Manual*, p. 58)

[55] AK (N. Dev.) III.59; C and D (p. 376 ff)
Apart from these is the Lokāntarika hells and many minor hells (Kern's *Manual*, p. 58).
Gathanirayo and Pedumannirayo are the names of minor hells.
(*Childers Dic.*, p. 288)

[56] *AN*. (*PTS*. 1885) I, pp. 141 ff.
"*Sn*. p. 123. These terms also denote certain high numerals.
(Kern's *Mannal*, ft. n. 11, p. 58)

[57] *Eg*. Kārnda-Vyuha cf. L. Fleer.
L'enfer Indien, *JA*, 1892 and 1833.
(Kern's *Manual*, ft. n. 12, p. 58).

Mahāvastu[58] mentions eight major hells each having sixteen minor hells. The great hells are Sanjiva, Kālsūtra, Sangata, Raurva, Mahā-raurva, Tapan, Pratāpana and Avici. Maudgalayam visited these hells and saw beings enduring different torments. He advocated to strive after knowledge, win it, and be Enlightened. "Do good and live the holy life. And in this world no sinful act must be committed."

Each of the above major hell is attached to sixteen secondary hells : Each of the major hell has connection with four doors and each door is connected with four hells i.e. Kukkula, Kuṇapa, Salmati-vaṇa (including Asipatra-vaṇa, Naraka, and Kumba) and the river Vaitaraṇi. Thus all the sixteen secondary hells and eight major hells are interconnected.[59]

This description agrees with Devadutta Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya).

Aśvaghoṣa and Kinds of Hells

Various kinds of hells referred by our poet are :

Beings according to their Karmas, are born, animals such as oxen or horses and are "driven along their bodies, wounded with goads,"[60] or Elephants, who "are driven despite their weaklings" are hit with foot and heel and are torment by aṅkuṣ on the head.[61]

Animal kingdom in the hells is placed above the hells. They live in our planet, the world of men. This is a minor hell.[62]

Our poet refers to culprits roasted or boiled on burning red hot hot coals or in iron cauldrons respectively.[63]

This expression (B. XIV.13) agrees with the hell of Magdhan period in which "Some culprits upside down are boiled like meat in iron cauldrons."[64]

The Tapan and Pratāpan hells are notable for heat. Here the condemned are roasted and baked while in Sanjiva hell the beings are hacked upside down with knives and adzes.[65]

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[58] *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), I, pp. 6-9.

[59] Pālī J. (Fausboll VI.1.13, p. 250) : proves that Vaitaraṇi and Kharodaka are the two names of the same (Khara Kharodiki tatta dugga Vaitaraṇi nadī. . . .)
(T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, pp. 158-59)

[60] XIV.23.

[61] B. XIV.24.

[62] Kern's *Manual*, p. 59.
Childer's Dic., p. 288.

[63] B. XIV.13.

[64] In early Nirayasūtra, preserved in A.W. ch. (Aśokāvadāna) the demmed were crushed in a pestle or boiled in a cauldron.
(*LEA*, p. 137)

[65] T. Rahula, *Mhv. Study*, pp. 153, 156.
Mhv. (J.J. Jones) I, p. 7 ff.

"Some beings in hell are devoured by fierce dogs with iron teeth and by gloating iron-beaks, as if by crows of iron."[66]

In Kunapa hell they are devoured by black creatures with jaws of iron.[67]

In hell 'Some exhausted with burning, long for cool shade and enter like captives the dark sword-leaved forest (B.XIV.15).

Here the reference seems to be to a minor hell. In Kumba hell sharp sword leaves strike against their bodies and they bleed. In Kukkula (or fiery pit) they are condemned to burn with hot ashes and sparks. In Asipatravaṇa or the forest of leaves of swords they are automatically injured as soon as they enter.[68]

In Hell the arms are chopped up with axes like wood.[69]

In Sanjiva hell they are destroyed with hatches and knives. In Kālasūtra hell their limbs are lashed with black wire. "They are beaten and maimed and cut piece meal with hatches and saws."[70]

Our poet has compared womb with filthy pool[71] which he says is like hell.

It is very difficult to ascertain whether this refers to Raurva Naraka which is described as enclosed by a solid mass of copper and is very hot or Mahā Raurva— which is fire ablaze[72] or to the central hell of Devadutta Sutta.

To conclude, Aśvaghoṣa's description and references to various hells are in agreement with the description of hells in Mahāvastu.

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66. B. XIV.14.
67. *Mhv.* (Ibid.), I, ch. 1.
68. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), I, p. 7 ff.
69. S. XIV.16.
70. *Mhv.* (J.J. Jones), I, p. 6 ff.
71. B. XIV.31. cf. *Milinda*, 68 (p. 105).
72. *Mhv.* (Ibid.), p. 7 ff.
In Devadutta Sutta hell is divided into several sub-divisions. In the centre is Mahāniraya, which is a closed place and one enters in it through four openings.

13

Nirvana in Buddhism

The word 'Nibbāna'

The whole Buddhist philosophy is based on one point i.e. life is nothing but Dukkba (suffering). The liberation from Dukka lies in four Truths. The fourth Truth includes Śīla (eight-fold path) and Dhyānas. As has already been discussed earlier, the four Dhyānas, along with 'Paṅṅā', lead to such a state of equanimity and awareness that an apt attains perfection or liberation from Āsvas.[1] This is the happiest state. In Buddhist literature, the word 'Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa)' is applied to denote this state of happiness[2] Though Buddha seems to have further developed on the philosophy of Dukkha and calls this stage also transitory, being based on the theory of Karma (and transmigration).

The word 'Nibbāna', in addition to this happiest state, also denotes the final extinction, as has been used in Maha-Pari Nibbāna Sutta.[3]

Types of Nirvāṇa

Thus, in Buddhist literature, the word 'Nibbāna' denotes (1) The cessation of Re-birth and (2) the literation of the 'citta' from Āsvas (passions and complaisance etc.) which can be achieved in this life i.e. Arhatship.[4]

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[1] Sabhāsva Sūtta (*SBE*, XI) 17-24, gives details.
Kama-Āsva (sensuality), Bhava-Āsva (desire for re-birth).
Avijja-Āsva (ignorance of four Truths) and Dhiti.
For Paṅṅā (Dhiti) supra. Ch IX.

[2] Infra, ft. n. p. 50 ff.

[3] Infra.

[4] Coomarswamy concludes, "Extinction (Nibbāna) is merely the means and outward sign. Otherwise the word denotes or is used for 'Cessation' of a being or Parinirvāṇa or Arhatship." (*Gospel of B.*, p. 118).

In older Teachings, 'Nirvāṇa' meant freedom from Birth and death-circle. In the later period, it meant "consummation as 'Arhan' was to be attained either on earth or in some better world safe, from return to earth."[5]

Why one word is used to denote different meanings ? Childers comments that "the ideas of Arhatship and of annihilation of a being are inextricably bound up together, there being no annihilation without Arhatship, and no Arhatship that does not end in annihilation. Thus there is an instinctive tendency to treat them as one and to designate them by the same word.

"Secondly, both the Nirvāṇas involve the idea of annihilation of suffering of original sin of Karma, of everything except the Skandhas, while Nirvāṇa is the annihilation of every conceivable attribute of a being.

"Thirdly, in a great number of instances, the use of word Nirvāṇa involves the designation of both Arhatship and annihilation".[6]

Nirvāṇa (Nibbāna)

Importance

Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa) is the summum-bonum of Buddhism. Kuddakapatha (I.34) defines Dhamma as the path, Nibbāna as the Fruit. In Milinda,[7] Nāgasena expounds of three kinds of beings : 'Karma born, cause born and season born'. 'Space and Nirvāṇa' are only two, which do not come under anyone of these heads.

In Majjhima Nikāya,[8] Paññā answers Sāriputta's quaries about the object aimed at by the followers of Gautama. Pāñña denies that (1) The four-fold purity of moral habits (spoken in Vism. p. 5 f), (2) the purity of body, mind and view (dhittivisuddhi), (3) the removal of doubts or (4) Knowledge and Insight into the way (and that is not the way), was the aim. He expounds that the aim was 'Anupāda Parinibbānam' i.e. Nibbāna without attachment.

The difference in two meanings of Nibbāna

In Majjhima Nikāya,[9] the basic enquiry, as to "Some monk may attain final Nibbāna, but some other one may not attain it ?" is made by Ānanda.

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[5] *S.N.* V.406 etc. (quoted by Mrs. R. Davids, vide Minor Anthologies IV, p. vii).

[6] *Childers Dic.*, p. 267.
Dhm. verses 285-89 both the Nirvāṇas are denoted by one word.
"Nirvāṇa is Extinction, destruction, annihilation of a being and annihilation of human passion; Arhatship or that final sanctification." (*Childer Dic.*, p. 265).
"The word Nirvāṇa is used to designate two things, the state of blissful sanctification called Arhatship and the annihilation of existence, in which Arhatship ends."
(Ibid., p. 266)

[7] Milinda (*SBE.* XXXVI) IV.13 (p. 103).
Sinhalese repeat the dilemma on 'Kamma born, cause born and season born.' (Ibid., ft. n.)

[8] *MN.* (Rathavinita Sūtta), p. 187 ff.

[9] *MN* III 264-65 (pp. 49-50).
Grasping after patisandhi, re-linking, re-instatement.
M A., IV.67 (Ibid., ft. n. 5).
S.N. IV.168 : Anupadiyam . . . parinibbāyati. (Ibid., ft. n. 3)

Buddha replies, the final Nibbāna is deathless and is the deliverance of mind without grasping (attachment). "A monk, who is grasping, Ānanda ! does not attain final Nibbāna".

Definition of Cessation of Rebirth

Sangitti Sūtta[10] explains : the state of neutral feeling and mental lucidity, is achieved by the elimination or dying out of previous impressions (memories) in the state called fourth Dhyāna. This is the state of body Tranquility.

Then comes the state of intellect emancipation. "When he understands his emancipated condition, namely in the thought : passion...hate...illusion...for me are eliminated, cut off roots become as a palm tree-stump—becomes non-existent unable to grow again in future". This is the freedom from death and birth circle (Nibbāna).

How the Cessation of Re-birth can be achieved ?

The cessation of Re-birth can be achieved by one who, with the gain of four Samādhis, with composed, fixed and unperturbed mind, acquires the knowledge of former births (in diverse ways). This is his first knowledge and step.

Then, with the same state of mind and exercise, he acquires the knowledge of 'the rise and fall' of beings from one existence to another i.e. (Karmas and their result : Hell and heaven for beings). This he does with Deva eye. This is the second knowledge and step.

Then again, with the same composed, pure and translucent mind, he acquires the knowledge of the destruction of 'Āsvas'. When the mind is released from the Āsvas of becoming and Āsvas of nescience, he understands by this release "Destroyed is Re-birth and Done is what I had to do". This knowledge is the destruction of Ignorance and III step.[11]

The mastery of Saṁkhāra leads to Arhatship and final Nibbāna.[12]

In Lonaphala Vagga,[13] the same expression is found : "When he has conquered Āsvas, no fetter can bind him by which he would again come to the world". Commentary says he is anāgāmin, "not a stream-winner but non-returner".[14]

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[10] Sangatti Sūtta (*DN. PTS*. 1921, III, p. 248).

[11] Brāhmaṇa Vagga (*AN* or Gradual sayings) I, pp. 147-49. Khud. P. VIII.39, the mastery of three knowledges—
(1) recollecting of past life with divine-eye,
(2) sees the passing and re-appearance of creatures,
(3) the knowledge of exhaustion of Taints and master in deliverance.

[12] *MN*. (1977) III, p. 266, ft. n. 5.

[13] *DN*. (*PTS*. 1960), p. 219.

[14] Ibid., ft. n. I.
"The Anāgamin is he who has freed himself from the first five or lower (avarabhāgiya; Parambhāgiya) bonds and will not be reborn on earth or on Kāmaloka, but in Brahmaloka." (Kern. *MB*, pp. 52-53).

Nirvāṇa (Nibbāna) as Extinction (final)

In the Pāli Mahā Parinibhāna[15] Sutta, Buddha refers to his own forthcoming Nirvāṇa. "Ānanda ! when a Tathāgata passes away, with that utter passing away, in which nothing whatever is left, then this earth shakes... ."

(Panchaparam Ānanda yada
Tathāgato anupadisesaya
Nibbāndhatuya parinibbāyati tadayam
path avi kampati...)

What remains after this final extinction (or dying out)—Buddha is silent.

Nibbāna as Cessation of Re-birth

The end of birth and death is Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa) Bhavanirodho nibbānam,[16] "Jātimaraṇassa anataṃ".[17] "He, who knows the end of birth and death, is perfectly happy (Parinibhūta)"[18] as it is the end of Dukkha.

The end of Birth and death can be gained, by attaining the end of the 'cause' of Birth (Law of Causation). MN. I.49[19] narrates—Jāti samudaya Jarāmaraṇasa mudaya, Jāti Nirodha Jarāmaraṇa nirodha, i.e. the craving for becoming, the craving for annihilation—is the origin of anguish. "The uprising of birth is the imprisoning of ageing and dying, from the stopping of birth is the stoppage of ageing and dying".[20]

"Ekam he saccam na dutiyan ti" in Visuddhimagga (Vol. II, p. 497) indicates Nirvāṇa as the end of five Skandhas,[21] which tantamounts to the annihilation of the material existence.

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[15] *SBE*. XI. III.20, p. 48.
Maṅgala Sūtta (Khud. P.), v. 12 refers to the final extinction of Buddha.
MN. (1977), III. 127-28 (pp. 173-74) refers to Bakkula's final Nibbāṇa (me parinibbānam Bhassathi), ft. n.

[16] *SN*. (*PTS*. 1888), pp. 117-18. The cessation of being is Nibbāna.
SN. II. 115.

[17] *Sn*. 467.

[18] Fausboll's Tr. Mahāvagga verse, 14, *Sn*. verse, 467, (*SBE*. X), 1924, pp. 75-76.
MN. III (1977), ft. n .6, p. 303 : 'Parinibbute' is used for final Nibbāna.

[19] *MN*. (Pālī) I. 49.

[20] *MN*. (Tr. *PTS*. 1976), I. 49, pp. 60-61.
Nirvāṇa which is reached after the complete cessation of a being is called Anupadesesa... nibbāna and is void.
(N. Dutt, *EMB*, p. 289)

[21] cf. *Sn*. 876 and 884.

Aśvaghoṣa and Nibbāna as Cessation of Rebirth

In Aśvaghoṣa's[22] works we find the same expression and he has used 'Nirodha' as synonyms of 'Nibbāna'. "And the abolition of suffering proceeds from exhaustion of the cause. Therefore render present for yourself the holy, peaceful element, the refuge which is free from the passion of desire and bring suppression (of all that makes for active being), the (Nirodha) salvation which is eternal, unassailable and holy."

Thus Aśvaghoṣa's Nirodha (Nibbāna) as cessation of Re-birth is also (as the tradition is) the exhaustion of cause[23] (Paticcasamuppada-series consisting of twelve linked formulae). It is the stoppage of Viññāna (consciousness) which leads to the stoppage of re-birth etc.

Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa) as Extinction (a peaceful state)

Nibbāna or Nirvāṇa as 'dying out' or 'extinction' as fire is explained and repeated in Buddhist literature, with the simili 'of a flame'.

"As a flame is blown out by the force of the wind, O Upasiva...so said Bhagvata.. goes out, can not be reckoned (as existing) even so a muni, delivered from name and body...disappear and cannot be reckoned (as existing)".[24] In verse 1061, Buddha preaches the salvation of one's own extinction.[25]

The same is found in Kullavagga,[26] "The wise who have destroyed their seeds (of existence) and whose desire do not increase, go out like a lamp."

Rattan-Sūtta[27] (nibbanti dhira yathāyam podīpo), and MN.[28] gives the same expression.

Likewise Aśvaghoṣa[29] has also applied the simile of a lamp to explain Nirvṛti or Nirvāṇa. Our poet says, "Just as a lamp extinguishes forever at the exhaustion of the oil and does not go to the earth, sky or any of the other quarters, so does a saint, who has has reached Nirvāṇa, does not depart to any of the quarters, but attains peace."[30]

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[22] S. XVI.26—

दुःखक्षयो हेतुपरिक्षयाच्च शान्तं शिवं साक्षिकुलष्व धर्मं ।
तृष्णा विरांग लयनं निरोधं सनातनं त्राणमहार्यमार्यं ।

*M*N. I. 49. Jātinirodha jarāmaraṇaniroddha.

. 3. S. XVI.26.

[24] *Sn.* verse 1073 (*SBE*. X, p. 189).

[25] Idh eva Nipako Sato
Ito Sutvana niggosam
Sikkho nibbānam attana. (*Sn.* v. 1061).
Attano Rāgadinam nibbānatthaya ədhisidādini Sikkheyya. Commentator (*SBE*. X, p. 187, ft. n.)

[26] Kullavagga. (*SBE*. X), 234 verse. cf. verses 353, 354.

[27] Rattan-Sūtta (Khuddaka-Patha, *PTS*, 1959).

[28] *M*N. I, p. 487.

[29] S. XVI.28—निवृ ंक्षिमम्युपेतो . . . स्नेहक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्तिं ।

By following the path of self restrain and with controlled senses, one obtains tranquility.[31] This is "a stage in which there is neither birth, old age, death, disease, nor contact with what is disagreeable, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the agreeable, which is peaceful, final and imperishable".[32]

This is the state of Nibbāna as peaceful, final, holy of goodness and wisdom.

'Nibbāna' as a state of Bliss in this Life

Literature is full of instances quoting Buddha, emphasising the attainment of 'Nibbāna' as a blissful state in this life.[33]

In Dhammapāda, Nirvāṇa is described as blissful (202, 203), happy (285) and incomparable state of security (13). It can be attained by a Bhikkhu who is wakeful (32, 226), fears headlessness (32), is silent and without anger (134), is patient (184), is disciplined (226) has cut down the roots and shoots of lust (283, 369), takes shelter in virtuous life (Śīla) (289) ; destroys ill-will (369) through meditation (four Samādhis) and has insight (paṅṅā) (372.111).

Buddha exhorts Bhikṣus to shun the path of worldly gains and develop dispassion (Viveka) in order to reach 'Nibbāna' (Dhm. 75).

All these qualities speak of Nirvāṇa as a state of tranquility and bliss and are the requisites of an Arhat.[34]

Nirvāṇa, a blissful state, which is reached with the attainment of Arhatship, is called Savapadisesanibbāṇa. Nāgasena has explained it in Milindapanha[35] to the king. It is a state of bliss for "the causes proximate or remote of mental agony having ceased, one could not feel", "but bodily pain still continues." Buddha also said, "one kind of pain he suffers, bodily pain, but not mental". Further Nāgasena says, he can

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30. S. XVI.29—. . . निर्वृक्षिमम्युपेतो . . . क्लेशक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्तिं ।

31. Supra. Third Truth and Aśvaghoṣa.

32. S. XVI.27.

33. There is no mention of Buddhist Nirvāṇa in Aśoka's inscriptions. But there is reference of the rewards of *Dhamma* i.e. happiness in this world and merit in the other world (i.e. Swarga). *Dhm.* verse 26 (distinguishes Nirvāṇa and Swarga (CII, Vol. I, pp. LIII-LIV).
"Swarga or heaven in Buddhism is not death but a perfect life . . . Pitakas lavish those terms of ecstatic description which they apply to Arhatship, the goal of the excellent way, and to Nirvāṇa as one aspect of it."
(R. Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 114-15)

34. In every passage of Dhammapāda where Nirvāṇa is mentioned, there is not one which would require that its meaning is annihilation. (MaxMuller, *Buddhaghoṣa's parables*, p. LXI, R. Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 115).

35. *SBE*, XXXV. II.2.4 (p. 69).

not die, he was to wait for the proper time. Then, quoting Sariputta, explains "It is not death, it is not like I want ; mindful and thoughtful do I bide my time".[36]

In Saṁyutta Nikāya,[37] Nibbāna or Nirvāṇa, is the destruction of Rāga, Doṣa and Moha (lust, ill-will and stupidity). The same expression is found in Buddhavaṁsa.[38]

Charity, piety and self-control can procure earthly glory, heavenly joy and gain of Nirvaṇa.[39]

In the Chinese version of Parinibbāna Sutta, "Nirvāṇa is just like that. In the midst of sorrow, there is no Nirvāṇa and in Nirvāṇa there is no sorrow". I (Gautama) "devote myself wholly to moral culture, so as to arrive at the highest condition of moral rest (The highest Nirvāṇa).[40]

According to the preface of the Chinese work, Siau-Chi-Kwan by Chi-kai, Chi-kwan (knowledge and meditation) precisely meens the same as ten-hwin (absolute wisdom) or Taih-Chan, "a common phrase for the supreme condition of Nirvāṇa, viz. a condition which admits of effulgency, united with passivity or as Ming-Tsing (brightness and rest)" or Beal concludes the condition of 'Union of knowledge and meditative repose'.[41] "Just like the moon, which constantly emits rays or reflects light and yet is substantially at rest".[42]

According to Tibetan sources, interprets Burnouf Nirvāṇa is 'the state of him who is delivered from sorrow or the state in which one finds oneself when one is so delivered (affranchi)'.[43]

Nibbāna and Citta

'Nibbāna Sukha Sutta' in AN.[44] explains Nibbāna as a stage of supreme bliss in which there is neither Sukkha (happiness) nor Dukkha (suffering) or is devoid of suffering and happiness (asukkha and adukkha). For feelings of Sukkha and Dukkha produce craving or grasping and when the mind is not free from grasping and craving, the supreme stage cannot be attained.

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36. Ibid., II.2.4 (p. 70), cf. Therigāthā 1003, 1002 (Ibid., ft. n. 1).
37. *SN.* IV.25.261.
38. R. Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 115.
39. Nidhikkanda Sūtta. v.13. (Khuddaka, P., Ch. VI).
40. *Beal's Cantena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 174, 183.
    Aśoka's 4th Rock Edict—remarks "morality is not possible for a person devoid of good conduct", and exhorts the decendents to be 'abiding by morality and good conduct (dharma, śīla tiṣṭhantaḥ, F.) *Dhmp*. 217 (CII. Vol. I, p. LII).
41. Beal's *Catena* . . . , pp. 250-51.
42. Ibid., ft. n. 2.
43. Intro., 'L. histoire du Buddhisme Indien', p. 19.
    (quoted by R. Davids—Buddhism, ft. n. 1, p. 117).
44. *A*N. (Mahābhodhi, Calcutta Ed.), IV, p. 50 ff.

Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa) as a state of Personality

Purification and Control of Mind

According to the modern Buddhist Philosophy books, human personality consists of Rūpa (body), Saññā (idealism), Vedanā (feeling), Saṅkhāra (activity) and Viññāna (consciousness). The most important and the core of personality is *Cetta or mind*, the centre of continuity and activity, "It is not soul but it is ephirical functional self. It is mainly conscious, but not restricted to the momentary conscious, contents and processes". Complete purification of the Citta (mind) leads to Nirvaṇa (nibbāna)".[45]

"Citta or mind is pure when, through understanding, it is set free from the obsessions of sensuality becoming, views and ignorance. The same idea is expressed in SN. III. 45.[46] "Rūpadhatuya ce bhikkhave bhikkuno cittaṃ virattaṃ vimuttaṃ hoti...anupadaya āsvehi...vimuttata thitan...." "Without attachment to elements of form (feeling, ideation, the activities consciousness) and is realised from it without attachment to the obsessions, it is immovable by its release, by the immovability ; it is satisfied by its satisfaction ; it is not excited without excitement ; it by itself attains Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa) and it knows that destruction is birth".

Thus Nibbāna comes after a number of psychological events. Nibbāna is attained transformation of Citta. Paññā (understanding) and añña (knowledge) are also attributed to Citta.[47]

A purified and perfect Citta is stable (Vūpasanta 'calmed') and unemotional.[48] 'dantam guttam rakkitam saṁyuttam'. "tamed controlled guarded and restrained".[49]

Nirvāṇa a state of freedom

Mutti and Analaya

In Samutta Nikāya,[50] Nibbāna is described as 'Mutti' and 'Analaya' both meaning release or freedom. In the same Nikāya[51] this meaning is explained 'Vimutti kho Rādha nibhānattha' i.e. 'Release means Nibbāna, Rādha'.

What freedom is this? This deliverance...is the freedom from the ties (Nibbānam Bhagavā āhu, sabbagantha ppamocanan, Nibbāna).[52]

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45. *E.A.* Johnsson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 30.
46. *SN.* III (*PTS.* 1890 Pālī).
47. *E.A.* Johnsson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 31.
    MN. 63 and *DN.* III. 53.
    Añña, equivalent to Arhatship (*MN.* I, p. 81, ft. n. 3).
48. *DN.* I. 71.
49. *AN.* I. (*PTS.* 1885 Pālī), 7.
50. *SN.* (*PTS.* 1894), IV.372.
51. *SN.* (*PTS.* 1890), III. 180.
52. *SN.* I. 210.

Sumangalvilāsini describes Nirvāṇa as a state of bliss and immortality. It is gained with the freedom from misdeeds.[53]

In Majjhima Nikāya, Aṭṭakathā (I.236)[54] "deathlessness which has got the name of Nibbāna, by reason of the absence in it of lust called craving. It further says that it is seen by each for himself."

In Milinda, Nāgasena explains to the king the state of Nirvāṇa :

"It is uncompounded, not made of anything. Of Nirvāṇa O King, it cannot be said that it has been produced or not been produced or that it can be produced, that it is past or future or present, that it is perceptible by the eye or the ear or the nose or the tongue or by the sense of touch."

"It exists, and it is perceptible to the *mind.* By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from the obstacles, free from low cravings and disciples of the noble ones who has fully attained can see Nirvāṇa."[55]

Vimokha (Synonyms of Nibbāna)

MN. III (II.265)[56] explains that the deliverance of the mind (thought) without grasping is deathlessness. 'Etam amatam yadidaṃ anūpāda cittass vimokho'.

In DN. II.71, Buddha says that if a monk has mastered these levels (certain levels of meditation) 'he destroys the obsessions and stays in obsession free liberation of mind and liberation by understanding which he by himself has come to know and see in this life...then this monk is called "free from both ways" and there is no higher and mere splendid " freedom in both ways" than this.'[57]

Yogasūtra's (III Mendaka) description of Vimukti, is parallel to Buddhist Sūtta-Nipāta "Yathā nadyāḥ syandamānāh samudre astaṃ gacchanti Nāma rūpa Vidhyā ! tathā vidvān nāmarūpad *vimuktah* parāṭ paranepuruṣam upaiti divyām" i.e. "Just as the flowing rivers reach home in the sea, abandoning name and form, so does the man who knows, freed from name and form, attains to the divine person who is higher than the highest."[58]

Vimokṣa and Vimutti

Aśvaghoṣa explains the term : the mind of a yogi who aspires to salvation (Vimokṣa) is a strong city, "The way of knowledge, his administration of justice, the

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53. Sumangalvilāsini, I, p. 217 (B.C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 171).
54. *MN.* (*PTS.* 1976), I, ft. n. 3, p. 71.
55. Milinda. (*SBE.* XXXVI, pp. 105-6), 1V.7.16.
56. *MN.* III (*PTS.* 1977), pp. 50-51.
Vimokha is a technical term referring among other things, to certain levels of meditation.
(E.A. Johnsson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 31).
57. *E.A.* Johnsson, *Psy. of Nirvāṇa*, p. 31.
58. G.C. Pandey, *Śramaṇa Tradition*, p. 19.

virtues his allies, the vices his enemies and salvation (Vimukti) the land for whose conquest he strives."[59]

Vimokṣa and Vimukti are used by our poet as synonyms of Nirvāṇa, both mean 'Release' or freedom.

Aśvaghoṣa's term 'Nirmokṣa',[60] used as synonyms of Nibbāna or Nirvāṇa, expounds the need of 'purity' of mind.

Finding the seed of salvation (Nirmokṣa) in Nanda, but knowledge (jñāna) weak in him, Buddha tries to awaken or arouse him. He explains[61] as Kleśas (sufferings) are of two types, the means of purification is also of two types : (1) Hetu-bala, in which "internal impulse is strong, is self dependent, (2) External-condition is that in which understanding external conditions are strong. The (I) type obtains[62] "salvation immediately on receipt of stimulation" while the II type "obtains salvation with difficulty and only by dependence on another."

Nanda's mind[63] was susceptible only to external conditions. Buddha admonishes him, "My friend make up your mind to work for tranquility against the day that fearsome death arrives."[64] "Restrain your restless mind (mana) from the unsubstantial pleasure of love, whose enjoyment is shared with others...."[65]

Here Nanda is asked to restrain and make his mind stable.

Ultimately, when Nanda declares his success, he says,[66] "For now I enjoy the pure happiness of tranquility, my mind no longer hankers after the happiness that arises from love...."

By "the destruction of complaisance and passions the mind (citta) is rightly

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59. S. XVII.12—विमोक्षकामस्य हि योगिनोऽपि मनः पुरं ज्ञान विधिश्च दण्डः ।
गुणाश्च मित्राण्यरश्च दोषा भूमिविर्मुक्तिर्यतते यदर्थं ॥ १२
B. XIV.97(H)—कायाक्लेश विमुक्तो ।

60. S. V.15—निर्मोक्षं वीजं हि ददर्श तस्य ज्ञानं मृदुं क्लेश राजश्च तीव्रं ।

61. S. V.16—आत्माश्रयो हेतुबलाधिकस्य बाह्याश्रयः प्रत्ययगौरवस्थ ।
Two kinds of Kleśas—
Eg. Hetubala (कुशतमूल) as in B. II. 56 attachment of the king with his son.
Kuśal-mula (the absence of Rāga, dveṣa and Moha).
(R.C. Dass, *B.*, ft. n. II. 56.)

62. S. V.17.

63. S. V.18—नन्दः स च प्रत्ययनेयचेता यं शिश्रिये तन्मयतामवाप ।

64. S. V.22—यावन हिस्त्रः समुपैति कालः शमाय तावत्कुरु सौम्य बुद्धि ।

65. S. V.23—साधारणात्स्वप्ननिभाद सारा ल्लोलं मनः काम सुखान्नियच्छ ।

66. S. XVIII.44—इदं हि मुक्त्वा शुचि शामिकं सुखं
न मे मनः काक्षाति कामज सुखं ।

liberated (Vimukta) and "when the mind is liberated (Vimukta), then there is nothing further to accomplish".[67]

Aśvaghoṣa and Nirmokṣa

The disciple admonishes[68] Nanda since the yearning for the pleasures of senses leads to sin and grief, realising the mind and body of women inherent with doṣās (faults), he should see the world to be devoid of strength, like an unbaked pot delivered over to death, he should determine to attain salvation (nirmokṣa) and desist from yearning.

Here Nanda is advised the control of Mind and freedom from the yearning of pleasures of senses.

Aśvaghoṣa and Nirvāṇa as Bliss

Equanimity

Salvation is a "stage in which there is neither birth, old age, death, disease, nor contact with what is disagreeable, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the agreeable, which is peaceful, final and imperishable."[69]

Such a stage can be reached only with a mind in equipose or equanimity.

Nanda, being enlightened, reached a blissful and final state. He admits or confesses, "Since I was not dependent on nor bound in mind to seeing, hearing etc. in the ordinary affairs of life and since I use them with my mind in equipose, therefore I am disjoined from them and am emancipated."[70]

The Path to Nirvāṇa

The path to Nirvāṇa, according to Visuddhimagga (I, p. 3), lies through meditation (Dhyāna), wisdom (paññā), precept (Śīla), steadfastness (avaddhavirīya) etc. For a saint effected with the poison of worldly life, the nector-like medicine is Nirvāṇa. (Yatha ca visaṁphutto puriṣo visaghatanaṁ bhesajjaṁ pattheti, evamev ayaṁ kilesavisasam phuttko yogāvacaro kilesavisanimmathanaṁ amatosadhaṁ Nibbānaṁ pattheti) (Ibid., II, p. 266).

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[67] S. XVI.45—सम्यग्विमुक्तं प्रवदामि चेतः ।
सम्यग्विमुक्तर्मनसश्च ताम्यां न चास्य मूयः करणीयमस्ति ।

[68] S. VIII.62—निर्मोक्षाय कुरुष्व बुद्धिमतुलामुत्कण्ठितुं नार्हसि ।
In orthodox scriptures Nirvāṇa is the term for salvation. Perhaps the broadest term is Vimokha or Vimutti, Salvation or deliverance. (Coomarswamy, *Gospel of B.*, p. 117).

[69] S. XVI.27—क्षेमं पदं, नैष्ठिकम च्युतं तत् ।
The element of 'Nirvāṇa' (salvation) is indicated in 'Dharma' verse (S. XVI.26) (Johnston ft. n. 26, p. 91).

[70] S. XVIII.19—समात्मानुगतश्च . . . . गतोस्मि मुक्तः ।

Four Truths

He who penetrates four truths, realises extinction (Nirvāṇa).[71]

The Eight-fold Path

The noble Eight-fold path leads to Nibbāna (ariyo aṭṭangiko maggo etassa nibbānassa sacchikiriyāya) (SN. IV.252).[72]

Sammaditi (Right views), Sammā-sankappo (R purpose), Sammāvaca (R speech), Sammākammanto (R action), Samma Ajiva (R livelihood), Sammāyamo (R effort), Sammāsati (R mindfulness) and Samma-smadhi (R concentration).

The first two are concerned with understanding, the next three with moral training and the last three with meditation technique.

Four Stages of Mindfulness

According to MN. (I.63)[73] there are four stages of mindfulness to reach Nibbāna.

"There is this one way monks, for the purification of beings, for the overcoming of sorrows and griefs, for the going down of suffering and miseries, for winning the right path for realising Nibbāna, that is to say, the four applications of mindfulness."

Skandhas and Nibbāna

He who comprehends the five (Khandhas) eventually realises deathlessness.[74]

Mahāyāna and Road to Nirvāṇa

In Mahāyāna, Nirvāṇa can be realised by following the Middle Path and *destruction of Ignorance.*

How to realise it ?

Vasubandhu says, "By virtue of Prajñā (intelligence or wisdom, our egoistic thoughts are destroyed : by virtue of Karuṇā (Love), altruistic thoughts are cherished. By virtue of Prajñā the (affective) attachment, inherent in vulgar minds, is abolished, by virtue of Karuṇā, the (intellectual attachment, as possessed by the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-buddhas, is abolished. By virtue of Prajñā, Nirvāṇa (in its transcendental sense) is not rejected; by virtue of Karuṇā, Śamsāra (with its changes and migrations), is not rejected. By Prajñā, the truth of Buddhism is attained; by virtue of Karuṇā, all sentient beings are matured (for salvation)."[75]

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[71] Khud. P. VIII.360.

[72] *SN.* (*PTS.* 1965) V. (Text V. 10), p. 10. There are eight conditions which when cultivated . . . end in Nibbāna.
SN. IV. (Pālī *PTS.* 1894).
The eight-fold path traces extinction (Nibbāna).
(Khud. P. VIII.40)

[73] Enlightenment begins with Mindfulness (Khud. P. Ch. VIII.36)
"When mindfulness is developed, it leads reaching the ultramundane way and gradually effects the realisation of Nibbāna." (*MNA.* 236, quoted vide *MN.* I. ft. n. 2, p. 71).
Mindfulness as to control the feelings Mind, thoughts or mental objects, then four stages of Samādni which lead him to the realisation of knowledge "Just for remembrance and he fares along independently and not grasping anything in the world." (*MN.* I, 1976, pp. 71-82).

[74] *Dhm.* 374.
Khud. P. IV.28.

Nirvāṇa of Mahāyāna

"In Mahāyāna, Nirvāṇa is not the annihilation of life but its enlightenment, that it is not the nullification of human passions and aspirations, but their purification and ennoblement." "A Bodhisattva finds Nirvāṇa in a concentration of births and deaths and boldly faces the problem of evil and solves it by purifying the Bodhis from subjective ignorance."[76]

To sum up, Suzuki concludes, "Theoretically speaking Nirvaṇa is the dispersion of the clouds of ignorance, hovering around the light of Bodhi. Morally it is the suppression of egoism and the awakening of love (Karuṇā). Religiously, it is the absolute surrender of the self to the will of Dharmakayā. When the clouds of Ignorance are dispersed, our intellectual horizon gets clearer and wider ; we perceive that our individual existence is like bubbles and lightenings, but that it obtains reality in it oneness, with the body of Dharma. This conviction compels us eternally to abandon our old egoistic conception of life...."[77]

Ignorance

In Samyuta Nikāya also, when ignorance leads the way, one is void of the sense of right and wrong. Ignorance gives scope for wrong concentration and right view gives scope for right concentration.[78]

"Wrong view and the rest...wrong concentration...thus monks is perversion...." "Right view and the rest...right concentration. This, monks ! is called perfection."[79]

Aśvaghoṣa and Mahāyāna-Nirvāṇa as a Bliss

In the Awakening of Faith,[80] which believes in 'Tathata', Nirvāṇa is a state of joy. It expounds that all the beings have soul or Mind or True Model in them. But at the same time, they are possessed of infinite degree of ignorances. Without the effect of 'True Model', they can not have the power to discard the sorrows of transmigration and seek the joys of Nirvāṇa. When the good character (Śīla qualities) are attained, "Such people find Bodhisattvas teaching them directly the benefits and the joys of the doctrine and they are able to enter into the way of Nirvāṇa."

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[75] Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna*, p. 360.

[76] Ibid., p. 367.

[77] Ibid., p. 369.

[78] *SN.* (*PTS*. 1965) VI. I. (Ch. XLV. on Ignorance), pp. 1, 2.

[79] *SN.* (Ibid.) V. Text V.17, pp. 16,17,21—
Right view ends in the restrain of lust, hatred and illusion (*SN*. V. Text-20, p. 32).
. . . The ariyan eight-fold way tends to Nibbāna.

[80] *A.F.*, Richard, pp. 62-63.
Ignorance is called the hindrance of wisdom.
(Ibid., p. 58)

Nāgārjuna and Avidhyā or Ignorance

Nāgārjuna, who has developed Mahayana, expounds, 'the false sense of self' is the root of afflictions.

"I"

When the sense of 'I' refers to the mundane nature of the individual i.e. empirical self, it would be false, if it should mean that the individual is a real eternal substance ; it is an unerring sense, if it is recognised that the individual is Śūnya, essentially conditioned and derivedly named. If one keeps this truth in mind, then there is no difficulty in understanding how the Buddha has sometimes taught of self and sometimes of no self. Thus the Śāstra says :

"To him who understands the meaning in the teaching of the Buddha and grasps the truth of derived name. He has taught that there is "I" : but no one, who does not understand the meaning in the teachings of the Buddha and does not grasp the Truth of the derived name. He has taught, there is no "I". (253 C.)

"The Teaching of no "I" is of two kinds : the one in which there is the seizing of the determination of "No I", clinging to the denial of "I", and the other is the denial of "I" while refraining from seizing "No, I", and keeping free from (turning it into a dṛṣti) clinging to it (in the latter case), one naturally gives up (all clinging). The first kind of no 'I' is an extreme (a case of exclusiveness) while the II one is the middle doctrine (the non-exclusive way) (253 C.)."[81]

The false Sense of Self or Ignorance is the root (*of all Kleśas*) (696 B.)[82]

"The false sense of self is the root of afflictions and dṛṣtis. Tṛṣṇā is the origin of Kleśas, stands for Thirsts, passion, as the root of seizing and clinging. Kleśa is the painful state of emotional conflict, which results from the failure to fulfil the thirst, from the disparity between the expected and the realised. Ignorance, functioning again through Tṛṣṇā, gives rise to dṛṣti, which is to seize the specific concepts and conceptual systems that embody them as themselves absolute and limitless. This is dogmatism, claiming absoluteness for the relative, completeness for the fragmentary. This is perversion. Both Kleśa and dṛṣti have their origin in the false sense of *self*, the root-error."[83]

In Mahāvagga Buddha spoke to the five Bhikṣus at Benaras. "The body is not the self...the sensation is not the self...."[84] "Body sensations, perceptions, Saṁskāras and consciousness, are the five khandas (classes) of bodily and mental parts and powers" are perishable."[85] "...all the body is not mine is not me, is not myself...."[86] This right knowledge leads the learned to become weary of body. "Being weary he divests himself of passion, by absence of passions he is made free—when he becomes free he realises re-birth is exhausted."

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[81] Nāgārjuna's *Phil.*, pp. 104-5.

[82] Ibid., p. 106 ff.

[83] Ibid., p. 105.

Summing up

Thus there are two types of 'Nirvāṇa' described in Buddhist Suttas and by Aśvaghoṣa, the final and the secondary. The Final is the cessation of Re-birth and the secondary is the liberation of Citta from 'passions and its complaisance'.

The final stage is reached by one who has attained the state of Siddhis[87] and the secondary is attained or reached by one who is Bodhisattva.

If Mahāparinibbāna Sūtta is probed, in Buddha's last words "Decay is inherent in all component things, work out your own salvation with diligence", solves the riddle. Here Buddha's teaching does not aim at 'Negativistic Nirvāṇa', but leaves the doors of interpretation open.

The Hinayānist took the literal meaning and followed the difficult path of attaining 'Nirvāṇa' for themselves only (or self-help). (Compare Dhmp. 376 and 380)

But Mahāyānist, who believed in the theory of 'Soul' interpreted it differently. They believed in helping all. Their goal became Bodhisattva-hood and not Arhatship. Thus their path of salvation also became easy i.e. attaining Nirvāṇa by abolishing ignorance. Śīla qualities or good character was their path, which destroyed ignorance. Joys of enlightenment were experienced by following or treading this road.

In *Buddhacarita*, Buddha attained enlightenment with self-help. In *Saundarananda*, Nanda reached the stage of supreme bliss with the help of Buddha.

Aśvaghoṣa in Śraddhotpāda Śastra, *Saundarananda and Buddhacarita* have given preference to jñāna (abolition of Ignorance) or Prajñā and virtue of Karuṇā for all sentient beings to achieve Nirvāṇa.

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[84] M. Vagga (*SBE.* XIII) I. 6.38 ff (p. 100 ff)

[85] Ibid., ft. n. 1 (p. 100).

[86] Ibid., I.6.44.

[87] Supra. Cessation of re-birth and Nirvāṇu. Abhiṅṅā and Iddhi are mystic states of mental exaltation. (R. Davids, ***M. of Indian Mysticism,*** **Intro.).**

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ISBN : 81-7076-002-X